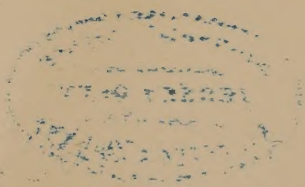
READINGS

ON THE

PARADISO OF DANTE



READINGS

ON THE

PARADISO OF DANTE

CHIEFLY BASED ON

THE COMMENTARY OF BENVENUTO DA IMOLA

BY THE HONBLE

WILLIAM WARREN VERNON

M.A. OXON.; ACCADEMICO CORRISPONDENTE DELLA CRUSCA; CAVALIERE DI S. MAURIZIO E LAZZARO IN ITALY; AND KNIGHT OF THE ROYAL ORDER OF ST. OLAF IN NORWAY

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY THE

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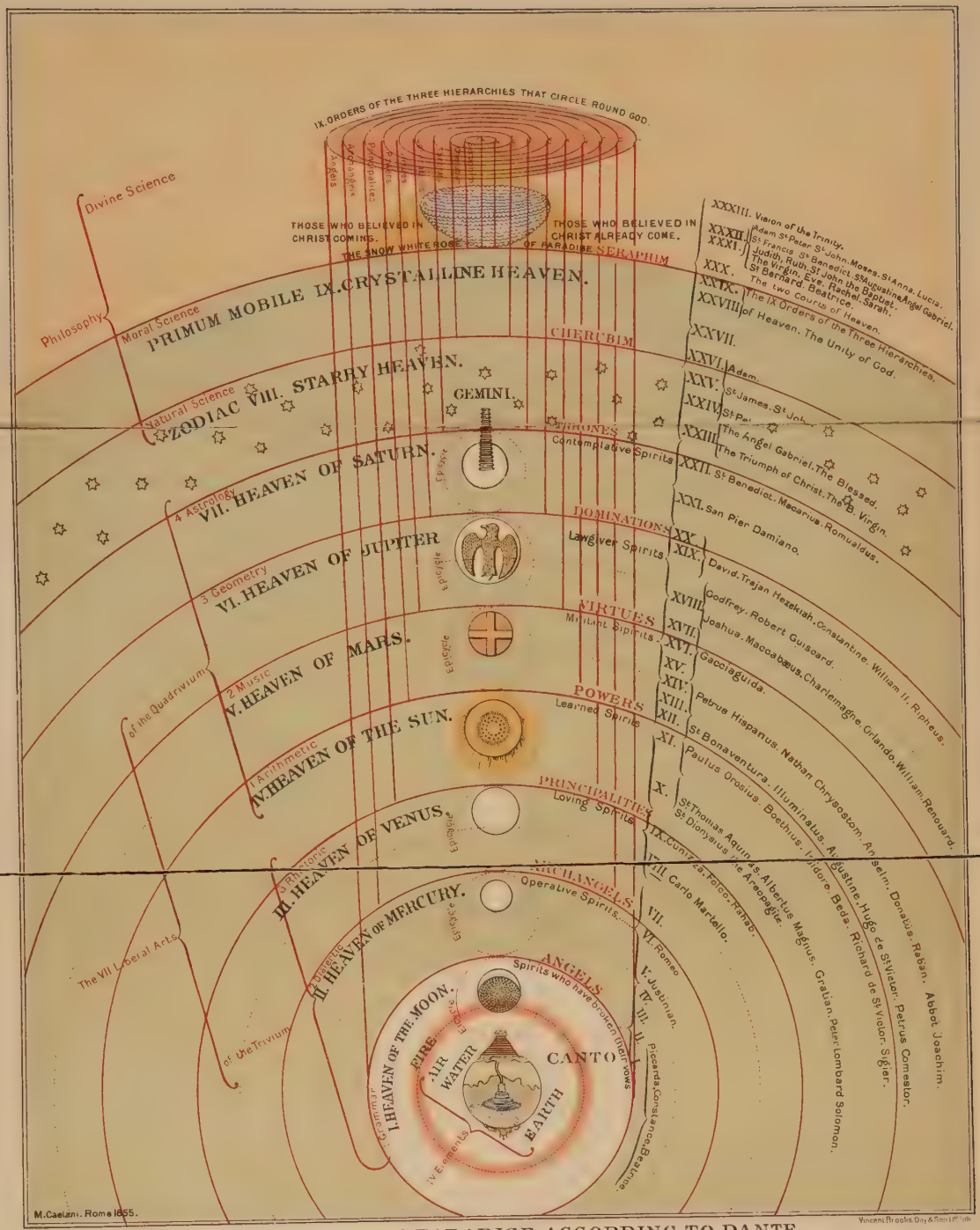

GENERAL VIEW OF PARADISE ACCORDING TO DANTE.

Adapted from the Tavole Dantesche of the Duke of Sermoneta.

THE PARADISO.

CANTO XVI.

SPHERE OF MARS (CONTINUED)—THE EMPTINESS OF NOBLE LINEAGE—CACCIAGUIDA'S ANCESTORS—COMPARISON BETWEEN THE GREAT FAMILIES OF ANCIENT AND MODERN FLORENCE.

IN this Canto the interview between Dante and his great ancestor continues uninterrupted.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

In the First Division, from ver. 1 to ver. 9, Dante declaims against the vain glory of noble descent.

In the Second Division, from ver. 10 to ver. 45, Cacciaguida, in compliance with Dante's petition, gives a more detailed description of his origin and his abode.

In the Third Division, from ver. 46 to ver. 87, Cacciaguida tells Dante something of the dimensions of the City of Florence in his day, and of the quality of its population.

In the Fourth Division, from ver. 88 to ver. 154, he describes some of the most illustrious of the Florentine families.

Division I.—Dante confesses that he was not quite able to suppress a feeling of boastfulness as to

his descent from so renowned a knight as Cacciaguida, although he exclaims against the emptiness of noble blood, unless the dignity of it be maintained by true nobility and virtue in successive generations.

O poca* nostra nobiltà di sangue!
Se gloriar di te la gente fai
Quaggiù, dove l' affetto nostro langue,
Mirabil cosa non mi sarà mai;
Chè là, dove appetito non si torce,
Dico nel cielo, io me ne gloriai.
Ben sei tu manto che tosto raccorce,
Sì che, se non s' appon di dìe in dìe,
Lo tempo va dintorno con le force.†

Alas! our petty nobility of blood! If thou dost make people to boast of thee down here (*i.e.* in the world), where our (right) affection is but feeble, it will never be to me a marvellous thing; because there, where appetite is not perverted, I mean in Heaven, I felt elated at it. In good sooth, art thou a mantle which is quick to shrink, so that, if from day to day cloth be not added (to what is already worn out), time goeth round about thee with his shears.‡

When nobility of race is handed down (says Benvenuto) from one valiant man to another, then it ever goes on increasing and prospering; but when it

---

* *O poca*, et seq.: Compare Boëthius, *Phil. Consol.* iii, pros. 6: "Jam vero quam sit inane, quam futile nobilitatis nomen, quis non videat? quae si ad claritudinem refertur, aliena est. Videtur namque esse nobilitas quaedam de meritis veniens laus parentum. Quod si claritudinem praedicatio facit, illi sint clari necesse est qui praedicantur. Quare splendidum te, si tuam non habes, aliena claritudo non efficit. Quod si quid est in nobilitate bonum, id esse arbitror solum, ut imposita nobilibus necessitudo videatur, ne a majorum virtute degeneret."

†*force* for *forbici* from the Latin *furcae.*

‡ The last time I saw the late (blind) Duke of Sermoneta, he recited to me these three *terzine.* He himself was a splendid example of how ancient lineage should be maintained.

descends to a degenerate posterity, it immediately declines; and as a fact we continually see the greater number of the illustrious families terminate in some wretched vicious imbecile (*terminantur in aliquo imbecilli et tristi captivo*). The succeeding heads of noble families must add their own great deeds, or the prowess of their ancestors will soon be forgotten.

Division II.—We have on more than one occasion noticed that, throughout Dante's journey in Hell and Purgatory, whenever he encountered personages of great dignity, he invariably addressed them with "*voi*" as a mark of respect. Farinata, Cavalcante, Brunetto, Conrad Malaspina, Pope Adrian V, Guido Guinicelli, and Beatrice. In the case of Guido da Montefeltro, Dante first addressed him with "*tu*," not knowing who he was, and had no opportunity of speaking to him again, as Guido, after relating his story, darted away. He now begins to address Cacciaguida with "*voi*," but the sturdy old Crusader shows great contempt for so modern a usage, and Beatrice contrives to give Dante a hint that he has been guilty of an error.

Dal *Voi*,* che prima Roma sofferíe, 10
In che la sua famiglia men persevra,†

---

* *Dal Voi:* The use of "You" for "Thou" is said to have been introduced by the Romans in the time of Julius Cæsar. On this the *Ottimo*: "Tornando Giulio Cesare vincitore in ogni parte del mondo, e ricevendo gli onori de' triunfi dell' avute vittorie, li Romani soffersono primamente di dire a lui, uno uomo, *voi;* la qual cosa li Romani fecero più per paura e per servile onore, che per affettuosa reverenza."

† *men persevra:* Casini remarks that the Romans have always used *tu* more than other Italians, and do so still: "nel quale uso del *voi* i romani hanno perseverato meno d' ogni altra cittadinanza italiana: 'tueggiano ogni persona,' dice il Lana, ed è uso vivo anche oggi."

Ricominciaron le parole mie.
Onde Beatrice, ch' era un poco scevra,
Ridendo, parve quella che tossío *
Al primo fallo scritto di Ginevra. 15

With the *You*, which Rome was the first to tolerate, (a usage) in which its people does not persevere as much (now), did my words begin again. Whereupon Beatrice, who was standing a little on one side, smiling appeared like her (La Dame de Mallehault) who coughed at the first offence that was written of Guenevere.

---

* *quella che tossío Al primo fallo . . . di Ginevra:* Dr. Paget Toynbee in the article on " Dante and the Lancelot Romance " in his valuable work entitled *Dante Studies and Researches*, London, 1902, 8vo, remarks that this allusion has been a stumbling-block to the Commentators. No mention of any such incident is made in the printed editions of the *Lancelot du Lac*, and the early Commentators, who might have been expected to know the version of the romance current in Dante's time, differ considerably in their observations on the passage. According to some, the cough of La Dame de Mallehaut would be a sign of warning or of disapproval; according to others, it was meant as an encouragement. The recent investigations of Dr. Paget Toynbee have put an end to all uncertainty with regard to this question. We know from the *De Vulg. Eloq.* i, 10, that Dante read the story of Lancelot in the *Lingua Oil*, and Dr. Toynbee, after close examination of numerous MSS. of the romance of the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, written in the *Lingua Oil*, and existing in the British Museum and the National Library at Paris, which were the versions known to Dante and the early Commentators, shows that the incident is found in almost all of them.

In one of these MSS., written in the thirteenth century, as is supposed, by Walter de Map, one of the King's clerks at the Court of Henry II of England, and transcribed by Dr. Toynbee, we learn that the *primo fallo* di Ginevra was not her receiving Lancelot's kiss. That was her *second*, not her *first* fault. Her first fault, at which the Lady of Mallehaut coughed, was Queen Guenevere receiving, without displeasure, an avowal of love from Lancelot. The kiss did not come till later.

See also an admirable article in *The Pilot* of 26th July, 1902, by D. R. Fearon, C.B., which deals exhaustively with the subject.

Beatrice probably smiled at the human weakness of Dante, who, out of the mere vain-gloriousness of his nobility, addressed his ancestor with the "*Voi*".

Dante, after first bespeaking the goodwill of his ancestor with expressions of affection and confidence, puts certain questions to him as to his family, his residence, the date of his birth, as to the Florence of his days, and as to the more distinguished families in it.

Io cominciai :—"Voi siete il padre mio,
Voi mi date a parlar tutta baldezza,*
Voi mi levate sì ch' io son più ch' io.
Per tanti rivi s' empie d' allegrezza
La mente mia, che di sè fa letizia,
Perchè può sostener che non si spezza.
Ditemi dunque, cara mia primizia,†
Quai fûr li vostri antichi, e quai fûr gli anni
Che si segnaro in vostra puerizia.
Ditemi dell' ovil di San Giovanni ‡

---

* *baldezza :* Compare *Par.* xxxii, 109-111 :—
"... Baldezza e leggiadria,
Quanta esser può in Angelo ed in alma,
Tutta è in lui, e sì volem che sia;"
and *Inf.* viii, 118, 119:—
"Gli occhi alla terra, e le ciglia avea rase
D' ogni baldanza."

† *primizia :* Compare *Par.* xxv, 13-15 :—
"Indi si mosse un lume verso noi
Di quella spera ond' uscì la primizia
Che lasciò Cristo dei vicarii suoi."
primizia is *capo-stipite*, the original root of the ancestral tree, or *progenitore.* Dante so styles Cacciaguida, for we must remember that Dante knew no older ancestors, nor does history record any.

‡ *ovil di San Giovanni :* Compare the touching lines in *Par.* xxv, 1-6, in which Dante indulges in a faint hope, unhappily never fulfilled, that his sacred poem would obtain for him a remission of his unjust sentence of banishment, and enable him to return (ll. 5, 6) to the

Quanto era allora, e chi eran le genti
Tra esso degne di più alti scanni."—

I began: "You are my Sire, you give me all confidence to speak, you uplift me so that I am more than myself. Through so many streams is my mind filled with gladness, that it makes a joy of itself (*i.e.* it converts its whole being into joy), because it can endure this (swollen flood) and bursts not. Tell me then, my beloved ancestral root, who your ancestors were, and what were the years that were chronicled in your boyhood. Tell me of the sheepfold of San Giovanni (*i.e.* Florence), of what size was it then, and which were the families within it worthy of the higher degrees (of honour)."

Scanni properly means seats in an amphitheatre that rise one above another, but Benvenuto translates *degne di più alti scanni*, "idest, majoribus gradibus honorum."

We have noticed that Dante has asked four questions.

(1) Who were Cacciaguida's ancestors?
(2) In what year was he born?
(3) What was the population of Florence in his time?
(4) And who were its most honourable citizens?

Before replying, the spirit of Cacciaguida shows his delight by an increase of radiant light. He answers the second question, and tells Dante that he was born on the 25th January, 1091.

". . . bello ovil, dov' io dormii agnello
Nimico ai lupi che gli danno guerra."

Giovanni Villani (iv, cap. 10) says of the district of the Cathedral (and it must be remembered that the great Church of Santa Maria del Fiore had not yet been built, but the present Baptistery was then the Cathedral): "E prima quelli della porta del Duomo che fu il primo ovile e stazzo della rifatta Firenze," etc.

Come s' avviva * allo spirar dei venti
Carbone in fiamma, così vidi quella
Luce risplendere a' miei blandimenti :
E come agli occhi miei si fe' più bella,
Così con voce più dolce e soave,
Ma non con questa moderna favella,†
Dissemi :—" Da quel dì ‡ che fu detto AVE,

---

* *Come s' avviva . . . Carbone in fiamma :* Compare *Par.* xiv, 52-55 :—

" Ma sì come carbon che fiamma rende,
E per vivo candor quella soperchia
Sì, che la sua parvenza si difende,
Così questo fulgor ; "

and *Par.* xix, 19-21 :—

" Così un sol calor di molte brage
Si fa sentir, come di molti amori
Usciva solo un suon di quella image."

L. Venturi (*Simil. Dant.*, p. 53, sim. 85) remarks that the simile in the text contains the idea separately indicated in the two above illustrations, of describing together the glow and the heat produced by the lighted coal. Compare Ovid, *Metam.* vii, 79-81 :—

" Ut solet a ventis alimenta assumere, quaeque
Parva sub inducta latuit scintilla favilla,
Crescere, et in veteres agitata resurgere vires."

† *questa moderna favella :* Some Commentators think that Cacciaguida spoke in Latin, and that the *moderna favella* meant the Tuscan idiom, but I much prefer Casini's views on the subject, who says : " In short Cacciaguida was speaking in the Florentine dialect, neither more nor less than other fellow-citizens of his whom Dante encounters in the three kingdoms of departed spirits ; only, as he lived nearly two centuries before Dante, his language would be far more archaic in its expressions, and would have considerable dissimilarity from the ordinary speech of Florentines in Dante's days."

‡ *Da quel dì*, et seq. : The meaning of the *passage* is that the planet Mars had returned to the sign of the Lion (*Leo*) 500+50 +30 = 580 times from the Incarnation of Christ to Cacciaguida's own birth, by which we are to understand that the planet in its orbit had made 580 revolutions. Brunetto Latini (*Li Tresors*, livre i, part iii, chap. cxi) says : " Mars est chaus et bataillereus, et mauvais, et est apelez Diex de batailles ; et va par tous les XII signes en ii ans et i mois et XXX jors, et parfet et accomplist son cours en ii anz et demi, po s' en faut."

Al parto in che mia madre, ch' è or santa,
S' alleviò di me ond' era grave,
Al suo Leon cinquecento cinquanta
E trenta fiate venne questo foco
A rinfiammarsi sotto la sua pianta.

As at the breathing of the winds a coal is quickened into flame, so saw I that light become resplendent at my words of endearment ; and as to my eyes it became more fair, so with a voice more gentle and soft, but not in this modern dialect, it said to me : " From the day (of the Annunciation) on which *Ave* was uttered, to the child-birth in which my mother who is now a Saint was delivered of me with whom she had been burdened, this fire (*i.e.* the planet Mars) had returned to its own Lion (*i.e.* the sign of Leo) five hundred and fifty and thirty times to be rekindled underneath its paw.

Cacciaguida then answers Dante's question as to who were his ancestors, telling him that they, and he likewise, were born in the Sesto di Porta San Piero ; and his reason for accentuating this circumstance was that the having one's houses within the primitive circuit was a distinct proof of ancient citizenship.

Gli antichi miei * ed io nacqui nel loco

This would make Cacciaguida born long after the crusade in which he died. But Dante, who had studied the *Almagesto* of Ptolemy, and had perhaps seen the astronomical tables of King Alfonso of Castille, knew the subject better than his schoolmaster, and was aware that the period of a revolution of Mars is less than two years. Witte cites these tables in his notes, and says they give 686 days 22 hours and 24 minutes, and that, having regard to the leap years, 580 such revolutions give 1090 years and something under four months. According to this, Cacciaguida at the time of the second crusade, was in his fifty-seventh year. Some read " cinque cento e cinquanta *e tre* [instead of *trenta*] fiate," etc. See article on " The Astronomy of Dante " in *The Quarterly Review*, April, 1898, in which (pp. 512, 513) this passage is specially mentioned.

* *Gli antichi miei*, et seq. : This is the answer to Dante's question (l. 23) *Quai fûr li vostri antichi ?*

Dove si trova pria l' ultimo sesto
Da quel che corre il vostro annual gioco.*
Basti de' miei maggiori udirne questo;
Chi ei si furo,† ed onde venner quivi,
Più è tacer che ragionare onesto.

My ancestors and I were born in that spot where is first encountered the last ward (of the city) by him who runs in your annual game. Of my ancestors suffice it for thee to hear thus much; as to who they were, and from whence they came thither, it is more honourable to be silent than to discourse.

Benvenuto observes: "You must know, that it is a custom every year at Florence for horses to be run in races for a prize in token of festal rejoicing, a custom which we also find prevails in many cities in Italy: and this is an exceedingly ancient usage both among the Greeks and the Romans. Those who ran in the race passed in front of the houses of the Elisei at the commencement of the last ward, and near the *Mercato Vecchio*, which is an ancient place for merchants and dealers, as are the Rialto (*Rivus altus*) at Venice, and the Carobbio at Bologna. And mark, that in olden time there used to stand near the houses of the Elisei a triumphal arch, by taking sanctuary under which criminals had immunity; so great was the privilege of nobility enjoyed by the Elisei."

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* *annual gioco:* The Festa di San Giovanni on the 24th June is still observed with great ceremony. The horse racing is, I think, now discontinued, though I myself witnessed it in 1854. Fireworks and splendid illuminations, however, are to be seen every year.

† *Chi ei si furo*, etc.; Brunone Bianchi suggests two reasons for Cacciaguida's reticence about his ancestors: "Forse per modestia non vuole entrare nei suoi antichi che egli crede di origine romana. E fors' anche se ne vergogna, perchè disceso di quei Frangipani che tradirono Corradino, dandolo in mano a Carlo d' Angiò."

Division III.—Cacciaguida, replying to Dante's petition, *Ditemi dell' ovil di San Giovanni* (l. 25), tells him distinctly that the fighting population of Florence in his time (1106) was just one-fifth (about 14,000) of what it was in 1300 (about 70,000).

> Tutti color ch' a quel tempo eran ivi
> Da poter arme * tra Marte e il Batista,†
> Erano il quinto di quei che son vivi.

All those who at that time were there between Mars and the Baptist (*i.e.* between the Ponte Vecchio and the Baptistery), able to bear arms, were the fifth of those who are now living.

But in answering the question, *Chi eran le genti tra esso degne di più alti scanni* (ll. 26, 27), Cacciaguida

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* *Da poter arme:* Others read *portar*, which Dr. Moore found in 54 MSS., whereas he found *poter* in 106 MSS. In *Textual Criticism*, p. 465, he says: "That the slightly unusual expression *poter arme* is the original reading for which the obvious and common-place *portar arme* has been substituted, scarcely needs argument. Several instances of this quasi-elliptic use of *potere* will be found in the Dictionary. It is noticeable that the distinctly *facilior lectio* 'portare' is found only in about one-third of the MSS. examined, nor does it seem to have found much favour in Editions." Buti writes that those able to bear arms were "uomini fatti da diciotto anni in su e da 70 in giù." Casini remarks that the verb *potere*, as used in the text, is not rare, and he quotes an instance (without reference) from Sacchetti, *Novelle:* "Gli parve troppo giovane da non potere a' disagi del mare," *i.e.* da non poter resistere.

† *tra Marte e il Batista:* In the Florence of Cacciaguida the *Oltrarno*, *i.e.* that part of the city beyond the river, where the Palazzo Pitti is now, was not included in the circuit, and was but sparsely inhabited. See Villani, iv, cap. 14: "Oltrarno non avea in quei tempi gente di legnaggio nè di rinomo, perocchè, come avemo detto addietro, e' non era della città antica, ma borghi abitati di vili e minute genti." Fraticelli observes that the *piccolo cerchio delle mura* extended from south to north from the Ponte Vecchio, where stood the statue of Mars (*Inf.* xiii, 144, and see notes thereupon in *Readings on the Inferno*), to the Church of San Giovanni; and it extended from San Piero on the east to San Pancrazio on the west.

says in effect: "Yes, they were only the fifth of the present population, but they were all Florentines without any admixture of blood with the people of the neighbouring countryside."

Ma la cittadinanza, ch' è or mista
Di Campi, di Certaldo e di Fighine,* 50
Pura vedeasi nell' ultimo artista.

But the community, which is now mixed with Campi, with Certaldo, and with Fighine, was then to be seen pure in the lowest artisan.

Benvenuto explains *nell' ultimo artista* in pretty definite language: "id est in vilissimo artifice, sicut in eo qui purgat cloacas."

Cacciaguida exclaims how much better it would have been for Florence had she not extended her boundaries and included in them, as she did in Dante's time, the country towns in the Val di Bisenzio, the Val d' Elsa, and the Valdarno; for the new citizens, thus brought in, contained among them

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* *Di Campi, di Certaldo e di Fighine:* Campi in the Val di Bisenzio, Certaldo in the Val d' Elsa, and Figline (then Fighine) in the upper valley of the Arno were all small boroughs in the district round Florence. Casini thinks that Dante's reference to them is by no means accidental, for he would in writing of Figline recollect that from it came the two brothers Franzesi, usurers and evil counsellors of the King of France, and who returned to Florence with Charles de Valois. From the same place came Baldo Fini, a doctor of laws, whom the *Neri* sent in 1311 to stir up the King of France against the Emperor Henry VII. Dante would recollect that from Certaldo came that judge Jacopo d' Ildebrandino, who was one of the Priori in 1289, and later on one of the greatest intriguers among the *Neri*, the party to whom Dante owed his exile. Certaldo, we may remark, was, according to some, the birth-place of Boccaccio, though most people think it was at Paris that he first saw the light. Anyhow he is always spoken of by Benvenuto as "my revered teacher Boccaccio di Certaldo," and he died there in 1375.

many enriched plebeians at whose hands the purity of the public offices greatly suffered.

O quanto fôra meglio esser vicine
Quelle genti ch' io dico, ed al Galluzzo *
Ed a Trespiano † aver vostro confine,
Che averle dentro, e sostener lo puzzo
Del villan d' Aguglion,‡ di quel da Signa,§

* *Galluzzo* is a village 2 miles from Florence on the Siena road.

† *Trespiano* is well known to modern residents at Florence. As the traveller from Florence to Bologna slowly ascends the high road not far from the summit of the height, on the hill to his right hand is Trespiano, now the public cemetery. It is about 3 miles from Florence.

‡ *villan d' Aguglion:* Messer Baldo d' Aguglione was a man of low birth, who during Dante's lifetime exercised great authority at Florence. To conceal some delinquency that they had committed, he, together with Messer Niccolò Acciajuoli, tore out a leaf from the public ledger. In *Purg.* xii, 105, Dante makes allusion to this and other frauds, which appear to have been perpetrated during his exile. Of this man see Del Lungo, *Dante ne' tempi di Dante*, Bologna, 1888, p. 67: "Dall' agitazione democratica del '93 al trionfo di parte Guelfa contro l' Impero del 1312, il nome di messer Baldo, che fu del supremo magistrato sei volte e più altre ambasciatore e sindaco del Comune, e sempre dei più operosi e autorevoli ne' Consigli, ricorre quasi ad ogni pagina della storia di Firenze guelfa. In questo villan d' Aguglione, di famiglia ghibellina, Firenze guelfa ebbe il formulatore del suo giure con gli Ordinamenti di Giustizia, e l' esecutore delle sue vendette con la Riformagione contro coloro che maledetti per Ghibellini espiarono essi soli i comuni peccati."

§ *quel da Signa:* Messer Fazio (or Bonifazio) dei Morubaldini of Signa was a doctor of laws. At the time of the schism in the Guelph party he was a great intriguer. He took part with the *Bianchi* until their overthrow, and then he and other traitors to their party passed over to the side of the *Neri*, and as Dino Compagni (*Cron.* ii, 23) contemptuously observes of their reception by the Neri: "furono ricevuti . . . solo per malfare." Fazio was four times one of the *Priori*, and in 1316 was *Gonfaloniere della Giustizia*. In 1310 he was sent as ambassador to Pope Clement V to stir up difficulties between that Pontiff and the Emperor Henry VII. In this he seems to have been highly successful, and his name appears in a long list of persons condemned by the Emperor in 1313.

Che già per barattar ha l' occhio aguzzo!

O how much better were it for the people that I name to be (your) neighbours, and to have your boundaries at Galluzzo and at Trespiano, than having them within (the city boundaries), and having to endure the stench of that low-born miscreant d' Aguglione, and him of Signa, who already has his eyes sharp-set for trafficking.

All these terrible evils were, in Cacciaguida's opinion, due to the dissensions that existed between the Empire and the Roman Curia. Owing to these, all secular authority had been lost in Italy, and the powerful families whose strongholds were at a distance from Florence, being dispossessed of them by the Florentines, were driven into the city itself, where in their turn they became the leaders of civil war and disturbance.

Se la gente ch' al mondo più traligna,*
Non fosse stata a Cesare noverca,
Ma come madre a suo figliuol, benigna,
Tal fatto è Fiorentino, e cambia e merca,
Che si sarebbe vôlto a Simifonti,†

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* *la gente ch' al mondo più traligna :* Not the Florentines, as Blanc, nor the Guelphs, as Witte, would contend (for how could the Emperor be styled step-son to either), but the priesthood, whom Dante denounces for the same offence of hostility to the Empire in *Purg.* vi, 91-93 :—

" Ahi gente, che dovresti esser devota,
E lasciar seder Cesare in la sella,
Se bene intendi ciò che Dio ti nota ! "

It is to them, the transgressing pastors of the Church, that Dante is here referring, to them who were neglecting both their duties ; for they were neither rendering unto Caesar the things which were Caesar's nor unto God the things which were God's. The relationships of step-mother and real mother in l. 60 are put in strong antithesis to each other.

† *Simifonti* for Semifonte, which was a strongly fortified castle in the Val d' Elsa, was destroyed by the Florentines in

Là dove andava l' avolo alla cerca.*
Sariasi Montemurlo † ancor dei Conti;
Sariansi i Cerchi nel pivier d' Acone,‡ 65

1302. It is very doubtful to whom Dante is referring in these two lines, but, as Buti remarks, it is evidently a pointed allusion to some well-known person: "di cui dica, non ho trovato; ma certo è che di qualche grande e nominato cittadino intese l' autore." Probably it was a hit at some *parvenu*, who was displaying his wealth at Florence, while it was known that his forefathers had been mendicants.

* *alla cerca:* "Andare alla cerca" is a regular idiom, chiefly applied to mendicant friars, going their rounds soliciting alms. In the *Promessi Sposi*, by Aless. Manzoni, cap. iii, Fra Galdino, a Capuchin Friar, is depicted coming in with a sack in which to receive eleemosynary contributions of walnuts from the peasants, and is mentioned as having come, "alla cerca delle noci."

† *Montemurlo:* This castle is still in existence, a prominent object in the landscape, on the right hand of those who travel by the railway between Florence and Pistoja. In olden times it belonged to the Conti Guidi, but in 1254, being unable to defend it against the Pistojese, they sold it to the Florentines. On this sale Brunone Bianchi remarks: "Se dunque la Toscana fosse stata retta per l' imperatore, i Guidi non sarebbero stati costretti a vendere il castello, per cui poi tante discordie ebbero luogo."

‡ *i Cerchi nel pivier d' Acone:* The parish of Acone was in the Val di Sieve. We shall see by the following passage from the *Ottimo* that, owing to the capture and destruction of their castle, the Cerchi were driven into Florence, and, as is well known, the feud between them and the Donati was the cause of the death of Buondelmonte, and of the subsequent division of the Guelph party: "I Cerchi . . . al tempo dell' Autore erano in grandi ricchezze e stato di *cittadinanza*, li quali furono della contrada detta oggi Piviere d' Acone, la quale per lo castello di Monte di Croce, ch' è in quello piviere, ebbe molte guerre col comune di Firenze: finalmente nel mille cento cinquanta tre li Fiorentini presero e disfecero il detto castello; di che più uomini della contrada vennero ad abitare la città di Firenze, in fra i quali furono i Cerchi, la cui cittadinanza l' Autore biasima, però che furono cagione di divisione e principalmente di setta, detta *Parte Bianca;* de' quali fu l' Autore maleavventuratamente." (*Ottimo.*) After their entrance into the city they betook themselves to commerce, amassed great wealth, and, having bought the palaces of the Counts Guidi in 1280, became the possessors of a large portion of the Ward of San Piero.

E forse in Valdigreve i Buondelmonti.*

If the people who in the world are most degenerate (*i.e.* the clergy), had not been to Cæsar (*i.e.* the Empire) a step-mother, but kind, as a mother to her own son, a certain person there is, who has become a Florentine and barters and trades, who would have been turned back to Simifonti, there where his grandsire used to go round seeking alms. Montemurlo would still belong to the Counts (Guidi); the Cerchi would be in the parish of Acone, and perchance the Buondelmonti in the Val di Greve.

He then sternly declares that corruption first entered into Florence by "the confusion of persons," by the different habits that were introduced, and by the arrogance which is always to be found in upstarts that have been suddenly raised from a low to a high position.

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* *in Valdigreve i Buondelmonti:* The principal abode of the Buondelmonti was the castle of Montebuoni in the Val di Greve, a valley which takes its name from the little river Greve, which runs from the county town, also called Greve, and flows into the Arno to the East of Empoli. The Buondelmonti, like the Cerchi, were dispossessed of their stronghold by the Florentines, and hence their residence at Florence, a circumstance which (ll. 140-144) Dante laments should ever have been brought about. Villani (lib. iv, cap. 36) thus speaks of them: "Nelli anni di Cristo MCXXXV essendo in piè il castello di Montebuoni il quale era molto forte, e era di que' della casa de' Buondelmonti, i quali erano Cattani [*see end of note*], e antichi gentili uomini di contado, e per lo nome del detto castello avea nome la casa de' Buondelmonti, e per la forza di quello toglieano i passaggi; la qual cosa a' Fiorentini non piacendo, nè volendo sì fatta fortezza presso alla città, v' andarono a oste del mese di giugno, e ebbono a patti, che 'l castello si disfacesse, e l' altre possessioni rimanessero a' detti Cattani, e tornassero abitanti in Firenze. [N.B. *tornassero* here *is not* 'should return,' but 'should change their residence and become' (inhabitants of Florence). This is a regular idiom at Florence.] E così cominciò il comune di Firenze a dilatarsi con forza più che con ragione, crescendo il contado, e sottomet-

Sempre la confusion delle persone *
Principio fu del mal della cittade,
Come del corpo il cibo che s' appone.
E cieco toro † più avaccio ‡ cade 70

---

tendolo a sua giurisdizione, e mettendo sotto sua signoria molti nobili contadini, e disfacendo molte fortezze del contado." N.B. The word "Cattano" is explained by the *Gran Dizionario* to have been a regular mediæval title, as much so as Duke or Marquess, and was something between a Vavassor and a Baron. In Worcester's *Dictionary of the English Language*, s. v. *Vavasor*, I find: *Valvasores* was sometimes used to denote those who held immediately of the king, otherwise called *capitanei*.

* *confusion delle persone:* This utterance is but the echo of Dante's explosion of indignant wrath (*Inf.* xvi, 73-75) when answering Jacopo Rusticucci's question as to whether Liberality and Worth still have their abode in Florence. Dante with bold decision (*con faccia levata*) replies, addressing the city itself.

"La gente nuova, e i subiti guadagni,
Orgoglio e dismisura han generata,
Fiorenza, in te, sì che tu già ten piagni."

† *cieco toro*, et seq.: L. Venturi (*Simil. Dant.* pp. 141, 142, sim. 237) discusses these two metaphors: "Con le due immagini poi del toro e della spada esprime che il crescere della popolazione, anzichè render migliore e più forte la città, spesso nei civili negozi la peggiora e la indebolisce. Il *cieco toro* rappresenta la forza senza il senno (compare *Wisdom* vi, 1). E l' *una spada* significa che un solo prode [*man of prowess*] giova meglio che molti men valorosi alla salute della patria." Compare *Ecclus.* xvi, 5 (*Vulgate*): "Ab uno sensato inhabitabitur patria; tribus impiorum deseretur."

‡ *avaccio:* The *Gran Dizionario* says this now obsolete word is an adverb for *avacciatamente* and means "very shortly, hurriedly." We find it in *Inf.* x, 116, 117, where Dante, being summoned away by Virgil, hurriedly asks Farinata who are his companions:—

"Perch' io pregai lo spirto più avaccio
Che mi dicesse chi con lui si stava;"

and *Inf.* xxxiii, 106, 107:—

"Avaccio sarai dove
[*quickly shalt thou have reached a spot where*]
Di ciò ti farà l' occhio la risposta."

Compare Burchiello, *Sonetti*, parte prima, son. 69:—

"Dicono il mattutino avaccio avaccio [*they recite mattins with indecent haste*]
Senza tonaca o cotta o pivïale."

Che 'l cieco agnello, e molte volte taglia
Più e meglio * una che le cinque spade.

Ever was the intermingling of populations the beginning of the City's adversity, as in the body the food that is eaten in excess. And a blind bull falls more headlong than the blind lamb, and oftentimes a single sword will cut deeper and better than will the five.

Since Cacciaguida's time the population of Florence has been multiplied fivefold; hence the reference to five swords.

He tells Dante that, if he marks the decay of great cities in the progress of centuries, he need not marvel if families decay and disappear.

Se tu riguardi Luni † ed Urbisaglia ‡
Come son ite, e come se ne vanno

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* *Più e meglio:* This is like Horace, *Sat.* I, x, 14, 15:—
"Ridiculum acri
Fortius et melius magnas plerumque secat res."

† *Luni:* An ancient Etruscan city, on the left bank of the river Magra, not very far from Spezia. It had already been destroyed in Dante's time, but its name still survives in the Lunigiana district, where the great lords of Malaspina bore rule. It is mentioned in *Inf.* XX, 46-50:—
"Aronta è quel che al ventre gli s' atterga,
Che nei monti di Luni, dove ronca
Lo Carrarese che di sotto alberga,
Ebbe tra bianchi marmi la spelonca
Per sua dimora."

‡ *Urbisaglia:* The ancient *Urbs Salvia* in the Marca d' Ancona, near Macerata. It is said to have been an exceedingly populous and flourishing city, but to have been destroyed by Alaric. Casini says that one gathers, from a legal document of the year 1297, that there was still in existence a very strong castle, which its lord, Fidesmido di Pietro, pledged for 700 golden florins. Benvenuto writes of it: "Ista fuit olim civitas in Marchia anconitana non longe a civitate quae hodie dicitur Macerata, et est penitus deserta ita quod non apparent, nisi quaedam vestigia ruinarum: et fuit olim maxima civitas, sicut ego notavi unde dicta est quasi urbs alia, idest alia Roma."

Diretro ad esse Chiusi * e Sinigaglia: † 75
Udir come le schiatte si disfanno
Non ti parrà nuova cosa nè forte,
Poscia che le cittadi termine hanno. ‡

If thou regard Luni and Urbisaglia how they have passed away, and how Chiusi and Sinigaglia are passing away after them, it will not appear to thee a novel nor a strange thing to hear how families become extinct, seeing that cities have their limit (of existence).

He then points out that in the world everything has an end, but that in certain things, as for instance in the lives of families and of cities, the end, although certain to come, is not so easily discernible by the individual, because he comes to an end before they do. Dante must therefore not think it unnatural if, in his discourse, Cacciaguida alludes to some families who have so completely passed away, that their very names are forgotten.

Le vostre cose tutte hanno lor morte
Sì come voi; ma celasi in alcuna 80
Che dura molto, e le vite son corte. §

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* *Chiusi:* The ancient Clusium, one of the most renowned of the Etruscan cities, it is in the south of Tuscany about halfway between Florence and Rome.

† *Sinigaglia:* The old name of the city was *Sena Gallica.* It was sacked by Manfred's Saracen soldiery in 1264, the year before Dante was born, and its comparatively recent destruction must have been familiar to him. The Mastai-Ferretti, Pope Pius IX's family, belong to Sinigaglia.

‡ *le cittadi termine hanno:* Compare St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars iii, suppl. qu. xcix, art. 1): "Perpetuo homo non manet, . . . etiam ipsa civitas deficit."

§ *le vite son corte:* "Si les hommes apprennent à se modérer en voyant mourir les rois, combien plus seront-ils frappés en voyant mourir les royaumes mêmes! et où peut-on recevoir une plus belle leçon de la vanité des grandeurs humaines?" (Bossuet, *Discours sur l' histoire universelle*, partie iii, chap. 1. Paris, 1784.)

E come il volger del ciel della luna *
Copre e discopre † i liti senza posa,
Così fa di Fiorenza la fortuna ; ‡
Perchè non dee parer mirabil cosa 85

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* *ciel della luna :* Compare *Quaest. de Aq. et Terr.* § vii : "Aqua videtur maxime sequi motum Lunae, ut patet in accessu et recessu maris ; cum igitur orbis Lunae sit excentricus, rationabile videtur quod aqua in sua sphaera excentricitatem imitetur orbis Lunae." Dante was possibly thinking of the tides he had seen in Flanders, mentioned in *Inf.* xv, 4, 5 :—

"Quale i Fiamminghi tra Guizzante e Bruggia,
Temendo il fiotto che vêr lor s' avventa," etc.

Although the Mediterranean tides are small compared to those of the Ocean, still they are perceptible, as I myself noticed during a month spent at Leghorn. At low water the surface of the rocks was completely uncovered, and at high water these were lost to sight. Besides, Virgil would be doubtless alluding to Mediterranean tides in *Æn.* xi, 624-628 :—

"Qualis ubi alterno procurrens gurgite pontus
Nunc ruit ad terras, scopulosque superjacit undam
Spumens, extremamque sinu perfundit arenam ;
Nunc rapidus retro, atque aestu revoluta resorbens
Saxa fugit, littusque vado labente relinquit."

† *Copre e discopre :* Compare St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. cv, art. 6) : "Cum aliquid contingit in rebus naturalibus praeter naturam inditam, hoc potest . . . contingere . . . per actionem illius agentis a quo dependet actio naturalis, ut patet in fluxu et refluxu maris, qui non est contra naturam, quamvis sit praeter motum naturalem aquae, quae movetur deorsum. Est enim ex impressione coelestis corporis a quo dependet naturalis inclinatio inferiorum corporum." Compare also *ibid.* qu. cx, art. 3 : "Fluxus et refluxus maris non consequitur formam substantialem aquae, sed virtutem lunae." And *ibid.* (pars ii, 2dæ, qu. ii, art. 3) : "Aqua secundum motum proprium movetur ad centrum, secundum autem motum lunae movetur circa centrum secundum fluxum et refluxum."

‡ *la fortuna :* Compare *Inf.* vii, 77, et seq., where Virgil tells Dante that God "for worldly splendours appointed a general ministress and guide, who from time to time might change the empty goods from nation to nation, and from one family to another, beyond prevention of human intelligence ; and therefore one nation rules, and another languishes, pursuing the decree of her (Fortune), which is hidden like a snake in the grass" (translation in *Readings on the Inferno*, 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 241).

Ciò ch' io dirò degli alti Fiorentini,
Onde la fama nel tempo è nascosa.

All your (earthly) affairs have their death (*i.e.* are mortal) even as you yourselves; but it (mortality) is hidden in some that endure for a long while, and lives are short (*i.e.* human lives are too short to witness the decay of cities). And as the revolution of the heaven of the Moon covers and uncovers the shores unceasingly, so in like manner does Fortune deal with Florence (*i.e.* now raising it to prosperity, and now depressing it). For which reason it should not appear a marvellous thing that which I shall relate of those illustrious Florentines of whom the fame is hidden in the Past.

Division IV.—Cacciaguida now rapidly runs over the names of many noble families that were pre-eminent at Florence in his time, of whom some were, in Dante's time, altogether extinct, some were sunk into obscurity and unimportance, while some who were powerful in 1300, had been insignificant in the time of Cacciaguida.

Io vidi gli Ughi,* e vidi i Catellini,†
Filippi,‡ Greci,§ Ormanni || ed Alberichi,¶

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* *Ughi:* "furono antichissimi, i quali edificarono Santa Maria degli Ughi, e tutto il poggio di Montughi fu loro, e oggi sono spenti." (Villani, iv, cap. 12.)

† *Catellini:* "furono antichissimi, e oggi non n' è ricordo." (Villani, *ibid.*)

‡ *Filippi;* "che oggi sono niente, allora erano grandi e possenti." (*Ibid.* cap. 13.)

§ *Greci:* "fu loro tutto il borgo de' Greci, oggi sono finiti e spenti." (Villani, *ibid.*)

|| *Ormanni:* "Abitavano ov' è oggi il palagio del popolo [*i.e.* the Bargello], e chiamansi oggi Foraboschi." (Villani, *ibid.*)

¶ *Alberichi:* A family in the Ward of Por San Piero; "fu loro la chiesa di Santa Maria Alberighi da casa i Donati, e oggi non n' è nullo." (Villani, iv, ii.)

Già nel calare,* illustri cittadini ; 90
E vidi così grandi come antichi,
Con quel della Sannella,† quel dell' Arca,‡
E Soldanieri,§ ed Ardinghi,‖ e Bostichi.¶

I saw the Ughi, and I saw the Catellini, the Filippi, the Greci, the Ormanni, and the Alberichi, even in their decline illustrious citizens; and I saw as mighty as (they were) ancient, with him of La Sannella, him of L'Arca, and Soldanieri, and Ardinghi, and Bostichi.

In the Ward of Por San Piero, hard by the old gateway, in the time of Dante were the houses of the Cerchi, which had been sold to them in 1280 by the Counts Guidi, who in their time had inherited them from the Ravignani, by the marriage of Count Guido Guerra with the good Gualdrada daughter of Bellincion Berti. (See *Inf.* xvi, 37, and note on that passage in *Readings on the Inferno*, vol. i, pp. 580, 581.)

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* *nel calare:* These families were in their decline in the days of Cacciaguida ; by Dante's time they had all passed away.

† *della Sannella :* "erano grandi intorno a Mercato Nuovo." (Villani, iv, 12.) "Di questi ancora sono alcuni, ma in istato assai popolesco." (*Ottimo.*) During the last 30 years a modern *Mercato Nuovo* has been built, and the former one of that name, where is the beautiful bronze statue of the wild boar, is now more generally known among Florentines by the name of Loggie della Stufa.

‡ *dell' Arca :* "molto antichi, e oggi sono spenti." (Villani, iv, 12.)

§ *Soldanieri :* A Ghibelline family in the Sesto of san Brancrazio. (Villani, v, cap. 39.) "Questi sono ancora; ma per parte Ghibellina sono fuori." (*Ottimo.*)

‖ *Ardinghi :* "che abitavano in Orto san Michele, erano molto antichi." (Villani, iv, 11.) "Questi sono al presente in bassissimo stato, e pochi." (*Ottimo.*)

¶ *Bostichi :* "intorno a Mercato nuovo erano grandi i Bostichi." (Villani, iv, cap. 13.) "Questi sono al presente di poco valore, e di poca dignitade." (*Ottimo.*)

Sopra la porta,* che al presente è carca
Di nuova fellonia† di tanto peso
Che tosto fia jattura della barca,‡
Erano i Ravignani,§ ond' è disceso
Il conte Guido, e qualunque del nome ||
Dell' alto Bellincion ha poscia preso.

Near unto the gate, which at the present time is laden with a novel treachery of such a weight as soon will bring about the wrecking of the ship, were living the Ravignani, from whom is descended the Count Guido (Guerra), and whoever has since assumed the name of the great Bellincione. (Berti.)

**Sopra la porta,* et seq.: Casini thinks that the acquisition by the low-born Cerchi of the vast palaces and surrounding houses near the ancient gate of Por San Piero, which were bound up in reminiscences of the older and far more illustrious families to whom they had belonged, must have made a profound impression upon the citizens living near.

†*nuova fellonia:* The Cerchi were *novi homines*, and the word *fellonia* properly signifies "betrayal," by which we may infer that Dante wishes to allude to the way the Cerchi pushed themselves into public affairs and introduced their private enmities into civic business, resulting in the schism of the Guelph party into the two hostile factions of *Neri* and *Bianchi.* Of the Cerchi, Villani (viii, cap. 39) says that they had in a very short time thrust themselves forward "in grande stato e podere." They were the ruin of Florence, and were treacherous to the civic duties they had so recently entered upon.

‡*barca . . . carca:* Compare *Par.* viii, 79-81, where Dante says that the government of Robert of Anjou is weighed down by the cupidity of his Catalan soldiers and officials:—

"Chè veramente provveder bisogna
Per lui, o per altrui, sì ch' a sua barca
Carcata più di carco non si pogna."

§*Ravignani:* "i Rovignani furono molto grandi, e abitavano in sulla porta san Piero . . . e di loro per donna nacquero tutti i conti Guidi, . . . della figliuola del buono messere Bellincione Berti: a' nostri dì è venuto meno tutto quello legnaggio." (Villani, iv, cap. 11.)

||*del nome:* I follow all the Italian Commentators in taking *del nome* for *il nome.* I cannot find one that makes a distinction between *del* and *il.*

Certain branches, both of the Adimari and the Donati, added to their own name that of De' Bellincioni.

The two distinguished families of Della Pressa and Galigai, who are next mentioned, were Ghibelline, and the gilded hilt and pommel of the latter showed they were of knightly rank. A number of others of both parties come next in order.

Quel della Pressa * sapeva già come
Regger si vuole, ed avea Galigaio †
Dorata in casa sua già l' elsa e il pome.
Grande era già la colonna del vaio,‡
Sacchetti,§ Giuochi,‖ Fifanti ¶ e Barucci,**

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* *della Pressa:* This family is spoken of by Villani (iv, cap. 10, and vi, caps. 65 and 78) as *gentili uomini* of the district of the Porta del Duomo. They were charged with being Ghibellines and of having been traitors to their country at the battle of Montaperti, and were exiled in 1258.

† *Galigaio:* The Galigai are mentioned by Villani in lib. v, cap. 39 (as the Galigari) among the noble Ghibelline families who inhabited the Ward of the Porta San Piero; and their decadence in the time of Dante is thus described by the *Ottimo:* "questi erano già in tale stato, che di loro erano cavalieri; ora sono del popolo, assai bassi."

‡ *colonna del vaio:* The Pigli, whose arms were in heraldic terms, gules, a pale, vair; in other words (says Prof. Norton), a red shield divided longitudinally by a stripe of the heraldic representation of the fur called vair. Of them Villani (iv, cap. 12) writes that they were "gentili uomini e grandi in quelli tempi."

§ *Sacchetti:* An old Guelph family. "Furono nimici dell' Autore . . . Furono e sono giusta lor possa, disdegnosi e superbi: e'ıson Guelfi." (*Ottimo.*)

‖ *Giuochi:* A Ghibelline family, of whom the *Ottimo* says: "Questi sono divenuti al neente [*come to nothing*] oggi dell' avere e delle persone; e' sono Ghibellini."

¶ *Fifanti:* Called by the *Ottimo* Sifanti. Later on they were known as the Bogolesi. They were staunch Ghibellines, and one of them was implicated in the assassination of Buondelmonte. They dwelt in the Por Santa Maria.

** *Barucci:* Villani (iv, cap. 10) says they had been inhabitants of the district of Santa Maria Maggiore, but were extinct; and the *Ottimo:* "Furono pieni di ricchezze e di leggiadrie, oggi

E Galli,* e quei che arrossan † per lo staio. 105

He of La Pressa already knew how government should be carried on, and already Galigaio had the hilt and pommel (of his sword) gilded in his house. Mighty already was the pale of minever (on the escutcheon of the Pigli), Sacchetti, Giuochi, Fifanti, and Barucci, and Galli, and they (the Chiarmontesi) who blush for the bushel.

Durante de' Chiarmontesi, when presiding over the Salt Office, abstracted a stave from the bushel standard measure, and thus acquired a large sum of money for himself.‡ He was eventually detected, and, according to Benvenuto and Landino, beheaded, so that the remembrance of his crime is a perpetual shame to his descendants. The wooden bushel was after this replaced by an iron one.

Two other Guelph consular families are next mentioned.

Lo ceppo § di che nacquero i Calfucci

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sono pochi in numero, e senza stato d' onore cittadino; sono Ghibellini."

* *Galli:* "abitavano in Mercato nuovo." (Villani, iv, cap. 13.) "I Ghibellini del detto sesto, la casa . . . dei Galli." (*Ibid.* v, cap. 39.)

† *quei che arrossan per lo staio:* "Nel quartiere di porta san Piero erano . . . i Chiarmontesi." (*Ibid.* iv, cap. 11.) "Nel sesto di san Piero Scheraggio, i nobili che furono guelfi, . . . i Chiaramontesi," etc. (*Ibid.* v, cap. 39.)

‡ In *Purg.* xii, 104, 105, Dante speaks of the foot-stairway (still existing) that runs from the city of Florence up the hill on which stands the Church of San Miniato, and which he says was made at a time when the State records and the bushel measure were inviolate (*ad etade Ch' era sicuro il quaderno e la doga*). See *Readings on the Purgatorio,* 3rd ed. vol. i, pp. 435-438.

§ *Lo ceppo:* "I Donati ovvero Calfucci, che tutti furono uno legnaggio, ma i Calfucci vennero meno." (Villani, iv, cap. 11.) "Calfucci, Donati et Uccellini furono d' uno ceppo; li Donati spensero li detti loro consorti Calfucci, sì, che oggi nullo, o uno solo se ne mentova, o pochissimi." (*Ottimo.*)

Era già grande, e già erano tratti
Alle curule * Sizii ed Arrigucci.†

The stock (the Donati) from which the Calfucci were born, was great already, and already had the Sizii and Arrigucci been drawn to the Curule Chairs.

Cacciaguida sadly recalls the past greatness of the two great Ghibelline families, the Uberti, and the Lamberti, once so powerful and so arrogant, but then irrevocably banished, and never again to recover their former dignity. Benvenuto thinks the latter family were even the more noble of the two, and he mentions as a curious proof of this, that they used to be buried upon bronze horses. (*Sed omnibus omissis singulare signum nobilitatis eorum erat, quod mortui sepeliebantur equites scilicet sedentes in equo brungio.*)

O quali io vidi quei ‡ che son disfatti
Per lor superbia! e le palle dell' oro § 110

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* *curule:* This is feminine plural of a substantial form of the adjective *curule*, plural *curuli*. The *Gran Dizionario* says the word is used here as a substantive, according to a form peculiar to Tuscan idiom, and to other dialects.

† *Sizii ed Arrigucci:* "Erano ancora nel detto quartiere [Porta del Duomo] Arrigucci e Sizii." (Villani, iv, cap. 10.) "Questi [Sizii] sono quasi spenti. Questi [Arrigucci] sono quasi venuti meno." (*Ottimo.*)

‡ *quei:* the Uberti. "Di costoro ha trattato l' Autore di sopra capitolo X *Inferni*, dove introduce messer Farinata, uno di loro; li quali furono in tanta altezza, infino che non venne la divisione delle parte, che si potea dire che quasi fossero padri della cittade." (*Ottimo.*) The treatment that the once revered Uberti met at the hands of their fellow-citizens at Florence is discussed at great length in *Readings on the Inferno*, vol. i, pp. 330-368.

§ *le palle dell' oro:* "Nobilissimi e potentissimi cittadini furono li Lamberti, de' quali per la loro arme l' Autore ne fa menzione; quasi dica: come la palle è designatrice dell' universo, e l' oro avanza ogni metallo, così di bontade e di valore costoro avanzavano li altri cittadini: de' quali l' Autore toccò

Fiorian Fiorenza in tutti suoi gran fatti.

O how glorious did I behold those (the Uberti) who are undone through their pride! and the golden balls (of the Lamberti) embellished Florence with all their doughty deeds.

The descendants of the Visdomini and Tosinghi, Guelph families of the faction of the *Neri*, are referred to with scathing sarcasm. These two families had the privilege of enjoying the episcopal revenues of Florence from the death of one Bishop till the appointment of another, and so, by deferring the appointment, are said to have fattened. Their ancestors however were renowned, like the Lamberti, for loving the honour of their country.

Così facean li padri di coloro
Che, sempre che la vostra chiesa vaca,
Si fanno grassi stando a consistoro.*

So acted likewise the ancestors of them who, whenever your (Episcopal) Church is vacant, make themselves fat by staying in consistory.

Dante's chief reproach, spoken through the mouth of Cacciaguida, is reserved for the Adimari, formerly named *de Adelmanis*, an upstart Guelph stock, said to have been of German extraction. They had several

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di sopra, capitolo xxvii *Inferni*." (*Ottimo.*) This reference is to Mosca dei Lamberti, one of the assassins of Buondelmonte. See *Inf.* xxviii, 103-107, and see the account of his crimes and punishment in the Ninth *Bolgia* of *Malebolge* among the Disseminators of Discord in *Readings on the Inferno*, 2nd ed. vol. ii, pp. 443-447.

* *stando a consistoro:* Buti observes that these people assembled "come sta lo papa coi cardinali a consistoro ad ordinare li fatti della Chiesa;" and Cornoldi adds rather quaintly: "Come fossero padroni, stanno nel palagio del Vescovo e se la pappano [i.e. *gorge themselves*]."

branches, the Argenti (*Inf.* viii, 32-64); the Aldobrandi (*Inf.* xvi, 41); the Cavicciuli (*Inf.* xix, 19); and there would appear to have existed bitter hostility between some of them and Dante's family. One of them, Boccaccio Cavicciulli, is said to have occupied Dante's house and property during his exile, and to have vehemently opposed all motions for his recall to Florence.

L' oltracotata * schiatta, che s' indraca
Retro a chi fugge, ed a chi mostra il dente,
O ver la borsa, com' agnel si placa,
Già venía su, ma di picciola gente,
Sì che non piacque ad Ubertin Donato
Che poi il suocero il fe' lor parente.

That insolent brood that play the dragon behind whoever flees, but unto him that shows his teeth or his purse, is as gentle as a lamb, was already on the rise, but of insignificant lineage, so that it pleased not Ubertino Donati, that his father-in-law (Bellincion Berti) should thereafter make him their kinsman.

Ubertino de' Donati was married to one of the Ravignani, a daughter of Bellincion Berti, and was greatly disgusted when another daughter (about 1230) married into the Adimari family.

Then come three families of consular dignity, all Ghibellines.

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* *oltracotata:* Compare *Inf.* viii, 124, where Virgil says of the Demons:—

"Questa lor tracotanza non è nuova."

And *Inf.* ix, 91-93, where the angel sternly reproves the same Demons:—

"O cacciati del ciel, gente dispetta,
. . . . . .
Onde' esta oltracotanza in voi s' alletta?"

Già era il Caponsacco * nel mercato
Disceso giù da Fiesole, e già era
Buon cittadino Giuda † ed Infangato.‡

Already had the Caponsacchi come down from Fiesole into the Mercato Vecchio, and already were the Giudi and Infangati citizens of worth.

The next *terzina* is one of very disputed interpretation. Modern Commentators explain it that such was the simplicity and absence of jealousy in those times, that a public gate could bear a private name; and some contend that *quei della Pera* refers to the Peruzzi. I prefer, however, to take the opinion of Casini, who explains the three lines that follow to mean that one of the gates of the city was named after a family that in Dante's time were completely extinct.

Io dirò cosa incredibile e vera:
Nel picciol cerchio s'entrava per porta,
Che si nomava da quei della Pera.

I will tell a thing incredible and (yet) true! Into the small circuit one used to enter by a (postern) gate that was named after them of La Pera.

The *Ottimo* (who, according to Casini, is particularly accurate about these local details) comments: "Chi

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* *Caponsacco:* "Questi furono del contado di Firenze e del tenitorio [*territorio*] di Fiesole, e vennero ad abitare nel mercato vecchio nella più nobile parte della cittade. Sono Ghibellini, e al tempo della detta cacciata andarono, e sono fuori." (*Ottimo.*) A lady of this family was the wife of Folco Portinari, and the mother of Beatrice.

† *Giuda: i.e.* i Giudi. "Questi son gente d' alto animo Ghibellini, e molto abbassati d' onore e di ricchezze e di persone; e quelli che v' erano al tempo dell' Autore, seguirono coi detti Cerchi la fuga." (*Ottimo.*)

‡ *Infangato:* "Questi sono bassi in onore e pochi in numero: sono Ghibellini disdegnosi." (*Ottimo.*)

crederebbe, che quelli della Pera fossono antichi? Io dico ch' elli son sî antichi, che una porta del primo circulo della cittade fu dinominata da loro; li quali vennero sî meno, che di loro non fu memoria." This postern gate was called Porta Peruzza, or Pieruzza, and in the quarto edition of Ricordano Malespini, *Storia Fiorentina*, edited by Vincenzo Follini, Florence, 1816, p. 263, note 18, it is suggested that the Peruzzi family came to live near that gate, and took their name from it. Benvenuto explicitly contradicts the assertion that this gate was called after the Peruzzi. Villani (iv, 13) says he knows the tradition "ma non l' affermo."

Villani and Benvenuto are both careful to point out that there were only four principal gates. Villani speaks of Porta Peruzza as "una postierla." Benvenuto says: "Et nota, quod haec porta non erat de principalibus. Habebat enim tunc Florentia quatuor portas magistras, scilicet, portam sancti Petri, portam juxta Duomum, portam sancti Pauli, portam sanctae Mariae. Aliae vero erant portae parvulae."

Five families are next grouped together. These, though not named by Dante, are the Pulci, the Nerli, the Gangalandi, the Giandonati, and the Della Bella, who are known (Villani, iv, 2) to have been knighted and ennobled by the *gran barone*, the Marquess Hugh of Brandenburg; and either from gratitude, or by his permission, quartered his arms with their own. Hugh was the Imperial Vicar for Otho III, and as he had richly endowed the Badia of Florence—which his mother Willia had founded—at his death on St. Thomas's Day, 1006, he was buried in that church,

and the anniversary of his death was ever afterwards observed with great honour. The representative of one of the above-mentioned five families, Giano della Bella, took part with the commons of Florence against the nobles, and Fraticelli says of him: "di nobile si fece popolano, e di ghibellino guelfo." In 1293 he procured the passing of the "Ordinances of Justice," by which thirty-seven Guelph families were for ever excluded from the *Signoria* of Florence. Giano incurred much odium by this course of action, and according to Villani (lib. viii, cap. 8) "he was condemned and banished for contumacy . . . and all his possessions confiscated, . . . whence great mischief accrued to our city, and chiefly to the people, for he was the most loyal and upright *popolano* and lover of public good of any man in Florence." Giano disguised the arms of Hugh of Brandenburg, quartered in his own, by surrounding them with a fringe of gold. (See Paget Toynbee, *Dante Dictionary*, 1898.)

Ciascun che della bella insegna porta
Del gran barone, il cui nome e il cui pregio
La festa di Tommaso riconforta,
Da esso ebbe milizia e privilegio;
Avvenga che col popol si raduni
Oggi colui che la fascia col fregio.*

Each one that bears the noble escutcheon of the great baron whose name and renown the feast of St. Thomas still commemorates, from him received knighthood and privilege, although that man (Giano della Bella) to-day unites himself to the populace, he, who encircles it (the escutcheon) with a border.

* *la fascia col fregio:* A border of gold was the only difference between the arms of Della Bella and those of the Marquess Hugh of Brandenburg.

After mentioning two more Guelph families of some importance in his time, but whose sun was set in Dante's time, Cacciaguida remarks that it was a bad day for them, when the Buondelmonti, driven into Florence after the destruction of their stronghold, the Castello Montebuoni, came to inhabit Borgo Santi Apostoli, where these two families had been residing up to then in peace and quiet.

Già eran * Gualterotti ed Importuni;
Ed ancor saria Borgo † più quïeto
Se di nuovi vicin fosser digiuni. 135

Already were flourishing the Gualterotti and Importuni; and a much quieter place would the Borgo be, if they (who were peaceable) had been exempt from new fellow-citizens (namely, the Buondelmonti).

Nothing can better illustrate the small size of the ancient circuit of Florence, than this mention of Borgo Santi Apostoli as the Borgo *par excellence.* It is now in the very heart of the city. There are many other streets bearing the name of *Borgo* now; Borgognissanti, Borgo de' Greci, Borgo a Pinti, Borgo San Frediano, etc., still in the city, but much further from the centre.

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* *Già eran*, et seq.: With *eran* we must understand the words "in pregio," *i.e.* "they were persons of consideration, were flourishing." On these two families, see Villani, iv, cap. 13: "In borgo santo Apostolo erano grandi Gualterotti ed Importuni, che oggi sono popolani." And in v, cap. 39: "Nel sesto di Borgo furono guelfi . . . la casa de' Gualterotti, e quella degl' Importuni." The *Ottimo* says there were very few members of the two families, nor were they held in great honour.

† *Ed ancor saria Borgo*, et seq.: "Dice l' Autore che 'l sesto, Chiamato *Borgo*, saria in più pace, se i Buondelmonti, li quali a tempo di messer Cacciaguida vennero alla cittade, non vi fossono venuti." (*Ottimo.*)

Cacciaguida now utters a bitter cry of lament at the discord brought into Florence by Buondelmonte dei Buondelmonti, who, by his faithless desertion of his affianced bride, a maiden of the noble, and up to then respected, house of the Amidei, and marrying one of the house of the Donati, occasioned his own assassination on the *Ponte Vecchio*, hard by the statue of Mars, at the hands of the outraged members of the Amidei family. This murder and the consequent discord that it brought about, was the origin of the Guelph and Ghibelline factions in Florence, and put an end to the joyous life of her citizens. Would to God, says Cacciaguida, that young Buondelmonte might have been drowned when fording the Ema in the Valdigrieve, and never have lived to come to Florence.

La casa * di che nacque il vostro fleto,
Per lo giusto disdegno † che v' ha morti,
E pose fine al vostro viver lieto,
Era onorata ‡ ed essa e suoi consorti.
O Buondelmonte, quanto mal fuggisti
Le nozze sue per gli altrui conforti ! §

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* *La casa :* The Amidei.

† *disdegno :* Indignation at the affront they had received. "E dice *per lo giusto disdegno*, però che li Amidei ebbero cagione manifesta di disdegnarsi, sì come più nobili, contra li Buondelmonti. E dice che pose fine al vivere lieto e pacifico della città, però che infino a quivi non aveva avuto divisioni nella cittade; ed ogni regno diviso in sè si dissolve." (*Ottimo.*)

‡ *Era onorata*, et seq. : "gli Amidei, onorevoli e nobili cittadini." (Villani, v, cap. 38.)

§ *gli altrui conforti :* It was Gualdrada, by some called Lapaccia, de' Donati, who instigated Buondelmonte to marry her daughter Ciulla instead of the daughter of the Amidei to whom he was affianced. The story is related by Villani (v, 38) and at great length in the *Pecorone* of Giovanni Fiorentino.

Molti sarebbon lieti che son tristi,
Se Dio t' avesse conceduto ad Ema *
La prima volta che a città venisti.
Ma conveniasi a quella pietra scema † 145
Che guarda il ponte, che Fiorenza fesse
Vittima nella sua pace postrema.

The house (the Amidei) from which your tears have had their birth, through its justifiable indignation which has been your destruction, and has put an end to your happy mode of living, was honoured (then) both itself and its kindred branches. O Buondelmonte, in how evil an hour didst thou flee from its nuptials through the instigation of another (namely, Gualdrada, the mother of the Donati damsel)! Many would be rejoicing who now are sorrowing, if God had surrendered thee to Ema, the first time that thou camest to the city. But it was fitting that hard by that mutilated stone which guards the bridge, Florence should immolate a victim at the latest hour of her peace.

A human sacrifice to the idol of the god of war was appropriate on the part of Florence, at a time when her peaceful days were coming to an end, and she was for evermore to have discord and civil war.

Cacciaguida concludes his long address, recalling with great pride the peaceable disposition of the noble families of his time, and bitterly denouncing

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* *conceduto ad Ema:* According to Buti, Buondelmonte was nearly drowned when fording the Ema; but as no other Commentator mentions the episode, Buti may have invented the tale from the above lines.

† *pietra scema:* "Alcuna idolatria si parea per li cittadini contenere in quella statua, che credeano che ogni mutamento ch' ella avesse, fosse segno di futuro mutamento della cittade. E dice *scema* però che rotta e corrosa per lo lungo stare che fece nell' acqua d' Arno, quando il ponte vecchio cadde, anni 1178 a dì 25 di Novembre, e fu riposta per li circustanti di Semifonte". (*Ottimo.*) See *Readings on the Inferno*, 2nd ed., vol. i, pp. 485-489 on *Inf.* xiii, 143-151.

two customs that the subsequent discords among the Tuscan populations had rendered prevalent; the one, that the victorious State used to dishonour the standard of the conquered State by dragging it in the dust, the other, that the Guelphs, after the expulsion of the Ghibellines, had altered the very arms of their native city.

Con queste genti, e con altre con esse,*
Vid' io Fiorenza in sì fatto riposo,
Che non avea cagion onde piangesse.
Con queste genti vid' io glorïoso
E giusto il popol suo tanto, che il giglio
Non era ad asta mai posto a ritroso,†
Nè per divisïon fatto vermiglio."

With these families, and others with them, beheld I Florence in such complete tranquillity that she had no occasion whereof to weep. With these families beheld I her population so glorious and just, that the Lily never had been placed reversed on the spear, nor through divisions transformed (from white) to gules."

The banner of Florence had never in those days been captured in battle, and reversed by the captors in sign of derision at its defeat. The old shield of Florence was a white lily on a red field; but, after the expulsion of the Ghibellines, the Guelphs changed it into a red lily upon a white field.

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* *altre con esse:* Scartazzini points out that although Villani (v, 39) records upwards of seventy illustrious Florentine families, Cacciaguida has not here mentioned even the half of them.

† *a ritroso:* "Hoc dicit, quia de more est victorum saepe pervertere insignia capta ab hostibus, ponendo caput hastae superius deorsum et pedem sursum. Quod tamen saepe factum est Florentiae tempore bellorum civilium; quia aliquando ghibellini expulsi capiebant insignia intraneorum, et subvertebant in opprobrium guelphorum, et e contrario." (Benvenuto.)

END OF CANTO XVI.

CANTO XVII.

SPHERE OF MARS (CONTINUED)—CACCIAGUIDA PREDICTS DANTE'S EXILE AND FUTURE CALAMITIES—EXHORTS HIM TO WRITE THE *COMMEDIA*.

CACCIAGUIDA is still in his former position at the foot of the Starry Cross, and Dante and Beatrice are still face to face with him.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

In Division I, from ver. 1 to ver. 30, Dante asks his ancestor to explain to him certain predictions that have been made to him during his passage through Hell and Purgatory.

In Division II, from ver. 31 to ver. 69, the predictions are interpreted to him by Cacciaguida.

In Division III, from ver. 70 to ver. 99, Dante learns from his ancestor the place of his refuge when he is exiled from Florence.

In Division IV, from ver. 100 to ver. 142, Dante asks Cacciaguida what he is to do in manifesting to the world all that he has seen in his vision. Cacciaguida enjoins him to tell the whole truth, regardless of the obloquy he may bring upon himself.

Division I.—Virgil had told Dante (*Inf.* x, 130, et seq.) that when he should be in the presence of the

beauteous eyes of Beatrice, he would have an interpretation of the obscure prediction of Farinata respecting his future life. Later on (in *Inf.* xv, 88) Dante, replying to Brunetto Latini, in words to the same effect, tells him that he, Dante, would take note of Ser Brunetto's predictions, and lay them up until a certain lady should interpret and amplify them. It seems then to Dante that the time for the revelation has now come. It had also been foretold to him (*Purg.* viii, 133-139; and xi, 139-141) that he was to be banished from Florence, that both the Guelph and Ghibelline factions would hunger after him, that he would have to wander about Italy, and that he would have personal reasons for still further extolling the Malaspina family. All this is obscure to him, and he observes that he felt like Phaëton, when he approached his mother, seeking to learn from her whether he was really the son of Apollo, Epaphus having insinuated the contrary.

Qual venne a Climenè, per accertarsi
Di ciò ch' avea incontro a sè udito,*
Quei ch' ancor fa li padri a' figli scarsi; †

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* *ciò ch' avea incontro a sè udito:* The story of Phaëton is told in Ovid, *Metam.* i, 748-779. See especially ll. 753-4, where Epaphus says to Phaëton:—

"matri . . . omnia demens
Credis, et es tumidus genitoris imagine falsi."

We read too, in ll. 762-764, how Phaëton implored his mother to tell him the truth about his paternity:—

"Dixit; et implicuit materno brachia collo:
Perque suum, Meropisque caput, taedasque sororum,
Traderet, oravit, veri sibi signa parentis."

† *scarsi:* Ariosto (*Orl. Fur.* x, st. 6) uses *scarse* in the same sense that Dante has used it here, namely, as expressing re-

Tale era io, e tale era sentito
E da Beatrice, e dalla santa lampa
Che pria per me avea mutato sito.

Like him (Phaëton) who came to Clymene to be made certain about that which he had heard against himself, he (Phaëton) who still makes fathers circumspect (in granting requests) to their sons; such was I, and such was I observed (to be) both by Beatrice, and by the saintly Lamp (Cacciaguida) which on my account had previously changed its place.

Cacciaguida had shot down like a meteor from the right arm to the foot of the Starry Cross (see *Par.* XV, 19-24).

The reply to Dante's unspoken doubt, and the interpretation thereof, are not actually uttered by Beatrice herself, but it is she who makes Cacciaguida her mouthpiece, after telling Dante that his inmost thoughts are perfectly well known both to herself and Cacciaguida, and she urges him to speak out fully and clearly the desire that is in his heart.

Per che mia donna:—"Manda fuor la vampa
Del tuo disio,"—mi disse,—"sì ch' ella esca
Segnata bene della interna stampa;*

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luctance, slowness to grant any request that has been made to one:—

"Siate a' prieghi ed a' pianti che vi fanno,
Per questo esempio, a credere più scarse.
Ben è felice, quel, donne mie care,
Ch' essere accorto all' altrui spese impare."

* *Segnata bene della interna stampa:* There are many variants of this line. The three following are the most important:—
Segnata bene della (dalla) eterna.
Segnata lieve della (dalla) interna.
Segnata lieve della (dalla) eterna.

Non perchè nostra conoscenza cresca
Per tuo parlare, ma perchè t' ausi *
A dir la sete, sì che l' uom ti mesca." †—

There are, however, many others. On all these see Dr. Moore, *Textual Criticism*, pp. 465, 466: "In spite of the great variety of readings here, the original can be determined without much difficulty, *viz.* 'Segnata bene della (or *dalla*) interna stampa.' A great many of the variants are due to mere blunders, the unintelligibility of which has given rise to further conjectural changes. Thus *bene* has been mistaken for *vene*, and that for *venne* or *viene* or *lieve* (since *v* or *u* and *n* are often scarcely distinguishable). *Venne* or *viene* would clearly give no sense, since the verb of the sentence is already provided by *esca*. Moreover, the interchange of *interna* (or *iterna*) and *eterna* is not uncommon, *e.g. inter alia*, *Par.* xxiii, 115. The sense of the true reading indicated is quite plain and appropriate, and is closely parallel to *Purg.* viii, 82:—

'Così dicea segnato della stampa
Nel suo aspetto di quel dritto zelo,' etc.

Compare also *Par.* xxiv, 57, where again some MSS. absurdly read *eterno*. The meaning is very well expressed by the paraphrase of Benvenuto: 'ut illa vampa bene exprimat extra interiorem conceptionem animi a qua recedit,' or by that of the *Ottimo:* 'segnata leggiermente del conio del tuo animo.' Buti alone reads *eterna*, explaining thus: 'cioè della carità dello Spirito Santo, che è eterno et è forma che dà essere ad ogni perfetta carità, sì come la stampa dà essere alla figura ch' ella fa.'"

* *t' ausi:* Compare *Inf.* xi, 11, 12:—

"Sì che s' ausi un poco prima il senso
Al tristo fiato."

† *mesca:* Some translators have fallen into the error of rendering *mescere*, "to mingle," as though it were the same as *mescolare*. *Mescere* is the common Tuscan word for "to pour out." A waiter bringing one a flask of Chianti wine at Florence, would ask, "Devo mescere?" "Shall I pour it out?" In like manner a milkman selling fresh cream will ask: "*Vuole panna montata, o panna da mescere?*" "Will you have whipped cream, or cream to pour out (*i.e.* in the liquid state)?" Benvenuto lays stress on the right meaning: "*ti mesca*, idest det tibi potum ad extinguendam sitim. Et nota quod est vocabulum tuscum; quando enim tuscus vult dicere: da bibere, dicit: misce." The ordinary word for "to pour," *out of* Tuscany, would be *versare*.

> Whereupon my Lady: "Send forth the flame of thy desire," said she to me, "in such wise that it may issue bearing a good impress of the seal within; not in order that our knowledge may be made greater by thy speaking, but in order that thou mayest accustom thyself to tell thy thirst, so that one may give thee drink (*lit.* pour out for thee)."

Benvenuto remarks that, although our necessities are known to God, yet it is fitting that we shall ask with our own lips, in order that our submission to Him may be complete and evident.

Dante tells Cacciaguida that he is aware that the spirits in Heaven can foresee all future events with the same clearness as that with which an intelligent human mind can see the simplest mathematical theorems.

> —"O cara piota * mia, che sì t' insusi
> Che, come veggion le terrene menti
> Non capere † in triangolo due ottusi, 15

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* *piota:* On this word Vincenzo Borghini, who died 1580, in *Varie lezioni della D.C.* (see Studi *sulla Divina Commedia*, *pubblicati* da Ottavio Gigli, Firenze, 1855, p. 278) remarks that "*piota* è voce ch' ancor si usa." Casini cautions his readers, however, that *piota* here is not the same as *ambo le piote* in *Inf.* xix, 120, where it means "feet," but that here *piota* signifies: "zolla erbosa, cespo," and in the present passage is used metaphorically in the sense of "origine, principio della mia stirpe," and we are to remember Cacciaguida's words to Dante in *Par.* xv, 89: "io fui la tua radice."

† *Non capere*, et seq.: "Per produrre un esempio della certezza e della invariabilità di una visione del nostro spirito, e spiegare così qual sia la natura della visione, che in Dio hanno gli Eletti delle cose contingenti future, il Poeta ricorre al noto teorema di geometria pel quale sappiamo che in ogni triangolo rettilineo la somma de' suoi angoli equivale a due retti; d' onde la conseguenza necessaria, che in esso non possono consistere due ottusi, altrimenti la somma di quelli sarebbe già maggiore di due retti." (Antonelli *ap.* Tommaséo.) Compare *De Mon.* i, 12, ll. 15, 16: "Triangulus habet tres [angulos] duobus rectis aequales."

Così vedi le cose contingenti *
Anzi che sieno in sè, mirando il punto
A cui tutti li tempi son presenti;
Mentre ch' io era a Virgilio congiunto
Su per lo monte che l' anime cura,
E discendendo nel mondo defunto,†
Dette mi fûr ‡ di mia vita futura
Parole gravi; avvenga ch' io mi senta
Ben tetragono ai colpi di ventura.§

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* *cose contingenti:* Compare *Par.* xiii, 63-66:—

". . . . più non fa che brevi contingenze;
E queste contingenze essere intendo
Le cose generate, che produce
Con seme, e senza seme il ciel movendo."

† *mondo defunto:* Compare *Inf.* viii, 84, 85:—

" Chi è costui, che senza morte
Va per lo regno della morta gente?"

‡ *Dette mi fûr*, et seq.: See on this Dr. Moore, *Studies in Dante*, p. 175: "There are many interesting points of resemblance between the foretellings of Dante's troubles by Brunetto Latini in *Inf.* xv, and by Cacciaguida in *Par.* xvii, with the similar warnings imparted to Æneas by the Sybil in *Æn.* vi. Note especially in each case (1) the encouraging assurance of ultimate success. Compare *Inf.* xv, 55, and *Par.* xvii, 65, 97-99, with *Æn.* vi, 95:—

'Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito,
Quam tua te fortuna sinet.'

Compare (2) the resigned and yet confident spirit with which the fateful warning is met. Compare too, *Inf.* xv, 94, and *Par.* xvii, 22-27, with *Æn.* vi, 103:—

'Non ulla laborum,
O virgo, nova mi facies inopinave surgit;
Omnia praecepi, atque animo mecum ante peregi.'"

§ *tetragono ai colpi di ventura:* See Dr. Moore again on this (*ibid.* p. 96): "It should be also noticed that there are of course many passages in which Aristotelian ideas and phrases are interwoven into the texture of Dante's language both in prose and verse, even when he is not explicitly quoting him; as for instance when . . . in *Par.* xvii, 24, he describes himself as *ben tetragono ai colpi della ventura*, we cannot mistake the tacit reference to *Nic. Eth.* i, x, 11 (1100 b. 21), especially when

Per che la voglia mia saria contenta
D' intender qual fortuna mi s' appressa ;
Chè saetta previsa * vien più lenta."—
Così diss' io a quella luce stessa
Che pria m' avea parlato, e come volle
Beatrice, fu la mia voglia confessa.

"O my beloved seed-plot, who art so uplifted, that even as earthly intellects perceive that two obtuse angles cannot be contained in a triangle, so thou, gazing on that Point (God) to Whom all periods of time are present, dost perceive contingent events ere in themselves they are; while I was in company of Virgil, up over the mountain that heals the souls, and while descending into the dead world, there were spoken to me words of grave import about my future life; although I feel myself right four-squared against the blows of destiny. Wherefore my will would be content to know what lot it is that is drawing near for me; because a shaft foreseen comes more slowly (*i.e.* inflicts less pain)." Thus spoke I to that self-same effulgence that had addressed me before, and, as Beatrice willed, my desire was made known.

Division II.—Cacciaguida answers Dante's questions with a directness that is fully in keeping with his sturdy character. He gives his descendant full warning of the evil times that are before him.

Nè per ambage,† in che la gente folle
Già s' inviscava,‡ pria che fosse anciso

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we remember that the words there occur in reference to a man's power of resisting 'the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune.'"

* *saetta previsa :* Casini says this exactly translates the Latin verse attributed to Ovid, but undiscoverable in his works :—

"Nam praevisa minus laedere tela solent."

† *Nè per ambage :* "cioè [non] per parole doppie e dubitative, piene d' involuzioni e di laberinti." (*Ottimo.*)

‡ *s' inviscava :* The more usual reading here is *s' invescava*, and we find this verb used in *Inf.* xiii, 55-57, where there can be

L' Agnel * di Dio che le peccata tolle,
Ma per chiare parole, e con preciso
Latin,† rispose quell' amor paterno,
Chiuso e parvente del suo proprio riso :

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no uncertainty (says Scartazzini) as to the reading because *inveschi*, l. 57, rhymes with *rinfreschi*, l. 53, and *m' adeschi*, l. 55 : —

" E il tronco : ' Sì con dolce dir m' adeschi,
Ch' io non posso tacere ; e voi non gravi
Perch' io un poco a ragionar m' inveschi.' "

Tommaséo (*Dizionario di Sinonimi*, p. 1138, no. 2538) distinguishes between the two verbs : " Notisi differenza tra *invischiare* [to ensnare with bird lime] e *invescare* [to allure]. Il secondo denota soltanto l' allettamento che trova l' animo nell' oggetto, sì che vi si trattien sopra con più o men pericolo di colpa o di danno o di noja propria o altrui. *Invescare* può avere altro senso innocente ; *invischiare*, no mai."

* *L' Agnel*, et seq. : This line is taken from *St. John* i, 29 (*Vulgate*) : " Ecce Agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccata mundi." Dante uses almost identically the same words in *Purg.* xvi, 18:—

" L' Agnel di Dio, che le peccata leva."

† *con preciso Latin :* This expression closely resembles our own " in plain English." We may take it for granted that *Latino* bears two significations in its use by Dante :—

(1) " Italian."
(2) " Language, diction."

In the present passage, I take it to mean the latter. It also is used adverbially with the sense of " clearly." In the sense of " Italian " compare *Inf.* xxix, 88 : " Dinne s' alcun Latino è tra costoro." Again, *De Vulgari Eloq.* i, 19, ll. 14, 15 : " Sic istud quod totius Italiae est, Latinum Vulgare vocatur." And *ibid.* 15, ll. 33-37 : " Ita si . . . sola municipalia Latinorum vulgaria comparando considerant, allubescentes concordamus cum illis." In the sense of " language, diction," see *Par.* xii, 143, 144 :—

" Mi mosse la infiammata cortesia
Di fra Tommaso, e il discreto latino."

In the sense of " clear, easy," compare *Par.* iii, 62, 63 :—

" Ma or m' aiuta ciò che tu mi dici,
Sì che raffigurar m' è più latino."

And *Conv.* ii, 3, ll. 1, 2 : " A più latinamente vedere la sentenza litterale," etc. The word " Italiano " was never used by Dante, but " Italico " and its variations are to be found in some places in the first Book of the *Convivio*. By *Latino* Dante means an Italian, and more probably one from the south of the river Po, while to all Italians north of that chain he usually applies the term *Lombardo*.

—"La contingenza,* che fuor del quaderno †
Della vostra materia non si stende,
Tutta è dipinta nel cospetto eterno.

Nor in equivocal words, with which the foolish people (*i.e.* the credulous pagans) used formerly to be ensnared, before was slain the Lamb of God that taketh away sins, but in clear words and in plain language, that loving fore-father (*lit.* paternal love) answered me, enshrined and yet made manifest in his own gladsome effulgence. "Contingent events,

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* *contingenza:* See Pietro di Dante: "Contingentia tota omnium rerum praesens est in conspectu Dei, quae in quaterno humanitatis non extenditur ad futurum." And the *Postillatore Cassinese:* "Non extenditur ultra terminum nostrae scientiae et cognitionis, quae licet praesens videri possit, futura autem non quidem sed conspectu divino tota patet." Compare also St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. xiv, art. 13): "Deus . . . cognoscit omnia contingentia, non solum prout sunt in suis causis, sed etiam prout unumquodque eorum est actu in se ipso. Et licet contingentia fiant in actu successive, non tamen Deus successive cognoscit contingentia, prout sunt in suo esse, sicut nos, sed simul; quia ejus cognitio mensuratur aeternitate, sicut etiam suum esse; aeternitas autem tota simul existens ambit totum tempus. Unde omnia quae sunt in tempore, *sunt Deo ab aeterno praesentia,* non solum ea ratione qua habet rationes rerum apud se praesentes, ut quidam dicunt, sed quia ejus intuitus fertur ab aeterno supra omnia, prout sunt in sua praesentialitate. Unde manifestum est *quod contingentia infallibiliter a Deo cognoscuntur, in quantum subduntur divino conspectui* secundum suam praesentialitatem, et tamen sunt futura contingentia, suis causis proximis comparata." Compare also *Par.* xiii, 63; and *Par.* xxxii, 52, 53:—

"Dentro all' ampiezza di questo reame
Casual punto non puote aver sito."

†*quaderno:* Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*) explains this word very clearly, and somewhat more tersely than the *Gran Dizionario:* "quaderno, lat. *quarternus:* un determinato numero di carte. Per *documento, registro, Purg.* xii, 105, dove è fatta allusione alla frode commessa verso il 1299 da alcuni officiali superiori di Firenze con falsificare i registri dei conti:

'ad etade
Ch' era sicuro il quaderno e la doga.'

Con ardita metafora Dante chiama *il quaderno della vostra materia, Par.* xvii, 37, l' insieme del mondo materiale."

which do not extend outside the volume of your material world, are all depicted in the Eternal Vision.

This means that all contingent beings and events, that is, all things derived from secondary causes, are seen in God, but are not for that reason rendered necessary. Man's freewill remains intact, although God foresees and predisposes everything. Moreover Divine prescience does not render necessary future events, because man still retains his free-will and liberty of action.

Necessità * però quindi non prende, 40
Se non come dal viso in che si specchia,
Nave che per corrente giù discende.

From thence (*i.e.* from the Eternal Vision) however they desire no necessity, any more than does from the eye, in which it is mirrored, a vessel that is going down the stream.

Haselfoot explains this well: "Contingency . . . has no place beyond this world. In Eternity, where there is no succession of time, all events are certain, and known. But God's foreknowledge of events no more necessitates them than the image on a spectator's retina, of a ship going down stream, causes the motion of the ship."

Dante's exile is now predicted. Cacciaguida likens:

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* *Necessità:* Compare Boëthius, *Cons. Phil.* lib. v, Pros. 4 "Sicut scientia praesentium rerum nihil his quae fiunt, ita praescientia futurorum nihil his quae ventura sunt necessitatis importat." And *ibid.* Pros. 6: "Fient igitur procul dubio cuncta quae futura Deus esse praenoscit, sed eorum quaedam de libero profisciscuntur arbitrio: quae quamvis eveniant existendo, tamen naturam propriam non amittunt, qua prius quam fierent etiam non evenire potuissent." The whole of the fifth book of Boëthius is intended to prove the point of Catholic doctrine touched upon here by Dante. Compare Milton, *Par. Lost*, iii, 117, 118:—

"If I foreknew,
Foreknowledge had no influence on their fault."

the unfounded charge of barratry that was the means of driving Dante from Florence, to the calumnies by which the depraved and infamous Phaedra caused her innocent stepson, Hippolytus, to be driven from Athens, on a false accusation of his having wished to seduce her.

Da indi,* sì come viene ad orecchia
Dolce armonia da organo, mi viene
A vista il tempo che ti s' apparecchia.
Qual si partì Ippolito d' Atene
Per la spietata e perfida noverca,
Tal di Fiorenza partir ti conviene.†

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* *Da indi* refers to the *cospetto eterno* (l. 39). On this see Benvenuto: "Sicut enim auris humana recipit dulcem sonum ab organo bene temperato, ita intellectus beatus videt dulciter eventum futurorum in illo organo temperatissimo, a quo emanat harmonia per diversas fistulas organales, scilicet novem ordines angelorum."

† *Qual si partì Ippolito . . . Tal di Fiorenza partir ti conviene:* The story of Hippolytus is told in Ovid, *Metam.* xv, 493, et seq., and the words in l. 504:

"*Immeritumque* pater projecit ab urbe,"

have a most appropriate parallel in Dante's words respecting his own banishment from Florence in *Epistle* iv (*heading*): "Exulanti Pistoriensi Florientinus exul *immeritus*, per tempora diuturna salutem et perpetuae caritatis ardorem." It was at the moment in which the faction of the *Neri*, by the help of Charles de Valois and Pope Boniface VIII, gained the ascendency in Florence, that Dante's condemnation and decree of banishment took place. According to Dino Compagni (*Cronica* ii, cap. xxv) he was at the time absent from Florence as one of the ambassadors sent to Rome by those of the Signoria who were of the party of the *Bianchi*. The first sentence passed upon him, 27 January, 1302, condemned him and also Palmiero Altovito, Lippo della Becca, and Orlanduccio Orlandi, to a fine of five thousand florins, to be paid in three days on pain of confiscation of their property, and to banishment for two years beyond the boundaries or frontiers of Tuscany. The alleged cause of this condemnation was an accusation of *baratteria*, or fraudulent administration of their office as *priori*, of having opposed the coming of Charles de Valois to Florence, and of having been promoters of the split into *Neri* and *Bianchi* of the citizens of Florence; the second sentence, on the 10th of March in the same

Questo si vuole, questo già si cerca,*
E tosto verrà fatto, a chi ciò pensa
Là dove Cristo tutto dì si merca.

From thence (*i.e.* from the Eternal Vision), even as comes to the ear the soft melody from an organ, there comes before mine eye the time that is being prepared for thee. As Hippolytus went forth from Athens through (the act of) his cruel and treacherous step-mother, so wilt thou have to go forth from Florence. This is resolved, and is even now being brought about, and soon will be effected by him (Corso de Donati) who is giving his mind to it in that place (Rome) where day by day Christ is being bought and sold.

It was at the instigation of Corso de' Donati, who was constantly at the Papal Court about that time, that Boniface VIII was induced to summon Charles de

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year, condemned Dante and fourteen other citizens to death as contumacious, and the following are the concluding words: "si quis praedictorum ullo tempore in fortiam dicti Comunis pervenerit, talis perveniens igne comburatur sic quod moriatur." Both these sentences in full will be found in the Vernon Dante, 3 vols. fol., London, 1862, vol. ii, pp. 41-44.

* *questo già si cerca*, et seq.: Recent researches into the inner history of Dante's time seem to show that Dante had earned the implacable hatred of Boniface VIII by the resolute opposition he had offered (while *Priore*) to the intrigues of Boniface who wished to become paramount in Florence. Readers should carefully study Bartoli, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, vol. v, cap. vi, and his appreciatory reference (p. 123) to the work of G. Levi, a pupil of Prof. Del Lungo, entitled *Bonifazio VIII e le sue relazioni col Comune di Firenze*, Roma, 1882. Bartoli concludes his most interesting chapter thus: "possiamo conchiudere in poche parole che nella parte Nera si cospirava per Bonifazio, e si chiedeva quindi il Valese [*Valois*], come suo rappresentante. Mentre nemici e di Bonifazio e di Carlo erano i Bianchi, nemici irreconciliabili, che tenevano fronte alle pretese papali, e le combattevano con tutte le armi di cui potevano disporre. Fra questi Bianchi era Dante, e, s' egli andò ambasciatore a Bonifazio nell' ottobre del 1301, come dice il Compagni, e come ripete il Bruni, quale dovesse essere l' animo suo verso il papa, e quale l' animo del papa verso di lui, si comprende."

Valois to Florence, and it was after the arrival of that prince that the *Bianchi* were driven into exile.

> La colpa* seguirà la parte offensa
> In grido, come suol; ma la vendetta
> Fia testimonio al ver che la dispensa.
>
> The blame will pursue (*i.e.* be imputed to) the injured party in the common cry, as is usual; but the vengeance shall bear witness to the (God of) truth Who dispenses it.

Benvenuto, after observing that the Justice of God, which is true and righteous, is the dispenser of retribution, remarks, that in the opinion of some, Dante was hoping the vengeance of God would have enabled him to return to his country, but this was not to be. Those however who assert this have no occasion to credit Dante with a falsehood which he never uttered, for he says nothing here about his return, only about retribution, and was no doubt indicating the death of

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* *La colpa*, et seq.: This is a Tuscan proverb—see Giusti's *Proverbi Toscani*, ed. Le Monnier, Florence, 1853, p. 69: "La colpa è sempre degli offesi," which the *Gran Dizionario* explains: "I deboli col danno hanno il torto." Dante was probably well acquainted with a passage in Boëthius, *Phil. Consol.* i, Pros. 4, ll. 148-151: "Hoc tantum dixerim ultimam esse adversae fortunae sarcinam, quod dum miseris aliquod crimen affingitur, quae perferunt meruisse creduntur." In *Convivio*, i, 3, ll. 32 et seq., Dante complains that he has been a wanderer in many lands, "mostrando contro a mia voglia la piaga della fortuna, che suole ingiustamente al piagato molte volte essere imputata." See Dr. Moore, *Studies in Dante*, pp. 287, 288, and compare *Ecclus.* xiii, 27, and Sallust, *Jug.* cap. xxiv: "expertus sum parum fidei miseris esse." *La parte offensa* was in all probability intended by Dante as an allusion to the *Bianchi*, to which faction he belonged. In *Inf.* vi, 65, 66, Ciacco predicts to him that

> "la parte selvaggia
> Caccerà l' altra con molta offensione."

Compare also *Inf.* v, 109:—

> "Da che io intesi quelle anime offense."

Corso de' Donati, already predicted in *Purg.* xxiv, 82-93.

The retribution that was to fall upon Florence is alluded to in *Inf.* xxvi, 1-12, and may be summed up in the following disasters that occurred in 1304, namely, the contests between the *Neri* and *Bianchi*, and, after the expulsion of the latter, the great fire that destroyed 1,900 houses; the fall of the Ponte alla Carraja and the drowning of a large number of citizens.

In the lines that now follow, the bitter sorrow of the heart-broken exile finds its vent in words that for pathos and beauty have never been surpassed. Dante touches upon the loss of his home and his family; the humiliation of being a dependent on others; and, above all, the uncongenial companionship of his fellow-exiles. He represents these misfortunes as being predicted to him by Cacciaguida.

Tu lascerai ogni cosa diletta* 55
Più caramente, e questo è quello strale
Che l'arco dello esilio pria saetta.
Tu proverai sì come sa di sale†

**ogni cosa diletta:* Some Commentators, in enumerating Dante's loved ones, omit to mention his wife, because she is not spoken of in the text, but I fully agree with Scartazzini's view, that for the same reason that Dante would not mention his own name except from necessity (*Purg.* xxx, 62, 63), so here he forbears from naming Gemma, because there was no necessity for him to do so. The same process of reasoning that argues that the omission of the wife's name was intentional, might apply with equal force to Dante's children or his friends.

†*sa di sale:* literally, "knows of salt," and the *Gran Dizionario*, s. v. *sale*, § 25, says that "*saper di sale* vale *saper d' amaro;* e si usa anche figurativamente per *Dispiacere*," and so here would signify: "is displeasing." In § xcix of *sapere* in the *Gran Dizionario* I find that the verb is also used "a modo di neutro anche impersonale, quanto al senso del sapore. *Cibo che sa d' amaro, Sa d' agro* . . . Prov. Tosc. 122:—

'Tutti i fiori non sanno di buono.'"

Lo pane altrui, e com' è duro calle
Lo scendere e il salir per l' altrui scale.* 60
E quel che più ti graverà le spalle
Sarà la compagnia malvagia e scempia †

It will be remembered too that in Latin the verb *sapio* means to taste of. The *Gran Dizionario* (s. v. *sale*, § 25) quotes a passage from a MS. romance entitled *Ciriffo Calvaneo e 'l Povero Avveduto*, which is in the Laurentian Library at Florence :—

"È tristo a quel che sua vivanda assaggia,
Che la bocca quel giorno cuocerassi,
E saprà dir com' ella sa di sale."

* *com' è duro calle Lo scendere e il salir per l' altrui scale:* Compare *Ecclus.* xxix, 24-28 : "For it is a miserable life to go from house to house : for where thou art a stranger, thou darest not open thy mouth. Thou shalt entertain, and feast, and have no thanks : moreover thou shalt hear bitter words. . . . These things are grievous to a man of understanding; the upbraiding of house-room, and reproaching of the lender." And *ibid.* xl, 28, 29 : "My Son, lead not a beggar's life; for better is it to die than to beg. The life of him that dependeth on another man's table is not to be counted for a life; for he polluteth himself with other men's meat : but a wise man well nurtured will beware thereof." Compare also Shakespeare, *King Richard II*, act iii, sc. 1, where Bolingbroke says :—

"Myself—a prince, by fortune of my birth;
Near to the king in blood; and near in love,
Till you did make him misinterpret me,—
Have stooped my neck under your injuries,
And sighed my English breath in foreign clouds,
Eating the bitter bread of banishment."

† *compagnia malvagia e scempia :* Casini says that both ancient and modern Commentators have too much neglected the historical illustration of this part of Cacciaguida's prophecy, but Prof. Del Lungo, in his *Esilio di Dante*, ii, 562 et seq., proves that, subsequently to the great proscription of 1302, the exiles made three different attempts to attack Florence, marching against it from the Mugello : the first was in the summer of 1302, the second in the spring of 1303, and the third in 1306. Dante, who after his exile had at once gone to join the chiefs of the *Bianchi*, was certainly a participator in, and probably one of the promoters of, the expedition, his name being registered among those of the principal *Bianchi* and Ghibelline leaders, in a document bearing the date of 8th June, 1302, executed in the Church of San Godenzo at the foot of the Apennines, in which the exiles promised to indemnify the Ubaldini for any damage

Con la qual tu cadrai in questa valle,*
Che tutta ingrata, tutta matta ed empia †
Si farà contro a te ; ‡ ma poco appresso 65

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their castle of Montaccenico might suffer in these hostilities. From the circumstance of the second expedition being commanded by Scarpetta degli Ordelaffi, with whom he was on terms of intimate friendship, it may be taken as very probable that Dante took part in that also. But those two expeditions having failed, it is more than likely that Dante then separated himself from the other exiles, as there is no evidence of his name being recorded in any of the numerous operations, both warlike and political, that took place between the second and third expeditions, nor in the final assembly of the *Bianchi* at Arezzo in 1307, from which, says Dino Compagni (*Cron.* iii, 17), "sconsolati si partirno . . . e mai si raunorno più."

**questa valle:* Benvenuto comments: "scilicet, exilii et miseriae." Casini agrees: "nell' infelicità dell' esilio." Scartazzini: "in questa miseria, la quale io ti predico." Some think *valle* refers to the Valley of the Arno, as in *Purg.* xiv, 30 :—

"Ben è che il nome di tal valle pera ;"

and *ibid.* 41 :—

"Gli abitator della misera valle," etc.

†*empia* with *matta* in this passage would seem to have the signification of "full of madness and fury ;" which is the meaning of *empiezza* as applied to Procne in *Purg.* xvii, 19. In *Inf.* x, 83, Farinata degli Uberti asks Dante to tell him why the Florentine people "è sì empio," against his family, which is equivalent to: "exhibits such savage hatred," etc. ; and in *Inf.* xxv, 122, "le lucerne empie" may be translated "cruel eyes." Impius also in Latin seems sometimes to mean much the same. Compare Horace, *Carm.* III, xi, 30-32 :—

"Impiae (nam quid potuere majus ?)
Impiae sponsos potuere duro
Perdere ferro."

Empio (Lat. *im-pius*) is the reverse of *pius*, also in reference to tenderness and kindness to relations and fellow-men, and is not, like "impious" with us, restricted to the gods. *Cf.* Ovid, *Metam.* viii, 477 : "Impietate pia est." So *empio* would be the reverse of *pio* in *both* its senses in Italian. Compare *Inf.* v, 117, and *ibid.* xxix, 36, in both of which *pio* signifies "compassionate."

‡ *Si farà contro a te :* On this *Ottimo*, which, as we before observed, is no mean authority on the historical questions of the time : "E dice, ch' essa si farà contra lui, la qual cosa divenne quando elli [Dante] sè oppose, che la detta Parte Bianca cacciata di Firenze, e già guerreggiante, non richiedesse li amici il verno

Ella, non tu, n' avrà rossa la tempia.
Di sua bestialitate il suo processo
Farà la prova, sì che a te fia bello
Averti fatta parte per te stesso.*

Thou wilt have to abandon everything beloved most tenderly, and that is the shaft which the bow of exile first lets fly (*i.e.* the first sorrow of exile). Thou wilt have to experience how bitter (*lit.* salt) tastes the bread of others, and what a wearisome pathway it is to have to go up and down other people's stairs. And what will lie heaviest on thy shoulders will be the evil and senseless companions with whom thou wilt fall in this vale (*i.e.* in the misery of exile), who all ungrateful, all full of madness and fury, will turn against thee: but in a little while afterwards, they, not thou, shall have their brow encrimsoned therefrom. Of their brutishness their conduct will furnish the proof, so that it will be well for thee to have made thee a party for thyself (by standing aloof from their squabbles).

Dante is evidently alluding here to the reverses of the exiled *Bianchi*, probably when their attack upon Florence was defeated at La Lastra in 1304.

Division III.—Cacciaguida begins by predicting that, at the Court of the Scaligeri, Dante shall find (in

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di gente [i.e. *should ask their friends for troops in the winter*] mostrando le ragioni del piccolo frutto; onde poi, venuta la state, non trovarono l' amico com' elli era disposto il verno; onde molto odio ed ira ne portarono a Dante; di che elli si partì da loro." According to the above account it would seem that Dante had advised his fellow-exiles to put off until the spring an expedition they wished to make in the winter, and that they then, having exceeded Dante's advice, and put it off until the summer, found their friends no longer in the same mind about assisting them, and hence their unjust indignation against Dante.

* *Averti fatta parte per te stesso:* I am indebted to Dr. Moore for the following illustration from Addison's *Cato*, act iv, sc. 4:—

"When vice prevails, and impious men bear sway,
The post of honour is a private station."

1303) munificent hospitality from Bartolommeo della Scala, who is spoken of as "the great Lombard." His open-handed generosity is so great, that, although the petition usually precedes the gift, Dante will find that Bartolommeo will bestow gifts upon him before being asked to do so.

Lo primo tuo rifugio * e il primo ostello
Sarà la cortesia del gran Lombardo,
Che in sulla scala porta il santo uccello,†
Che in te avrà sì benigno riguardo
Che del fare e del chieder, tra voi due,
Fia prima quel che tra gli altri è più tardo.

Thy first refuge and first abiding-place will be the courtesy of the great Lombard, who bears the holy bird upon the ladder, who will have for thee such kindly regard, that betwixt the two of you, in respect

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* *Lo primo tuo rifugio*, et seq.: In *Literature* (Feb. 19th, 1899) there is an interesting letter from Prof. J. Earle, of Oxford, who states that, happening to be making a vague survey of the *Paradiso* with a certain curiosity to verify the order, the motive of arrangement—in a word, the architecture—of a supreme work of art, and lighting upon this passage, he was struck with the thought that this is the central tercet of the Canto, which is the central Canto of the *Cantica*, and that consequently the compliment to the Prince of Verona is the very centre-piece of the *Paradiso*. "This observation appears," says Professor Earle, "to give the passage a vital relation to *Epistola*, x, which purports to be an epistolary dedication of the *Paradiso* to Can Grande, the genuineness of which, however, has been called in question. This tribute in the very core of the *Paradiso* will probably be allowed to have an important bearing upon the question, if not to settle it."

† *in sulla scala porta il santo uccello:* The arms of Bartolommeo were a golden ladder in a red field, surmounted by a black eagle. The ladder was the proper cognizance of the Scaligers, and the eagle the cognizance of the Imperial party. It is not known at what date they added the eagle to their arms, but Dante in this passage shows that they bore it before Can Grande became Imperial Vicar in 1311. Possibly Bartolommeo assumed the eagle on his marriage with Constance of Suabia in 1291. She was the daughter of Conrad of Antioch.

of performing and asking, that will be first which with others is last.

Cacciaguida then tells Dante that at the Court of Verona he will become acquainted with Bartolommeo's third brother, Can Grande, then only nine years of age, but destined afterwards to be so renowned for his warlike achievements and noble qualities. Some Commentators think that Can Grande is the personage referred to in the Allegory of the *Veltro* (*Inf.* i, 101-111), as the future saviour of prostrate Italy, who would purge her cities in succession of the presence of the Wolf, whoever the Wolf may represent. Dr. Moore, in his various works, speaks of Can Grande as the most commonly accepted signification of the *Veltro*, and that view is the one with which I am most in sympathy. For a long time most people thought that the *Veltro* (*Inf.* i) and the DXV (*Messo di Dio* in *Purg.* xxxiii) referred to one and the same person. But Dr. Moore, in his interesting essay, *The DXV Prophecy*, in *Studies in Dante*, Third Series, pp. 253-281, adduces the most cogent arguments in favour of the Emperor Henry VII of Luxembourg as the personage indicated by Dante as the *Messo di Dio* and the *DXV*.

Con lui vedrai colui * che impresso fue

* *colui:* Can Grande I della Scala, younger brother of Bartolommeo, was the third son of Alberto I. He was born on the 9th March, 1291, and married Giovanna, another daughter of Conrad of Antioch. In 1311 he was associated in the government of Verona with his brother Alboino I, and they jointly received from Henry VII the title of Imperial Vicars. After the death of Alboino in 1312, Can Grande held alone the sovereignty of Verona. He died at Treviso on the 22nd July, 1329. As we have before noticed, he was generally looked upon as the chosen vessel who would rehabilitate the fallen Ghibelline cause; and Dante undoubtedly held that view.

Nascendo sì da questa stella forte,
Che notabili fien l' opere sue.
Non se ne son le genti ancora accorte
Per la novella età ; chè pur nove anni
Son queste rote intorno di lui torte.

Together with him (the great Lombard) thou wilt see that one who at his birth received such impress from this valour-conferring star, that conspicuous will be his achievements. The nations have not yet become aware of him on account of his tender age; since for nine years only have these spheres made their orbit around him.

Cacciaguida predicts that, before the lapse of many years, Can Grande's noble character will display itself to the world, in haughty contempt for riches, and arduous energy in war. Benvenuto relates a sufficiently grotesque anecdote of Can Grande, which, as Casini observes, may be only a legend, but yet deserves attention as a thing that was in people's mouths in the time of Dante respecting Can Grande's indifference to wealth. Benvenuto says: "Vere autor in duobus verbis breviter colligit duo, quae reddiderunt hominem istum gloriosum, scilicet, magnificentia in sumptibus, et audacia in bello; quae duo fecerunt famosos multos dominos vitiosos, quorum aliquos ego novi: vide ergo quam commendabilis est virtus liberalitatis, quae aliquando tegit multitudinem vitiorum in homine. Est ergo sciendum, quod ista virtus praeluxit in isto puero. Nam dum pater ejus duxisset eum semel ad videndum magnum thesaurum, iste illico levatis pannis minxit super eum; ex quo omnes spectantes judicaverunt de ejus futura munificentia per istum contemptum pecuniarum."

Ma pria che il Guasco * l' alto Enrico inganni,
Parran faville della sua virtute
In non curar d' argento nè d' affanni.
Le sue magnificenze † conosciute
Saranno ancora sì, che i suoi nimici
Non ne potran tener le lingue mute.

But ere the Gascon (Pope Clement V) cheats the noble Henry (VII of Luxembourg), some sparkles of his virtue shall appear in his not caring either for money nor for toils. His magnificence shall yet be so widely known, that his enemies will not be able to keep their tongues silent about it.

The meaning of the above lines is that Can Grande's liberality and energy will have been displayed to the world before the year 1312, the year that Henry VII was crowned Emperor at Rome; and as we know from ll. 79-81 that in 1300, the date of Dante's vision, Can Grande was only nine years old, so will he, says Cac-

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* *Guasco:* Compare *Par.* xxvii, 58-60:—

"Del sangue nostro Caorsini e Guaschi
S' apparecchian di bere; o buon principio,
A che vil fine convien che tu caschi!"

and *Epist.* viii. (*Amico Florentino*), ll. 186-190:—"Et ut Vasconum opprobrium, qui tam dira cupidine conflagrantes Latinorum gloriam sibi usurpare contendunt, per saecula cuncta futura sit posteris in exemplum."

† *Le sue magnificenze:* We find similar praises to these in the opening lines of Dante's Epistle to Can Grande (*Epist.* x, ll. 1-20): "Inclyta vestrae Magnificentiae laus, quam fama vigi volitans disseminat, sic distrahit in diversa diversos, ut hos in spem suae prosperitatis attollat, hos exterminii dejiciat in terrorem. Hoc quidem praeconium, facta modernorum exsuperans, tamquam veri existentia latius arbitrabar aliquando superfluum. Verum ne diuturna me nimis incertitudo suspenderet . . . Veronam petii fidis oculis discursurus audita. Ibique magnalia vestra vidi, vidi beneficia simul et tetigi; et quemadmodum prius dictorum suspicabar excessum, sic posterius ipsa facta excessiva cognovi. Quo factum est, ut ex auditu solo cum quadam animi subjectione benevolus prius exstiterim; sic ex visu primordii et devotissimus et amicus."

ciaguida, exhibit these noble qualities before he is 21 years of age. Henry Count of Luxemburg was elected Emperor in 1308, he commenced his journey to Italy in 1310, when Can Grande was 19, but he then encountered strong opposition from Pope Clement V (Bertrand de Goth), notwithstanding the fact that that Pontiff had previously invited him to come to Italy, and had ostensibly supported him. Can Grande became Lord of Verona in the same year as the coronation of Henry VII, and afforded that monarch great assistance in suppressing the Guelphs of Lombardy, while Henry was passing through it on his way to Rome. (See Villani ix, cap. 32.)

Cacciaguida, observes Benvenuto, exhorts Dante to build his hopes on Can Grande, and rightly so, for in truth Can Grande paid Dante much honour, and conferred great benefits upon him, providing for his needs, and treating him with much kindness; and Dante takes this opportunity of expressing his gratitude.

A lui t' aspetta ed ai suoi benefici ;
Per lui fia trasmutata molta gente,
Cambiando condizion ricchi e mendici. 90

Put thy trust in him, and on his benefits; by him shall many people be transformed, both rich and mendicant exchanging conditions.

The best Commentators all agree that, although l. 88 is perfectly clear, this is by no means the case with ll. 89, 90. Even the *Ottimo*, said to have been a contemporary of Dante, writes: "Questo testo è chiaro in parte, e nel rimanente è sì oscuro, che non si può chiosare per parole ch' entro vi sono; ma per lo effetto potrebbe uomo dire, questo volle intendere.

Ma l' Autore lasciò così in sospeso a prospero ed avverso stato, apparecchiato di ricevere sospizione." Poletto observes that these two lines are essentially obscure, in that they seem to praise Can Grande for certain supposed great deeds of his of which we do not possess a trace of historical evidence ; l. 88 clearly refers to Dante's reception at the court of Can Grande. A. Bartoli (*Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, vol. v, p. 291 et seq.) is convinced that we have here an allusion to a second visit of Dante in the reign of Can Grande, his first being during the reign of Bartolommeo: "Non si può dubitare di un secondo soggiorno di Dante a Verona, presso Cangrande. Il verso 88 del canto xvii del *Paradiso: A lui t' aspetta ed a' suoi benefici*, allude a ciò senza dubbio. Confermerebbe la cosa anche l' epistola a Cane, se l' autenticità di essa fosse superiore ad ogni dubbio." But Bartoli disbelieves the authenticity of the *Quaestio de Aqua et Terra* and is not fully convinced as to the Epistle to Can Grande, in both of which Dante's visit to Verona is mentioned, the latter dating it 1320. The date of the first visit is so absolutely uncertain, that while Casini thinks we may agree with Bartoli in not doubting about there having been a second visit, still we had better confess at once that we have no *data* upon which to determine either the year or the duration of it. Troya (*Veltro allegorico*) thinks that, in the last two lines, Dante has with some ambiguity mingled gratitude for Can Grande's kindness to him, with censure for his ruthless sack of Vicenza on two occasions, and of other places as well.

Cacciaguida now, very much in the same way as

Carlo Martello had done in *Par.* ix, 4-6, tells Dante certain facts about Can Grande which he is not to repeat. Casini remarks that Dante, having conceived the greatest hopes of Can Grande, as the restorer of the Ghibelline name and power, foreshadows in this reticence the coming achievements of the future deliverer. This should make us believe that in Can Grande Dante saw the actuality of his vision of the *Veltro Liberatore.*

E porteraine scritto nella mente
Di lui, ma nol dirai: "—e disse cose
Incredibili a quei che fien presente.*
Poi giunse:—"Figlio, queste son le chiose
Di quel che ti fu detto; ecco le insidie
Che dietro a pochi giri† son nascose.
Non vo' però ch' a tuoi vicini invidie,
Poscia che s' infutura la tua vita
Vie più là che il punir di lor perfidie."—

And thou shalt bear (things) away of him written in thy memory, but shalt not reveal them:" and he (then) said things incredible (even) to those who shall be present (when they occur). Then he added: "My Son, these are the glosses (*i.e.* inter-

**fien presente:* This is an adverbial use of the adjective, of which there are other instances in the *Divina Commedia.* Compare *Inf.* xix, 12:—

"E quanto guisto tua virtù comparte!"

and *ibid.* l. 64:—

"Per che lo spirto tutto storse *i piedi;*"

and *Inf.* xi, 67, 68:—

"Maestro, assai chiaro procede
La tua ragione."

†*pochi giri:* Understand *delle sfere celesti.* This prediction of Dante's exile by Cacciaguida is of course supposed to have taken place in 1300, during the vernal equinox; we further know that the first edict decreeing Dante's condemnation took place in January, 1302.

pretations) of that which was told thee; these are the snares which are concealed behind a few revolutions (*i.e.* years). I will not, however, have thee envy thy fellow-citizens, seeing that thy life is to have a future that will long outlast the chastisement of their perfidies."

These words, amplified, imply: "Thou, by thy fame, shalt live, when not only thy fellow-citizens and their sins, but also the punishment of those sins, shall be things of the past." Benvenuto says that these things, which were hidden from Dante's eyes, all came to pass within three years.

Division IV.—A new doubt arises in the mind of Dante, on hearing the speech of Cacciaguida to the end, as to how much or how little he is to publish to the world, when he returns to it, about all the persons he has seen, and the sayings he has heard, in the three kingdoms of departed spirits.

Poi che tacendo si mostrò spedita
L' anima santa di metter la trama *
In quella tela ch' io le porsi ordita,
Io cominciai, come colui che brama,
Dubitando, consiglio da persona
Che vede,† e vuol dirittamente, ed ama:

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* *trama . . . tela:* Dante had presented to Cacciaguida the web in the shape of the predictions he sought to have explained, and Cacciaguida had, by filling in the details of the information, woven the cloth. Compare *Par.* iii, 94-96:—

"Così fec' io con atto e con parola,
Per apprender da lei qual fu la tela
Onde non trasse infino a co la spola."

† *vede:* Scartazzini notices that Dante, as is not unusual with him, distinguishes here between the intelligence and the will. "That man is a wise and faithful counsellor who discerns what is right, has the resolution to perform it, and gives love to those who ask it of him." (Luigi Venturi, *Simil. Dante*, p. 162, sim. 278.) "Quali sono le qualità di un [buon] consigliere?

—"Ben veggio, padre mio, sì come sprona
Lo tempo verso me, per colpo darmi
Tal ch' è più grave a chi più s' abbandona;
Per che di provedenza è buon ch' io m' armi,
Sì che se loco m' è tolto più caro,
Io non perdessi gli altri per miei carmi.*

So soon as by becoming silent the blessed spirit showed that it had finished inserting the woof into that web which I had laid before him ready warped for weaving, I began, like one who in perplexity desires counsel from a person who discerns, and wills uprightly, and loves (the petitioner): "Full well do I perceive, O my Father, how fast the time spurs on towards me, to deal me such a blow as is always heaviest to him who most gives himself up (to despair); for which reason it is good that I arm me with foresight, so that if the place most dear to me (Florence) be taken from me, I may not lose the others through my songs.

Dante means that, if he is to be exiled from Florence, he is unwilling, by too pungent writing in his poem about either of the two parties, to offend and turn against him any patrons who might otherwise be willing to offer him a refuge during his wanderings; and yet, if he be silent, he is afraid that his reputation as a strictly impartial chronicler may suffer. He is like the good mother, who, according to Benvenuto, said to her son: "My Son, go not to the Council, for if thou speakest things that are just, men will hate thee, while if thou speak what is unjust, the gods will hate thee."

Tre: *senno, onestà, amore.* Il senno vede; l' onestà vuole il diritto, il giusto; l' amore desidera e cura il nostro vantaggio." (Lorenzo Martini.)

* *per miei carmi:* "cioè versi pugnenti, che tratteranno singulari mali di ciascuna parte; e per conseguente sono odiati da molti, però che oggi la veritade partorisce odio." (*Ottimo.*)

Giù per lo mondo senza fine amaro,
E per lo monte, del cui bel cacume
Gli occhi della mia Donna mi levaro,
E poscia per lo ciel di lume in lume,
Ho io appreso quel che, s' io il ridico,
A molti fia sapor di forte agrume;*
E s' io al vero son timido amico,†
Temo di perder viver ‡ tra coloro
Che questo tempo chiameranno antico."—

**fia sapor di forte agrume:* The whole of the *Inferno* is full of matter that was sure to give the most bitter offence among the families of the shades whom Dante describes in such grotesque, humiliating, and degraded positions, and likely to arouse against him the vengeance of many high-placed personages, whose official positions would make their resentment no trifling subject of fear; in the *Purgatorio* he says enough of the leading monarchs, princes, and potentates, to suggest a doubt whether there would be any country where he could safely seek an asylum; in the *Paradiso* his invectives against the Franciscans and Dominicans, against the Anjou Princes, and the potentates of the *Marca Trivigiana* are so daringly outspoken, that his heart might well sink at the prospect of the consequences to himself in an age when it was anything but the custom to offer the other cheek to the smiter.

† *al vero . . . timido amico:* Compare *Conv.* iv, 8, ll. 135-144: "Ma tracotanza sarebbe l' essere reverente, se reverenza si potesse dire, perocchè in maggiore e in più vera irreverenza si caderebbe, cioè della natura e della verità, siccome di sotto si vedrà. Da questo fallo si guardò quello Maestro de' Filosofi, Aristotile, nel principio dell' *Etica*, quando dice: 'Se due sono gli amici, e l' uno è la verità, alla verità è da consentire.'" Compare also Dante's words in his Epistle to the Cardinals (*Epist.* viii), § 5, ll. 74-85: "Non ergo divitiarum, sed gratia Dei sum id quod sum, et 'zelus domus ejus me comedit.' Nam etiam in ore lactentium et infantium sonuit jam Deo placita veritas, et caecus natus veritatem confessus est, quam Pharisaei non modo tacebant, sed et maligne reflectere conabantur. His habeo persuasum quod audeo. Habeo praeter hoc praeceptorem Philosophum, qui cuncta moralia dogmatizans, amicus omnibus veritatem docuit praeferendam." Compare also *De Mon.* iii, 1, ll. 9-33.

‡ *viver:* Benvenuto, Vellutello, and Daniello, and most of the moderns read *vita*. But *viver* is supported by an over-

> Down below through the world of infinite bitterness (Hell), and over the mountain (of Purgatory) from whose fair summit the eyes of my Lady did lift me (up here), and since then through heaven from light to light (*i.e.* from planet to planet), have I learned that which, if I tell it again, to many will it be a savour of much disrelish; and, if I am a timid friend to truth, I fear to lose life (*i.e.* fame) among those who will call the present time ancient."

Cacciaguida replies, charging Dante to speak out the truth without fear or dissimulation. The truths he will have to utter *will* give offence to many whose consciences convict them, but Dante must speak nevertheless. His words will chiefly attack the great ones of the Earth, and to do that will, in future generations, cause him to be remembered as a high-souled and fearless Poet. He is to recollect that it was only the more distinguished and typical personages who, during his journeys in the three worlds of spirits, have been pointed out to him. Cacciaguida, in l. 91, had said to Dante "*ma nol dirai,*" but that only referred to the special vaticinations about Can Grande. It is Dante's whole Vision which Cacciaguida now commands him to make known to the world.

> La luce in che rideva * il mio tesoro,

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whelming majority of MSS.; the First Four Editions, Buti, Landino, and Scartazzini. The Oxford Dante also reads *viver*. Scartazzini says *viver* is used here as a noun, meaning "Renown." The *Ottimo* explains the passage well: "Se io sono timido amico alla veritade, temo di perdere il vivere tra coloro, che verranno dietro a questo tempo, il quale tempo egli chiameranno antico, per lo rispetto del loro presente; cioè temo di perdere fama e buona nominanza."

* *rideva:* "Le anime dei beati mandan guizzi [*flashes*] di luce più accesa a mostrare l' ardente loro desiderio di compiacere al Poeta, interrogate da lui. Idea significata da Dante con

Ch' io trovai lì, si fe' prima corrusca,*
Quale a raggio di sole specchio d' oro;
Indi rispose:—"Coscïenza fusca
O della propria o dell' altrui vergogna,
Pur † sentirà la tua parola brusca.
Ma nondimen, rimossa ogni menzogna,
Tutta tua visïon fa manifesta,
E lascia pur grattar dov' è la rogna; ‡

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forme sempre varie . . . Sopra [see *Purg.* xxxi, 122], del mistico Grifone, dice 'raggiava;' qui, del suo Cacciaguida, 'rideva.' Questi due verbi rendono con bella proprietà l' immagine che allo splendore dell' uno e dell' altro meglio si conveniva." (L. Venturi, *Simil. Dant.* pp. 90, 91, sim. 143.)

* *corrusca:* Compare *Purg.* xxxiii, 103, 104:—

"E più corrusco, e con più lenti passi,
Teneva il sole il cerchio di merigge."

See also *Conv.* iii, 8, ll. 97-100: "E che è *ridere*, se non una corruscazione della dilettazione dell' anima, cioè un lume apparente di fuori secondo che sta dentro." Compare also Virg. *Georg.* i, 233, 234:—

"Quinque tenent coelum zonae: quarum una corusco
Semper sole rubens, et torrida semper ab igni."

† *Pur:* This particle may either signify "only," with the sense, in this passage, "that conscience alone that is stained, &c. . . . will feel;" or, as I have translated it "indeed." If you ask an Italian peasant, for instance, if you may go through his gate to see a view, he will hospitably answer: "Entri pure!" "come in by all means." Or if you ask whether you may eat a bunch of grapes, he would say: "Mangi pure!" Scartazzini says that this latter sense of *pure* harmonizes far better with *ma nondimen,* in l. 127. We have the same word in the same sense three lines further down: "Let them scratch away." Compare Shakespeare, *Hamlet,* act iii, sc. 2:—

"Let the galled jade wince."

‡ *grattar dov' è la rogna:* Many Commentators have deplored that in this, as in other similar passages, Dante should have allowed himself to descend to such coarse expressions, and more especially here, as the words are put into the mouth of a blessed saint in Paradise. But on this Casini remarks: "Il modo dantesco, efficacissimo a esprimere la noncuranza per i lamenti interessati contro il poema, spiacque e spiace a molti retori, che non si stancano di piangere sulla sua trivialità e sconvenienza: ma è di quelli che rivelano pur sempre una grande potenza e vigoria di pensiero e di parola, che scusa la crudezza di questa e d' altre espressioni dantesche." (Cf. *Inf.* xxi, 139.)

Chè se la voce tua sarà molesta 130
Nel primo gusto, vital nutrimento
Lascerà poi quando sarà digesta.*

The lustre within which was smiling my treasure (*i.e.* my revered ancestor) whom I discovered there (*i.e.* in Mars), first became radiant, as does a golden mirror in a ray of sunshine; then he replied: "That conscience which is overcast either for its own or for another's shame will, indeed, feel thy saying to be harsh. But, nevertheless, laying aside all falsehood, do thou make manifest the whole of thy vision, and let them just scratch wherever is the itch; for, if thy voice shall be offensive in the first tasting, still it will leave behind it vital nourishment when it shall have been digested.

Benvenuto says that Dante was in some measure a prophet about himself; because (says Benvenuto) I have, as a matter of fact, seen many great lords, of whose predecessors Dante had spoken great evil in this book, who, notwithstanding, have the greatest affection for it, and take much delight in it; and though they may here and there have to blush a good deal about the things Dante says about their ancestors, yet in the long run they acknowledge their justice, and admit that Dante has, after all, only spoken the truth.

All through the *Commedia* we have noticed Dante's contempt for mediocrity or lukewarmness. That contempt is well expressed in *Inf.* iii, 49-51, where he represents Virgil as saying to him about the lukewarm: "The world will allow no mention of them;

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* *digesta:* Compare Boëthius, *Consol. Phil.* lib. iii, pr. 1: "Sensi, inquit, cum verba nostra tacitus attentusque rapiebas, eumque tuae mentis habitum vel expectavi, vel, quod est verius, ipsa perfeci. Talia sunt quibbe quae restant, ut degustata quidem mordeant, interius autem recepta dulcescant."

Mercy and Justice disdain them. Let us not speak of them, but look thou and pass on." The same ideas Dante now puts into the mouth of Cacciaguida, who tells him that in writing his book, only the great, the distinguished, and the noble are worthy of his pen.

Questo tuo grido farà come vento,*
Che le più alte cime più percote;
E ciò non fa d' onor poco argomento.
Però †ti son mostrate in queste rote,
Nel monte, e nella valle dolorosa,
Pur l' anime che son di fama note;‡
Chè l' animo di quel ch' ode non posa,
Nè ferma fede per esempio ch' haia §
La sua radice incognita e nascosa,
Nè per altro argomento che non paia."—

This proclamation of thine will do as doth a wind, which smites most fiercely upon the loftiest summits; and that (to thee) is no small proof of honour. For this reason there have been shown to thee,

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* *come vento:* This reading is supported by overwhelming MS. authority. Others read *come il vento.* Compare Horace, *Carm.* II. x, 9-12:—

"Saepius ventis agitatur ingens
Pinus; et celsae graviore casu
Decidunt turres; feriuntque summos
Fulgura montes;"

and Boëthius, *Consol. Philos.* i, Metr. 4, 9, 10:—

"Aut celsas soliti ferire turres
Ardentis via fulminis movebit."

† *Però:* For that very reason has Dante been shown those spirits worthy of notoriety, namely, that in his future writing he may strike at the great and powerful.

‡ *Pur l' anime . . . di fama note:* Here *pur* has the sense of *solamente.* "Those shades only," etc.

§ *ch' haia:* Compare *Inf.* xxi, 59, 60:—

" giù t' acquatta
Dopo uno scheggio che alcun schermo t' haia."

> within these revolving spheres (*lit.* wheels, *i.e.* in Paradise), upon the Mountain (*i.e.* in Purgatory), and in the vale of sorrow (*i.e.* in Hell), those spirits only who are known by fame; for the mind of him who hears rests not, nor confirms his belief by any example which has its root unknown and hidden, nor for any other proof that is not evident."

"Unknown root" means examples from obscure persons not known to fame.

END OF CANTO XVII.

CANTO XVIII.

SPHERE OF MARS (CONCLUDED)—JOSHUA AND OTHER GLORIOUS SOLDIERS OF THE FAITH.
ASCENT TO THE SIXTH HEAVEN—SPHERE OF JUPITER—THE JUST RULERS—THE IMPERIAL EAGLE—PAPAL AVARICE.

THE key-note of the latter half of the last Canto was the reprobation of those who opposed the Imperial dignity of Henry VII. Can Grande, the Imperial Vicar, and leader of the Ghibellines, was extolled, and Clement V was denounced. In the present Canto, and in the two that follow it, we have the glorification of the Roman Eagle, as the standard of the Empire and the symbol of the justice of God. The Imperial idea, be it remarked, had been touched upon in the persons of Justinian the Emperor and Cacciaguida a knight of the Empire.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

In the First Division, from ver. 1 to ver. 21, Dante describes how Beatrice, divining his thoughts, induces him to cast his burden upon God.

In the Second Division, from ver. 22 to ver. 51, Cacciaguida names to Dante some of the Blessed spirits who are in his company, and then vanishes out of his sight.

In the Third Division, from ver. 52 to ver. 114, Dante

describes his ascent into the Sphere of Jupiter, and how he saw the figure of an Eagle.

In the Fourth Division, from ver. 115 to ver. 136, Dante censures the Pastors of the Church, because they impede the just and proper secular rule of the Eagle of the Empire.

Division I.—After the conclusion of Cacciaguida's last words in the preceding Canto, there is a moment's profound silence, during which Cacciaguida is entirely re-absorbed in the Beatific Vision, while Dante meditates upon what he has just heard, to him both sweet and bitter. He is aroused by Beatrice, who begs him to change his thoughts. He gazes intently at her, and in that contemplation is comforted from his distress of mind.

Già si godeva solo del suo verbo *
Quello specchio † beato, ed io gustava
Lo mio, temprando col dolce l' acerbo ; ‡

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* *verbo :* All the old Commentators, except Buti, and the best of the moderns, agree that *verbo* must be taken to mean "pensiero, concetto." St. Thom. Aquin. (pars i, qu. xxxiv, art. 1) thus defines it : "Primo et principaliter interior mentis conceptus verbum dicitur." Biagioli on this : "Chiama *verbo* l' attuale pensiero di lui [Cacciaguida], ponendo il contenente per il contenuto, cioè la espressione per la cosa espressa, per esser la parola, per la quale il concetto s' esprime, come il luogo ove le idee si contengono."

† *specchio :* In the blessed spirits in heaven, the Glory of God is reflected as in a mirror. In *Par.* ix, 61-63, one of the Orders of Angels is called *specchi* :—

"Su sono specchi, voi dicete Troni,
Onde rifulge a noi Dio giudicante,
Sì che questi parlar ne paion buoni."

‡ *temprando col dolce l' acerbo :* "Temprando, come si fa un color più vivo con altro meno, ovvero un sugo amaro con un

E quella Donna ch' a Dio mi menava,
Disse:—"Muta pensier,* pensa ch' io sono
Presso a colui ch' ogni torto disgrava."—
Io mi rivolsi † all' amoroso suono
Del mio conforto,‡ e quale io allor vidi
Negli occhi santi amor, qui l' abbandono;
Non perch' io pur § del mio parlar diffidi,
Ma per la mente che non può reddire ||
Sopra sè tanto, s' altri non la guidi.¶

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dolce. E ti ricordi che, se molte delle cose dettegli gli sono nemiche, altre gli sono di gran conforto, siccome il piacer predettogli della vendetta; e sua fama insemprata." (Biagioli.)

* *Muta pensier:* Beatrice entreats Dante to lay aside the thought of vengeance on his enemies with which his mind is occupied, and rather to reflect that she herself, and Dante with her, is near unto that God, to Whom it appertaineth to alleviate every wrong, punishing the guilty, and rewarding the innocent. Compare (in the *Vulgate*) *Deut.* xxxii, 35: "Mea est ultio, et ego retribuam in tempore." And *Romans*, xii, 19: "Non vosmetipsos defendentes, charissimi, sed date locum irae; scriptum est enim: Mihi vindicta; ego retribuam, dicit Dominus."

† *rivolsi:* Compare *Purg.* v, 7:—
"Gli occhi rivolsi al suon di questo motto."

‡ *mio conforto:* Applies here to Beatrice. In *Purg.* iii, 22, it refers to Virgil:—
"E il mio conforto: 'Perchè pur diffidi?'"
and *ibid.* ix, 43:—
"Dallato m' era solo il mio conforto."

§ *Non . . . pur:* Compare *Par.* i, 5, 6:—
"Vidi cose che ridire
Nè sa, nè può chi di lassù discende."
See above note on *Pur*, at p. 29.

|| *reddire:* From the Latin *redire*, "to return." Compare *Par.* xi, 105:—
"Reddissi al frutto dell' italica erba;"
and *Purg.* i, 106:—
"Poscia non sia di qua vostra reddita."

¶ *s' altri non la guidi:* Compare *Inf.* xxvi, 22:—
"Perchè non corra che virtù nol guidi."

Already was that mirror of blessedness (*i.e.* Cacciaguida, who reflected the radiance of the Glory of God) rejoicing alone in his thoughts (*lit.* word), and I was tasting my own, tempering the sweet with the bitter; and that Lady who was leading me to God, said: "Change thy thought, bethink thee that I am near to Him Who lightens every burden." I turned me round at the loving tones of my consoler, and what I then saw of love in those saintly eyes, I here leave (in silence); not indeed because I am distrustful of my speech, but because memory is unable to return so far upon itself, if another guide it not.

As Dante gazes upon Beatrice, all the thoughts of vengeance upon his enemies are wiped out of his mind. She then encourages him to turn his attention once more to Cacciaguida.

Tanto * poss' io di quel punto ridire,
Che, rimirando lei, lo mio affetto
Libero fu da ogni altro disire.†
Fin che il piacere eterno, che diretto
Raggiava in Beatrice, dal bel viso ‡
Mi contentava col secondo aspetto,

* *Tanto* is equivalent to the Latin *tantum modo.*

† *disire.*, and *aspetto,:* Casini differs from this punctuation, which he reverses, placing a comma after *disire,* and a full stop after *aspetto,* thus agreeing with Brunone Bianchi, who had already expressed himself to the same effect. Biagioli punctuates the passage as the *Oxford Dante* does, which I follow, and he paraphrases the lines as follows: "*Di quel punto* di tempo *io posso ridire tanto,* quanto ora dirò, cioè *che,* io *rimirando lei, il mio affetto fu libero da ogni altro disire,* e fu così *fin che il piacere eterno, che diretto raggiava in Beatrice,* e che, riflettendosi *dal bel viso di lei, mi contentava col secondo aspetto, vincendo me col lume d' un sorriso, ella mi disse: Volgiti ed ascolta, perchè* la beatitudine del *paradiso è non pure negli occhi miei.*"

‡ *bel viso:* Casini warns his readers that "*bel viso* non è il volto, ma gli *occhi santi,* dai quali procedeva a Dante indirettamente (*secondo aspetto*) la luce divina, il *piacere eterno.*" *Secondo aspetto* means the reflected image.

Vincendo me col lume d' un sorriso,
Ella mi disse :—" Volgiti ed ascolta, 20
Chè non pur ne' miei occhi è Paradiso." *—

This much only can I recount of that moment, that on looking once more upon her, my affections were liberated from all other wish. While the Joy Eternal, that shone full upon Beatrice, from her lovely eyes was rendering me happy with its reflected (*lit.* second) aspect, she, vanquishing me with the radiance of a smile, said to me : " Turn thee and hearken ; for that not in my eyes alone is Paradise."

Benvenuto remarks that this is as though she would say : " Happiness does not only consist of divine science, but also in the contemplation of the examples of illustrious men, who, although they led secular lives in the world, yet performed brilliant deeds that enkindle the soul of a Christian man with love of that Faith, for which even unto death they strove, and shed their own blood."

Division II.—Dante is so absorbed in the contemplation of Beatrice, that he is not (as he usually would be) keenly desirous of being made acquainted with the other saintly inmates of this sphere. But he is aroused from his reverie by the words of Beatrice, and turns to Cacciaguida, who points out to him eight Warrior Saints. As each spirit is named, it descends from the arm of the Cross, and joins the group in which Dante is, at the foot. Cacciaguida then gets mingled among them, and, as he chants a soft hymn of praise, he gradually fades away from Dante's view.

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* *non pur ne' miei occhi è Paradiso :* " Quia non solum in contemplatione theologiae est felicitas et beatitudo, sed etiam in exemplis valentium virorum." (*Postillatore Caietani*, quoted by Scartazzini.)

Come si vede qui alcuna volta
L' affetto nella vista,* s' ello è tanto
Che da lui sia tutta l' anima tolta,
Così nel fiammeggiar del fulgor † santo,
A ch' io mi volsi, conobbi la voglia
In lui di ragionarmi ancora alquanto.

Even as here (on Earth) one sometimes notices the inclination in the eyes, if it be so great, that the whole soul is taken up by it, so, in the coruscation of that saintly effulgence (Cacciaguida) to whom I turned, I recognized in him the desire to converse with me a little longer.

L. Venturi (*Simil. Dant.*, p. 149, sim. 252) says of the above passage, that Cacciaguida, by his increased radiance, was demonstrating his earnest desire to exchange a few words more with Dante, in the same

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* *vista :* That by *vista* Dante meant "the eyes," is borne out by the following passage, *Conv.* iii, 8, ll. 80-90: "Dimostrasi [l' anima] negli *occhi* tanto manifesta, che conoscer si può la sua presente passione, chi bene la mira. Onde conciossiacosachè sei passioni, siano proprie dell' Anima umana, delle quali fa menzione il Filosofo nella sua *Rettorica* [cf. *Rhet.* ii, iv, vi, vii, viii, x, xi], cioè *grazia, zelo, misericordia, invidia, amore,* e *vergogna ;* di nulla di queste puote l' Anima essere passionata, che alla finestra degli occhi non vegna la sembianza, se per grande virtù dentro non si chiuda." We find the same idea expressed in *Purg.* xxviii, 44, 45:—

"S' io vo' credere ai sembianti,
Che soglion esser testimon dello core."

And Graziolo da Fiorenza, in *Poeti del Primo Secolo,* Florence, 1816, vol. ii, p. 381:—

"Gli occhi che son messaggi del core," etc.;

and Petrarch, part i, *Son.* xlviii:—

"Il cor negli occhi e nella fronte ho scritto."

† *fulgor:* Compare *Par.* x, 64, 65:—

"Io vidi più fulgor vivi e vincenti
Far di noi centro e di sè far corona;"

and *Par.* xxx, 61, 62:—

"E vidi lume in forma di riviera
Fulvido di fulgore."

way that a strong emotion, that absorbs every power of the mind, is manifested in the countenance, and more especially in the eyes. Cacciaguida accordingly addresses Dante.

Ei cominciò :—"In questa quinta soglia
Dell' arbore che vive della cima,
E frutta sempre,* e mai non perde foglia,
Spiriti son beati, che giù, prima
Che venissero al ciel, fûr di gran voce,†
Sì ch' ogni Musa ne sarebbe opima.‡
Però mira nei corni della croce ;
Quel ch' io or nomerò, lì farà l' atto
Che fa in nube il suo foco veloce."—

He began : "In this fifth resting-place of the tree (Heaven) that draws life from its summit (*i.e.* God) and perpetually bears fruit, and never sheds its leaves, there are blessed spirits who (in the world) below were of such mighty renown, that by them every Muse would be enriched (*i.e.* every poet would find in them abundant theme for his verse). Gaze therefore upon the horns of the Cross; he that I shall

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* *frutta sempre :* Compare *Ezek.* xlvii, 12: "And by the river upon the bank thereof, on this side and on that side, shall grow all trees for meat, whose leaf shall not fade, neither shall the fruit thereof be consumed ; it shall bring forth new fruit according to his months." Compare *Rev.* xxii, 2 : "In the midst of the street of it, and on either side of the river, was there the tree of life, which bare twelve manner of fruits, and yielded her fruit every month : and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations."

† *di gran voce :* Compare similar use of *voce* in *Purg.* xi, 103-105 :—

"Che voce avrai tu più, se vecchia scindi
Da te la carne, che se fossi morto
Innanzi che lasciassi il pappo e il dindi."

‡ *ogni Musa ne sarebbe opima :* That is, these names of bygone heroes would, any of them, afford to a poet (*Musa*) a subject worthy of the loftiest flight of poesy, and each poet would have rich materials for his song. Compare *Par.* xv, 26, where Virgil is styled *nostra maggior Musa.*

name will there do that which its own swift fire does in a cloud."

That is, each spirit upon being named, will shoot down from the horn to the foot of the Cross, like a flash of lightning.

In the above short speech Cacciaguida has likened Paradise to a tree, in which each Order of blessed spirits is like a distinct layer of branches; but with three differences, viz.: Trees on earth, (*a*) take life from their roots; (*b*) do not bear perpetual fruit; (*c*) shed their leaves every year.

The spirits of different warriors are now named. First, Joshua the son of Nun; after him Judas Maccabæus; then the Emperor Charlemagne; the paladin Orlando; William Count of Orange; Renouard the Moor; Godfrey de Bouillon; and Robert Guiscard.

Io vidi per la croce un lume tratto
Dal nomar Josuè,* com' ei si feo,
Nè mi fu noto il dir prima che il fatto.
Ed al nome dell' alto Maccabeo
Vidi moversi un altro roteando,
E letizia era ferza del paleo.†
Così per Carlo Magno e per Orlando ‡

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* *Josuè:* Joshua is mentioned as the Lawgiver condemning Achan in *Purg.* xx, 109-111:—

"Del folle Acan ciascun poi si ricorda,
Come furò le spoglie, sì che l' ira
'Di Josuè qui par ch' ancor lo morda.'"

† *ferza del paleo:* "La luce di Maccabeo girava allo intorno della croce a guisa di un palèo [*whipping top*], dalla letizia mossa, come il palèo è dalla sferza [*the whip*]." (Cornoldi.)

‡ *Carlo magno e . . . Orlando:* Compare *Inf.* xxxi, 16-18:—

"Dopo la dolorosa rotta, quando
Carlo Magno perdè la santa gesta,
Non sonò sì terribilmente Orlando."

Pulci (*Morg. Magg.* canto xxviii, st. 40) thinks Dante had good

Due ne seguì lo mio attento sguardo,
Com' occhio segue suo falcon * volando.
Poscia trasse Guglielmo,† e Rinoardo,‡
E il duca Gottifredi § la mia vista

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reason for his mention here of those heroes:—

"Io mi confido ancor molto qui a Dante,
Che non sanza cagion nel ciel su misse
Carlo ed Orlando in quelle croci sante,
Che come diligente intese e scrisse."

* *falcon:* Here we have another instance of Dante's love of falconry. Compare *Inf.* xvii, 127-132, *ibid.* xxii, 131; *Purg.* xix, 64-66; *Par.* xix, 34-36.

† *Guglielmo:* This is an early Count of Orange, known in history to have died a monk in 812. Casini says that a French legend represents him as the son of Aimeric of Narbonne, and the principal figure in a series of poems which make up the so-called *gesta di Guglielmo,* and refer to his many combats against the Saracens.

‡ *Rinoardo:* Renouard is said to have been the son of a Moorish king who, having been sold as a slave to the French, became a Christian, and entered the service of the above-named William of Orange; like whom, after a heroic career, he ended his days in a monastery. Of these two the *Ottimo* writes: "Guiglielmo fu conte d' Oringa in Proenza, figliulo d' Amerigo conte di Narbona; Renoardo fu uomo fortissimo, sì come dicono: li quali con li Saracini venuti d' Affrîca in Proenza, e massimamente col re Tedaldo, fecero grandissime battaglie per la fede cristiana, e grandissimi tagliamenti diedero e ricevettero; finalmente il detto conte Guiglielmo, a Beltrando suo nepote lasciato il contado d' Oringa, prese abito di monaco, e sua vita santamente al servigio di Dio finì; ed è chiamato *san Guiglielmo del Diserto.*"

§ *il duca Gottifredi:* The famous Godfrey de Bouillon, whose name is for ever celebrated by Tasso in the *Gerusalemme Liberata.* He was born in 1058, was created Duke of Lorraine by the emperor Henry IV, in 1089, when he had fought for the Empire; he was the chief in command of the First Crusade, and died King of Jerusalem in 1100. Petrarch (*Trionfo della Fama,* cap. ii) thus speaks of him:—

"Poi venia solo il buon duce Goffrido,
Che fe l' impresa santa e i passi giusti.
Questo, di ch' io mi sdegno e 'ndarno grido,
Fece in Gerusalem con le sue mani
Il mal guardato e già negletto nido."

Per quella croce, e Roberto Guiscardo.*

At the naming of Joshua I saw a light drawn through the Cross, as soon as it (the naming) took place, nor was the word known to me before the deed (*i.e.* in the same instant I saw the flash of the light and heard the naming of the spirit). And at the name of the great Maccabee I saw another move itself revolving, and gladness was the whip of the top (which made it spin). Likewise at (the naming of) Charlemagne and Orlando my attentive gaze followed two more of them, even as the eye follows one's own falcon in its flight. Then William, and Renouard, and Duke Godfrey attracted my eyes along that Cross, and Robert Guiscard.

Cacciaguida's departure is now briefly mentioned. He quits Dante's side, and among the shining throng is lost to view, though his voice is still heard pre-eminent amid the Heavenly choir.

Indi tra l' altre luci † mota e mista,
Mostrommí l' alma che m' avea parlato,
Qual era trai cantor del cielo artista.

Then moving away and mingling with the other effulgences, the soul which had talked with me showed me how great an artist he was among the singers of Heaven (*i.e.* in the first rank of them).

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* *Roberto Guiscardo:* The sixth of the twelve sons of the Baron Tancred de Hauteville of the diocese of Constance in Lower Normandy. He was born in 1015, went into Italy to join his brothers in 1047, was in 1058 created Duke of Apulia and Calabria, which states he freed from the Saracen hordes, and defended both his own dominions and those of the Church against Alexius Comnenus, the Eastern Emperor, and against Henry IV, Emperor of Germany. He died in 1085.

† *Indi tra l' altre luci*, etc.: "Qui rientrò il detto messer Cacciaguida nel proprio luogo nel quale mostrò in che grado elli era *tra costoro* [this is in some editions of the *Ottimo* read *trascorso*]; ma l'Autore non lo scrive, ma lascialo allo intelletto ed ingegno del lettore; quasi dica: l' altrui lingua il lodi, non la mia, però ch' è mia radice." (*Ottimo.*)

Benvenuto speaks with much contempt of the mistake made by some Commentators, who contended that Dante was in the above passage referring to David; in which contention Benvenuto says they are doubly wrong, first, because we shall find David mentioned further on in the Sphere of Jupiter, and secondly, because the present passage does not even admit of such an interpretation as theirs.

Division III.—Dante now describes how, as he gazed on the eyes of Beatrice, the increase of their lustre and her augmented beauty became to him indications that they were ascending into the next Heaven, the Sphere of Jupiter.

Io mi rivolsi dal mio destro lato
Per vedere in Beatrice il mio dovere,
O per parlare o per atto segnato,
E vidi le sue luci tanto mere,* 55
Tanto gioconde, che la sua sembianza

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* *mere:* The adjective *mero* primarily signifies "unmixed, pure, clear." In that sense we find it in the *Fiera* of Buonarroti the younger (*Giorn.* iii, act iv, sc. 4), where it is said of wine:—

"E lo bee annacquato, e lo bee mero," [i.e. *puro*].

Dante uses the word in the sense of "pure" in *Par.* ix, 112-114:—

"Tu vuoi saper chi è in questa lumiera,
Che qui appresso me così scintilla,
Come raggio di sole in acqua mera;"

and *Par.* xxx, 58-60:—

"E di novella vista mi raccesi
Tale che nulla luce è tanto mera,
Che gli occhi miei non si fosser difesi."

The *Gran Dizionario* says that, in the present passage, *mero* signifies "brilliant, resplendent." Compare the curious epigram of Martial, lib. iii, epig. 56, in which it is explained that wine at Ravenna is less valuable than good water; and epig. 57, *De Caupone*:—

"Callidus imposuit nuper mihi caupo Ravennae,
Cum peterem mixtum, vendidit ille merum."

Vinceva * gli altri e l' ultimo solere.†

I turned me round to my right hand side to discern in Beatrice my duty (*i.e.* to learn what I was to do), signified either by words or by gesture, and I beheld her eyes so clear, so full of gladness, that her countenance surpassed its other (usual appearances), as well as its more recent wont.

Her aspect had become not only more resplendent than in all the preceding spheres of Heaven, but even more so than it had been when they entered into Mars, or when so lately, as in l. 7 of the present Canto, when Dante said he had not the power to describe it.

Dante now relates that the increasing beauty of Beatrice had such an effect on himself, that he felt that he was increasing in virtue and power, and was passing into a loftier and wider sphere.

E come per sentir più dilettanza,‡
Bene operando l' uom di giorno in giorno
S' accorge che la sua virtute avanza ;
Sì m' accors' io che il mio girare intorno
Col cielo insieme avea cresciuto l' arco §

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* *Vinceva :* Compare *Purg.* xxxi, 82-84 :—

"Sotto suo velo, ed oltre la riviera
Vincer pareami più sè stessa antica,
Vincer che l' altre qui, quand' ella c'era."

† *solere* is here used as a substantive. Compare *Purg.* xxvii, 89, 90 :—

"Ma per quel poco vedev' io le stelle,
Di lor solere e più chiare e maggiori."

Compare the peculiar use in the plural of the substantival infinitives in *Purg.* xix, 76-78 :—

"O eletti di Dio, li cui soffriri
E giustizia e speranza fan men duri,
Drizzate noi verso gli alti saliri."

‡ *E come per sentir più dilettanza :* Compare Aristotle, *Ethics*, II, iii, 1 : "Σημεῖον δὲ δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι τῶν ἕξεων τὴν ἐπιγινομένην ἡδονὴν ἥ λύπην τοῖς ἔργοις," et seq.

§ *avea cresciuto l' arco ;* Compare *Par.* xxvii, 77-81 :

Veggendo quel miracol * più adorno.

And as by feeling greater delight, a man by doing good from day to day perceives that his virtue is waxing stronger; so perceived I that my circling round together with the Heaven, had increased its arc, seeing that Marvel (Beatrice) more adorned (*i.e.* increased in beauty).

Dante has just described his transit from the Sphere of Mars to that of Jupiter. Just as one sees a woman, from a red blush change into milk-like fairness, so Dante passing from the red planet of Mars into the Sphere of Jupiter, saw that the light had become white in place of red.

E quale è il trasmutare † in picciol varco

"'Adima
Il viso, e guarda come tu sei vôlto.'
Dall' ora ch' io avea guardato prima,
Io vidi mosso me per tutto l' arco
Che fa dal mezzo al fine il primo clima."

* *miracol:* Compare what Dante says of Beatrice in the *Vita Nuova*, § i, ll. 49-52: "E vedeala di sì nobili e laudabili portamenti, che certo di lei si potea dire quella parola del poeta Omero: 'Ella non pareva figliuola d' uomo mortale, ma di Dio.'" And *ibid.* § xxi, son. 11:—

"Quel ch' ella par quand' un poco sorride,
Non si può dicer, nè tener a mente,
Sì è nuovo miracolo gentile."

† *il trasmutare:* "Qui adduce uno esemplo a discrivere come si cambiò in colore di Marte a Giove; e dice: sì come in poco tempo, cioè *in eodem instanti*, lo volto della donna arrossato per alcuna vergogna s' imbianca . . . in così poco tempo negli occhi suoi apparve lo cambiamento predetto." (*Ottimo.*) Compare what Ovid (*Metam.* vi, 46-49) says of Arachne in presence of Minerva:—

"Sed tamen erubuit, subitusque invita notavit
Ora rubor, rursusque evanuit: ut solet aer
Purpureus fieri, cum primum Aurora movetur.
Et breve post tempus eandescere solis ab ortu."

Compare also Petrarch, *Trionfo d' Amore*, iii, ll. 154-157:—

"E so come in un punto si dilegua
E poi si sparge per le guance il sangue,
Se paura o vergogna avvien che 'l segua."

Di tempo in bianca donna, quando il volto
Suo si discarchi di vergogna il carco ;
Tal fu * negli occhi miei, quando fui vôlto,
Per lo candor della temprata stella
Sesta, che dentro a sè m' avea ricolto.

And as is the transformation in a little space (of time) in a fair woman, when her countenance is discharged of its load of bashfulness (*i.e.* as quickly as the blush passes away from her cheek and she resumes her natural colour) ; such was (the transformation) in my eyes when I turned round, by reason of the whiteness of the temperate star (Jupiter), the sixth which had received me within itself.

On entering the Sphere of Jupiter Dante encounters the spirits of those who rightly administered justice on earth. These spirits are all robed in dazzling light, as indeed have been all the spirits in Heaven from the Sphere of Mercury upwards, and as they circle round Dante with melodious song, the Divine Love that is in them is manifested by their forming themselves into certain luminous letters, which, as we shall read further on, make up the words *Diligite justitiam qui judicatis terram.* He likens their mode of rising into the air to that of a flock of wild-fowl.

Io vidi in quella giovïal facella † 70

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* *Tal fu . . . lo candor della temprata stella sesta :* Compare *Conv.* ii, 14, ll. 194-204 : " E il Cielo di *Giove* si può comparare alla *Geometria* . . . muove tra due cieli repugnanti alla sua buona temperanza, siccome quello di Marte, e quello di Saturno . . . Giove è stella di temperata complessione, in mezzo alla freddura di Saturno e del calore di Marte . . . Intra tutte le stella bianca si mostra, quasi argentata."

† *giovïal facella :* This is evidently a play of words, meaning either the Jovial torch, *i.e.* the radiance of the planet Jupiter, or, because that planet was supposed to be the cause of joy and gladness, "jovial, jocund, gladsome." The *Ottimo*, speaking of Jupiter, says : " è benevolo e bene temperato nelle sue qualitadi ;

Lo sfavillar dell' amor che lì era,
Segnare agli occhi miei nostra favella.*
E come augelli surti di riviera †
Quasi congratulando a lor pasture,
Fanno di sè or tonda or altra schiera, ‡
Sì dentro ai lumi sante creature
Volitando cantavano, e faciensi
Or D, or I, or L, in sue figure.
Prima cantando a sua nota moviensi;

---

onde gli antichi dissero, che la cagione della felicitade era nel circulo di Giove." We find *facella* used in the sense of "star" in *Purg.* viii, 89, 90:—

"A quelle tre facelle,
Di che il polo di qua tutto quanto arde."

* *nostra favella:* This probably means the Latin language, though some contend that the letters were in the Gothic characters. The *Gran Dizionario,* s. v. *favella,* § 3, has: "De' suoni in quant' hanno un significato e appartengono tutti a una lingua; e però della lingua stessa." Compare *Par.* xvi, 32, 33:—

"Così con voce più dolce e soave,
Ma non con questa moderna favella."

† *angelli surti di riviera:* Compare Lucan, *Phars.* v, 711-716:—

"Strymona sic gelidum, bruma pellente, relinquunt
Poturae, te, Nile, grues, primoque volatu
Effingunt varias, casu monstrante, figuras:
Mox ubi percussit tensas Notus altior alas,
Confusos temere immistae glomerantur in orbes."

‡ *or tonda or altra schiera:* Others read *or tonda or lunga schiera.* See Dr. Moore's remarks on this variant in *Textual Criticism,* pp. 466, 467, and Scartazzini's note on the passage in his Leipzig edition. He quotes from Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura,* ii, 344-348:—

"Et variae volucreis, laetantia quae loca aquarum
Concelebrant, circum ripas, fonteisque, lacusque,
Et quae pervolgant nemora avia pervolitanteis.
Horum unum quodvis generatim sumere perge;
Invenies tamen inter se differre figureis."

On *congratulando* Lamennais remarks: "Lorsqu'en effet les oiseaux de rivière aperçoivent le lieu où ils trouveront leur pâture, ils poussent des cris de joie, *quasi congratulando,* comme s'ils se congratulaient les uns les autres."

Poi, diventando l' un di questi segni, 80
Un poco s' arrestavano e taciensi.

I saw within that Jovial radiance (*lit.* torch) the sparkling of the Love that existed there delineate our speech (*i.e.* in the Roman language) to my eyes. And as birds uprisen from a river's bank, as though rejoicing together over their feeding-ground, make of themselves a troop now circular, now of some other shape, so within the lights the saintly creatures were flying to and fro as they sang, and in their figures grouped themselves now into a D, now into an I, now into an L. At first they moved to their own notes as they sang; afterward as they became (*i.e.* formed themselves into) one of those characters, they paused for a while, and kept silence.

The letters D, I, and L, are the beginning of the words *Diligite justitiam qui judicatis terram*, which is the opening sentence of the Book of *Wisdom*. The silent pause of the spirits was to allow time for Dante to read each letter. Casini thinks that every time the saintly band were about to form a letter, they performed a round in harmony with the notes of the chant (as in *Par.* x, 76); and then, after forming themselves into each letter, they stood still until time had been given for it to be distinguished.

Dante now addresses the Muse Calliope, whom he invoked before in *Purg.* i, 8, 9. He calls her the Pegasean goddess, because the Muses nourished Pegasus, from whose hoof-tramp sprang up Hippocrene, the fountain of the Muses.

O diva Pegasea,* che gl' ingegni

**diva Pegasea:* "Et ad praedicta narrandum invocat illam vivam fontanam Pegaseam, quam pro morali et politica scientia et philosophia figurat, quae ingenia facit in fama longaeva, et movet, idest disponit secum civitates et regna legibus et justitia." (Pietro di Dante.)

Fai gloriosi, e rendili longevi,*
Ed essi teco le cittadi e i regni,
Illustrami di te, sì ch' io rilevi† 85
Le lor figure com' io l' ho concette ;
Paia tua possa in questi versi brevi.‡

O Pegasean goddess, who makest glorious our wits, and renderest them long lived, and they with thine aid (*teco*) do cities and kingdoms, do thou illumine me with thyself, that I may set forth (*lit.* carve out in relief) their figures (*i.e.* the above-mentioned letters) after the manner in which I conceived them ; let thy power be displayed in these brief verses.

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* *rendili longevi :* The meaning is that the Muses immortalize the genius of men when it is of a high order. Compare *Purg.* xxi, 85 :—

"Col nome che più dura e più onora," etc.

† *rilevi :* The *Gran Dizionario* (s. v. *rilevare*) quotes this passage twice with different interpretations. In § 7 : "*Rilevare*, si dice anche il Cavar la parola dalla testura de' caratteri, pronunziarla dopo averla compitata [*after having spelt it*]." And in § 8 : "Per descrivere con parola ciò che si è veduto." Dante asks that he may now be able to set forth, and convey to others through the medium of words, that which he himself was taught in the Heaven of Jupiter.

‡ *versi brevi :* There seems to be some discrepancy among the Italian Commentators as to the meaning of *brevi*. According to Casini it signifies that the short Italian verse was insufficient, as compared with the longer Latin one, to express all Dante's thoughts. This Poletto combats, and thinks Dante means, that being restricted in the space at his disposal, he invokes the assistance of the Muses to aid him to describe the marvellous scene adequately in few words. He speaks of this restriction in *Purg.* xxxiii, 139-141 :—

"Ma perchè piene son tutte le carte
Ordite a questa Cantica seconda,
Non mi lascia più ir lo fren dell' arte."

Compare too *Inf.* iv, 145-147 :—

"Io non posso ritrar di tutti appieno ;
Perocchè sì mi caccia il lungo tema,
Che molte volte al fatto il dir vien meno."

And *Purg.* xxix, 97-99 :—

"A descriver lor forme più non spargo
Rime, lettor ; ch' altra spesa mi stringe
Tanto, che a questa non posso esser largo."

In the words *Diligite justitiam qui judicatis terram* there are 35 letters. To these 35 letters Dante now makes allusion.

Mostrârsi dunque in cinque volte sette
Vocali e consonanti; ed io notai
Le parti sì come mi parver dette.

They (the characters) showed themselves in five times seven vowels and consonants; and I took note of the (several) parts as they seemed to me to be expressed.

First Dante saw the single letters, then the syllables, then the words. He noted each as it formed itself.

Diligite iustitiam, primai *
Fur verbo e nome di tutto il dipinto;
Qui iudicatis terram, fur sezzai.†
Poscia nell' M del vocabol quinto
Rimasero ordinate, sì che Giove
Pareva argento lì d' oro distinto.
E vidi scendere altre luci dove
Era il colmo dell' M, e lì quetarsi
Cantando, credo, il ben ch' a sè le move.

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* *primai:* Understand *vocaboli*, governing *primai* and *sezzai*. The word *primaio* for *primo* occurs frequently among early Italian writers. Compare *Par.* xxvi, 100, 101:—

"E similmente l'anima primaia
Mi facea trasparer;"

and *Inf.* v, 1, 2:—

"Così discesi del cerchio primaio
Giù nel secondo."

The order of the sentence is thus: "I vocaboli *diligite justitiam, furono verbo e nome primai di tutto il dipinto;* e i vocaboli, *qui iudicatis terram, furono sezzai* [*i.e.* the last]." (Biagioli.)

† *sezzai: Sezzo*, and *sezzaio*, both signifying the last, are like *primaio*, frequently to be found among the early writers. Compare *Inf.* vii, 130:—

"Venimmo al piè d' una torre al dassezzo."

Sezzo is derived from the Latin *secus, sequius.*

> *Diligite justitiam*, (these) were the first verb and noun of all that was delineated; *qui judicatis terram*, were the last. Then on the M of the fifth word (*i.e.* "*terram*") they stayed, so arranged that Jupiter seemed in that place like silver inlaid with gold. And I saw other lights descend to where the summit of the M was, and repose there, singing, I believe, the Excellence that draws them to Itself.

Scartazzini observes that we are not told *from whence* these other blessed spirits descended, and we must suppose that they had come down from the Empyrean, to which all the Blessed ones belong, only that they would seem to show themselves only in those Spheres whose influence had moulded their character on earth. "(Dante) intese li regi e l' imperatori del mondo, che sono stati nel mondo sopra li altri e governatoli co' la justitia" (Buti).

Dante now sees the spirits, whose movements are exceedingly rapid, combine themselves into a new shape, which is that of the Eagle, the symbol of Imperial Justice; probably, thinks Scartazzini, to signify that the human race can only obtain real Justice by seeking it in the system of an universal Monarchy. The lines that follow are extremely difficult to interpret, but it is so generally agreed that they are best expounded by the late Duke of Sermoneta, that I translate his words from his essay *Di una più precisa dichiarazione intorno ad un passo nella Divina Commedia*, in a work of his, which he gave me a year or two before his death, entitled *Tre Chiose nella Divina Commedia* da Michelangelo Caetani, 2da edizione, Roma, 1876, pp. 59-61: "In this passage we must remember that the characters used by Dante in writing were of the form in general use in the thirteenth century,

and we must get a clear apprehension of the shape of this 'M,' which was undoubtedly formed as in Fig. 1. By this figure one can easily understand how Dante came to think how he might utilize this 'M,' to turn it, after some slight alterations, into an Eagle, which would thereafter afford him a vast supply of new material for the continuation of his poem. But just because this passage of the *Divina Commedia* requires figures to illustrate it, and some precision of drawing to demonstrate how naturally and easily the transformation of the 'M' into an Eagle could be effected, and because it is therefore requisite to recur to the art of the thirteenth century for the forms of the characters, for that reason it has happened that Commentators, by not being exact enough in ascertaining the precise shape of the letters, have not well understood the simplicity and the appropriateness of this ingenious conception. And to lay hold of the full force of this passage of the *Divina Commedia*, it is necessary to picture to oneself that, while the 'M' still remained stationary in the shape indicated in Fig. 1, Dante saw other Blessed Effulgences descend upon what was the summit, or culminating point, of that 'M,' and rest upon that spot (see ll. 97, 98) in the manner indicated in Fig. 2. Dante goes on to describe how after the fashion of innumerable sparks, which fly out when two burning brands are struck together, he saw more than a thousand Effulgences

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

rise up, and ascend, some more, some less, until each being in repose in its allotted place, he recognized that the totality of these new Effulgences had come to represent the head and the neck of an Eagle. To put the finishing and perfecting touch to this figure of the Eagle, he says that that other host of Blessed spirits, which had been the first to arrive and place itself upon the summit of the 'M,' and which at first had seemed content to form itself into the shape of a lily (*ingigliarsi*) upon the top of the 'M' (see Fig. 2), so soon as the second host had formed themselves into the head and neck of the Eagle, then this first host in its turn with a very slight movement followed out the imprint (*seguitò la imprenta*), that is, completed the design, by joining together, and drawing in close between the neck of the Eagle and the summit of the 'M' as is here represented (Fig. 3). The error which got introduced into the Commentaries that undertake to explain the metamorphosis of the 'M' into the Eagle, is due to all of them having blindly followed Buti's somewhat vague explanation, which was one of the earliest known, and which neither gave a true idea of the figure, or a correct interpretation of the verb *ingigliarsi*, but explained it thus: *Che contenta pareva d'ingigliarsi all' emme, cioè che prima parevano stare contenti d'esser corona formata di gigli in sull' emme*, etc. And one can see that that is a false conception, for the simple reason that there is not in this passage any indication that would imply a *corona*, given by Dante's words, or, still less, required by the sense, in the relation of the

FIG. 3.

easy transmutation of the 'M' into an Eagle; nor indeed can the gladness of the Blessed Ones in their *ingigliarsi* be possibly made to express *coronamento*. The *Dizionario della Crusca*, following the first interpretation given by Buti, defined the verb *ingigliare* as *fiorir di gigli;* and in that way entirely misconceived that which Dante wished to signify by this verb of his created by him expressly for this occasion. The precise interpretation of this verb, and of this passage is, that the first of the two bands of Blessed Ones, which, in adjusting itself upon the top of the 'M,' *parve contenta d' ingigliarsi all' emme*, so long as it retained that semblance, seemed content to form itself into *a* lily in conjunction with the 'M'; because the Blessed Spirits who first lighted upon that spot formed with the 'M' the figure of a lily, of the same shape as that of the XIIIth century design indicated above in Fig. 2. In this passage Dante created the verb *ingigliarsi*, to signify *divenir giglio*, as in many other places he created verbs of a similar nature, to explain some of his bold conceptions, with that incomparable force and brevity that peculiarly belonged to his lofty genius, which trod paths that were entirely new, and never even attempted by any other writer either before or after him. In such wise did he say *imbestiare* for *farsi bestia*, *imborgare* for *divenir borgo*, *indracarsi* for *farsi come drago*, and many other similar words which it is not requisite to mention."

Poi, come nel percoter dei ciocchi arsi* 100

** ciocchi arsi:* *Ciocco* is a log cut for firewood. "Ceppo da ardere." (*Gran Dizionario.*) A Tuscan proverb (Giusti, *Proverbi*, p. 301) says:—

Surgono innumerabili faville,
Onde gli stolti sogliono augurarsi,*
Risurger parver quindi più di mille
Luci, e salir quali assai e quai poco,
Sì come il Sol che l' accende sortille;
E quïetata ciascuna in suo loco,
La testa e il collo d' un' aquila vidi
Rappresentare a quel distinto foco.†
Quei che dipinge lì non ha chi il guidi,
Ma esso guida, e da lui si rammenta ‡
Quella virtù ch' è forma per li nidi.§

"Acqua cheta non mena ciocchi;
Se gli mena gli mena grossi."

Venturi (*Simil. Dant.* p. 50, sim. 75) explains this well: "*Arsi:* meglio che *Accesi*, o *Ardenti*, perchè esprime consumati già in gran parte dal fuoco, onde sprigionano, percossi, maggior copia di faville."

* *augurarsi:* Lana describes the ancient superstition, not, it is said, even yet wholly eradicated, of people deducing auguries from sparks: "Qui adduce per esemplo che sì come molte volte i stolti stando appresso il fuoco, fregano su l' arso de' ciocchi per la quale fricazione molte faville apparno, ed elli s' agurano dicendo: *cotanti agnelli, cotanti porcelli, cotante migliara di fiorini d' oro, e così passano tempo.*" [N.B.—The spelling is Lana's.] The *Ottimo's* description is very similar.

† *distinto foco:* Trissino explains this: "Sembra che il *distinto foco* sia appunto lo stesso che *l' argento distinto* del v. 96 di questo canto, volendo dinotarci il Poeta che la figura del M. passò in quella dell' aquila" [*a quel* stands for *da quel*]. We must remember that the first band of Blessed Spirits formed the "M." The second band flying all over the figure caused a blurr of radiance, but when they were stilled in their posts, Dante then saw the head and neck of an eagle, inlaid, as it were, in fire, replacing or concealing the top of the "M." And this new semblance stood out all the more clear when seen against the milky whiteness of the background of the Sphere of Jupiter.

‡ *si rammenta*, et seq.: In this very difficult passage we must understand that *Rammentarsi* has a special meaning here, analogous, says the *Gran Dizionario*, to *si chiami* in *Purg.* vi, 123, and meaning "to be acknowledged as proceeding from." See *Gran Dizionario*, s. v. *rammentare*, § ix.

§ *li nidi* are probably mentioned because God's "painter's hand" has just been employed in fashioning the head and neck

L' altra beatitudo, che contenta
Pareva prima d' ingigliarsi all' emme,
Con poco moto seguitò la imprenta.

Afterwards, as on the striking of burning logs, innumerable sparks fly up, from which the foolish are wont to draw auguries, so from there (*i.e.* from the top of the "M") there seemed to rise up more than a thousand lights, and to ascend, some high up, and others less so, even as the Sun that enkindles them has allotted to them; and as each settled down in its (appointed) place, I saw the head and the neck of an Eagle represented by that inlaid fire. He who paints there has no one to guide Him, but He Himself guides, and from Him is equally recognized as coming that power which causes also the building of nests. The other blessed troop, who had at first seemed well content to form themselves into a lily on the top of the M, with a slight movement followed out the imprint (*i.e.* completed the formation of the shape of the Eagle).

Division IV.—Dante now turns his thoughts down to earth. The image of the Eagle of Heaven re-

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of an eagle, and the usual place where He fashions little birds is their nest. The point of the allusion is, that, no matter how fashioned, both this Eagle and earthly eagles are fashioned by God. Here (in Paradise) the guidance of God is almost direct; upon earth it is mediate. The meaning of this passage is as if the text ran thus: "Vidi rappresentare la testa e il collo d' un' aquila a quel distinto foco. Quei che dipinge (cioè che crea oggetti visibili) lì, non ha chi il guidi, ma esso (solo) guida. D' altra parte, però, esso solo guida anche in terra (sebbene non tanto direttamente); poichè quella stessa virtù (cioè l'istinto) ch' è causa formale dei nidi (ove nascono normalmente gli uccellini) deriva da lui." And the principal meaning, of course, remains embodied in the assertion which has always been understood, that from God comes all power, action, and life Line 111, in short, is simply a paraphrase for "le leggi della natura;" only, this form of paraphrase has been chosen rather than another, because the subject in hand is the Eagle.

awakens in his mind the idea of a universal Monarchy, in which alone justice can flourish, for, as he has already said, in *De Mon.* i, 11, ll. 10, 11, "Justitia potissima est solum sub Monarchia." He invokes the beneficent influence of Jupiter on earth, and the intercession of the Blessed Just in the Sixth Heaven, and concludes with an invective against the Pope, censuring his incontinent avarice, and the abuse of that power that ought most to make him circumspect and righteous on the consecrated throne of St. Peter.

O dolce stella, quali e quante gemme
Mi dimostraro che nostra giustizia
Effetto sia del ciel che tu ingemme! *
Per ch' io prego la Mente,† in che s' inizia
Tuo moto e tua virtute, che rimiri
Ond' esce ‡ il fummo che il tuo raggio vizia;

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* *ingemme:* Compare *Par.* xv, 22-24:—

"Nè si partì la gemma dal suo nastro,
Ma per la lista radïal trascorse,
Che parve foco retro ad alabastro."

"Dice l' Autore: O dolce stella di Giove, quali e quante anime in te situate in quella figura dell' aguglia che di sè fecero ed in quel verso *Diligite*, etc., mi dimostrarono che la giustizia, che tra li mortali si fa per li rettori, sia effetto della tua influenza!" (*Ottimo.*)

† *la Mente:* That is, God, Who giveth thee motion and the power of influencing Justice on Earth. Compare *Par.* xix, 52-54:—

"Dunque nostra veduta, che conviene
Essere alcun dei raggi della mente
Di che tutte le cose son ripiene," etc.;

and *Par.* xxvii, 109-111:—

"E questo cielo non ha altro dove
Che la mente divina, in che s' accende
L' amor che il volge e la virtù ch' ei piove."

‡ *Ond' esce*, etc.: This refers to the Papal Court, which Dante looked upon as the main cause of the moral and civil corruption then prevalent, which corruption extinguished Justice, the very foundation of righteous living. Compare *Par.* xix, 106 et seq.; and *Purg.* xvi, 97-114, too long to quote here.

Sì ch' un' altra fïata omai s' adiri
Del comperare e vender dentro al templo,*
Che si murò di sangue e di martiri.

O gentle star, what and how many gems (*i.e.* spirits) demonstrated to me that our justice (on earth) is the effect of that heaven (the Sphere of Jupiter) which thou ingemmest (*i.e.* which thou adornest like a gem)! Therefore I pray the Mind, wherein thy motion and thy power take their origin, that He will look down and see whence comes the smoke which vitiates thy rays; so that a second time now His wrath may be kindled at the buying and selling within that Temple, whose walls were built up with blood and with martyrdoms (*i.e.* the death of Christ and the sufferings of the martyrs).

There are two alternative readings here, namely, *murò di sangue*, which I adopt, and which is moreover adopted by nearly all the early Commentators, who refer *sangue* to Christ, and *martiri* to the early Christians. The language of Benvenuto may be taken as a sample: "sancto sanguine Christi et aliorum sanctorum martyrum." The other reading *murò di segni* [miracles] has a very considerable numerical preponderance of MS. authority. Dr. Moore (*Textual Criticism*, pp. 467-470) makes the following remarks: "Looking at the whole context, we shall, I think, judge *sangue* to be much the more appropriate. Dante is denouncing the deadness of feeling and heartlessness of those who employ that spiritual edifice which it cost so much to build up—nothing less than the death of Christ and the sufferings of so many martyrs—merely for the purpose of avarice and traffic.

* *Del comperare e vender dentro al templo:* See the account in all four Gospels of our Lord's wrath against those who bought and sold in the Temple.

The reproach is conceived in the spirit of *Lam.* i, 12: 'Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by? [only that deliberate trafficking is worse than merely *passing by*] behold and see if there be any sorrow like unto My sorrow.' Compare also perhaps the appeal of 1 *Pet.* i, 18, 19: 'Forasmuch as ye know that ye were not redeemed with corruptible things, as silver and gold . . . . but with the precious blood of Christ.' If this be the point, the reference to miracles [*segni*] seems out of place, and certainly would much weaken the sting of such a reproach.* . . . . . The following further points may be borrowed from Scartazzini's note: He urges (1) that *segni* is not used by Dante elsewhere in the sense of miracles; (2) that there seems an obvious reference to *Acts* xx, 28, 'the Church of God which He hath purchased with His own blood;' (3) that the building up of the Church by miracles is a 'concetto, nè biblico, nè patristico, nè scolastico.'"

Dante now addresses himself directly to the Blessed Spirits who form the Eagle, and implores them to pray to God that the Princes of the Earth may not go astray after the evil example offered by the Popes, who make their war, not with the sword, but by the weapons of Excommunications and Interdicts.

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* Dr. Moore adds that we have a precisely similar appeal (reading *sangue*) in *Par.* xxvii, 40-45:—

"Non fu la sposa di CRISTO allevata,
Del *sangue* mio, di Lin, di quel di Cleto,
Per essere ad acquisto d' oro usata;
Ma per acquisto d' esto viver lieto
E Sisto e Pio e Calisto ed Urbano
Sparser lo *sangue* dopo molto fleto."

"Here (adds Dr. Moore) we have distinctly both *sangue* and *martiri*, and again set in contrast with the avarice of later times."

O milizia del ciel,* cu' io contemplo,
Adora per color † che sono in terra
Tutti sviati dietro al malo esempio.‡
Già si solea con le spade far guerra;
Ma or si fa togliendo or qui or quivi
Lo pan che il pio padre a nessun serra.

O soldiery of Heaven (*i.e.* Blessed Spirits of the Sphere of Jupiter), on whom I gaze, offer your prayers for those who are on earth all gone astray after an evil example (of the unrighteous Head of the Church). Formerly it was the custom to wage war with the swords; but it (the war) is now waged by taking away, now here, now there, the (spiritual) bread which the pitying Father denies to none.

Dante concludes the Canto with a denunciation of an unnamed personage, as to whose identity Commentators differ. Lana, the *Ottimo*, Pietro di Dante, Benvenuto, Buti, Landino, and Vellutello think that Dante is apostrophizing all ecclesiastics in general. The *Codice Cassinese*, Daniello, Bianchi, and Andreoli deem the censure to be addressed to Popes in general;

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* *milizia del ciel:* Compare *Par.* xxx, 43-45:—
"Qui vederai l' una e l' altra milizia
Di Paradiso, e l' una in quegli aspetti
Che tu vedrai all' ultima giustizia;"
and *Par.* xxxi, 1, 2:—
"In forma dunque di candida rosa
Mi si mostrava la milizia santa."

† *Adora per color: Adorare* is used in the sense of *pregare*, as in *Purg.* v, 70-72:—
"Che tu mi sie de' tuoi preghi cortese
In Fano sì, che ben per me s' adori,
Perch' io possa purgar le gravi offese."

‡ *sviati dietro al malo esempio:* Compare *Purg.* viii, 131:—
". . . perchè il capo reo lo mondo torca."
Compare also *Purg.* xvi, 100-102:—
"Per che la gente, che sua guida vede
Pure a quel ben ferire ond' ell' è ghiotta,
Di quel si pasce, e più oltre non chiede."

and this is the view I adopt; Venturi, Biagioli, Costa, and Cesari believe the reference is to Boniface VIII; Lombardi, Tommaséo, and others to Clement V. The view taken by Scartazzini and Casini is that the Pope indicated is John XXII, of Cahors, who was elected Pope in 1316, and died in 1334, whose pontificate was a never-ending sequence of excommunications and re-communications for the object of extorting money, so that it might well be said of him that he wrote his edicts for the sole object of being paid for revoking them. I follow the advice of Dr. Moore, and take "*ma tu*" to refer to "the Pope generally."

Ma tu, che sol per cancellare scrivi, 130
Pensa che Pietro e Paolo,* che moriro
Per la vigna che guasti, ancor son vivi.

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* *Pietro e Paolo:* "Si noti in bocca al poeta la forma normale e latina dei nomi degli apostoli: in bocca del papa invece, il nomignolo volgare [*the popular nicknames*] di Pescatore all' uno, di Polo all' altro: antitesi assai bella, che fa vedere la noncuranza del papa per i primi apostoli della Chiesa." (Casini.) See also Scartazzini's note in the Leipzig Commentary, and Dr. Moore, *Textual Criticism*, p. 470, where, alluding to the fact that a very few read *Polo* here to make it harmonize with *Polo* in l. 136, he writes: "The very fact of the reading *Polo* in this line being all but non-existent among the vast number of MSS., whereas, had it been original, the recurrence of the form in l. 136 would have protected it from alteration, or at least from all but universal alteration, seems quite fatal to it. The general tendency is to the assimilation of forms, as we have often seen, and this has been probably the principle operating here with those who read *Polo*. Moreover, the fine irony implied by the adoption of the regular forms *Pietro* and *Paolo* in this line in Dante's own mouth, and the substitution of the familiar and colloquial *Polo* side by side with the rather commonplace *Pescator* for *Pietro*, in the mouth of his imaginary respondent in l. 136, fully explains the purpose of maintaining the difference of forms. Besides I think it might be added that there is a marked flippancy and want of respect in the reference to John the Baptist also, both in the terms of that reference—he who by

Ben puoi tu dire:—"I' ho fermo il disiro
Sì a colui che volle viver solo,
E che per salti fu tratto al martiro,
Ch' io non conosco il Pescator nè Polo."—

But thou, who writest only in order to erase, bethink thee that Peter and Paul, who died for the sake of the vineyard that thou art devastating, are yet alive. Well canst thou say: "I have so fervent a longing for him (St. John the Baptist) who willed to live alone, and who for (because of) dancing was dragged to martyrdom, that I know neither the Fisherman nor Paul."

The love of the florins upon which the image of St. John the Baptist was stamped * prevented the Pope from caring for, or even knowing, the Holy Apostles.

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dancing was led to martyrdom; and still more in its purport, since the Pope's alleged exclusive and absorbing devotion to that Saint merely stands for love of the money (florins) which bore his image."

* Compare *Par.* ix, 130-132:—

"Produce e spande il maledetto fiore
Ch' ha disviate le pecore e gli agni,
Perocchè fatto ha lupo del pastore."

END OF CANTO XVIII.

CANTO XIX.

SPHERE OF JUPITER (CONTINUED)—THE VOICE OF THE CELESTIAL EAGLE—THE JUSTICE OF GOD—THE NECESSITY OF FAITH TO SALVATION—FAITH WITHOUT WORKS—EVIL CHRISTIAN RULERS.

BIAGIOLI remarks of this Canto, which to some small minds, he says, may appear to be merely a series of theological and moral discussions, that it is one of the most beautiful in the Divine Comedy; inasmuch as, besides the magnificence of its conceptions, opinions, and the loftiness and exquisite finish of its style, so many are the poetic beauties which light it up, that truly one may say of it, both as a whole, and in its details, that here the ring is fitted to the finger (*giustamente ci si risponde dall' anello al dito. Par.* xxxii, 57).

Benvenuto divides it into four parts.

In the First Division, from ver. 1 to ver. 21, Dante describes how the Eagle, whose body is formed of a multitude of spirits, begins to speak with one single voice.

In the Second Division, from ver. 22 to ver. 66, Dante asks the Eagle whether one who, being ignorant of the Catholic Faith, and yet being a righteous liver, can be saved without Baptism.

In the Third Division, from ver. 67 to ver. 99, the

Eagle replies to Dante's question according to the Scholastic opinions of the age.

In the Fourth Division, from ver. 100 to ver. 148, Dante contrasts those Christian kings whose rule was unjust in his time with those whose spirits help to make up the Eagle.

Division I.—The combination of Effulgences described in the last Canto only showed us the head and neck of an Eagle, grafted, as it were, upon the summit of the "M" into which they had formed themselves. We are now to assume that a still further transformation has taken place, for this Canto displays to us the complete Eagle with outspread wings.

Parea dinanzi a me con l' ali aperte
La bella image, che nel dolce frui *
Liete facevan † l' anime conserte.

**frui*: "est enim *frui* proprie aeternorum sicut *uti* terrenorum, quamvis saepe abutamur isto vocabulo, ut scribit Augustinus de Civitate Dei." (Benvenuto.) Landino says that the beautiful image of the Eagle is an emblem of Justice, and it was formed by the intertwining or thronging together of blessed spirits, rejoicing in the Divine Beatitude which their joy in God gave them. Compare St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, 2dæ, qu. xi, art. 3): "Quod est simpliciter ultimum, in quo aliquis delectatur sicut in ultimo fine, hoc proprie dicitur fructus et ea proprie dicitur aliquis frui."

† *Liete facevan*, etc.: The sentence must be constructed thus: "*La bella image* dell' aquila, *che le anime conserte liete nella* loro *dolce fruizione facevan, parea dinanzi a me con l' ale aperte.*" Observe, *liete* must not be taken with *facevan*, but with *nel dolce frui*. Others read *faceva*, which quite alters the sense. Benvenuto gives and explains both readings: "Et dicit: *che*, idest, quam imaginem, *l' anime conserte*, idest, contextae et colligatae in ordine in ipso signo, *liete nel dolce frui*, idest, fruitione summi boni, sive participatione beatitudinis, *facieno*, idest, con-

Parea ciascuna rubinetto, in cui
Raggio di sole ardesse sì acceso,
Che ne' miei occhi rifrangesse * lui.

Before me with outspread wings appeared the beautiful image which the interwoven souls, joyful in their sweet fruition, were forming. Each one of them appeared a little ruby in which a ray of the Sun was glowing with such intensity that it reflected back him (the Sun) into my eyes.

Antonelli remarks that Dante uses *rifrangere* for *riflettere*, and rightly; for in the reflection of brilliant rays we have a manifest distortion of their direction. This reflection was so enkindled and full, that not only did it seem to reflect back the Sun's image, but the very Sun itself.

E quel che mi convien ritrar testeso,†
Non portò voce mai,‡ nè scrisse inchiostro,
Nè fu per fantasia giammai compreso;

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stituebant: vel secundum aliam literam, *che*, idest quae imago, *facea l' anime conserte*, scilicet quae componebant ipsam aquilam, *liete nel dolce frui*."

* *rifrangesse:* Compare *Purg.* xv, 22, 23:—

"Così mi parve da luce rifratta
Ivi dinanzi a me esser percosso;"

and *Par.* ii, 93:—

"Per esser lì rifratto più a retro."

† *testeso:* This is a remarkable word. It is an adverb of time with the three significations of (α) time past; (β) time present; and (γ) time future. See *Gran Dizionario* under paragraphs (1), (2) and (3). For time past, compare *Purg.* xxi, 113, 114:—

"... perchè la tua faccia testeso
Un lampeggiar di riso dimostrommi?"

For time present, with the signification of "now," the present passage is given as an instance; and for time future, compare Boccaccio, *Decam.* Giorn. ix, nov. 4: "Egli dee venire qui testeso uno, che ha pegno il mio farsetto per trentotto soldi."

‡ *Non portò voce mai:* Compare 1 *Cor.* ii, 9 (*Vulgate*): "Oculus non vidit, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit, quae praeparavit Deus iis qui diligunt illum."

Ch' io vidi, ed anco udii * parlar lo rostro,
E sonar nella voce ed—"Io" e "Mio,"
Quand' era nel concetto "Noi" e "Nostro."—

And that which it now becomes my duty to relate, never before did voice report, nor ink write, nor was by imagination even comprehended; for I saw, and moreover I heard, the beak talk, and with its voice utter both "I" and "My," when in conception it was "We" and "Our."

The form of the Eagle was made up of multitudes of spirits, and the voice that issued from the beak was the utterance of them all together thinking of themselves collectively, as though they would say *We* and *Our;* but such was the complete harmony of their ideas, and such the unison of their voices, that the sound when uttered from the beak came forth as a single voice speaking of the whole as a single being, so that instead of *We* and *Our*, the words were *I* and *My*. The speech was of one, the sentiment of many.

E cominciò :—"Per esser giusto e pio
Son io qui esaltato a quella gloria,
Che non si lascia vincere † a disio;
Ed in terra lasciai la mia memoria

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* *vidi, ed anco udii:* Compare *Rev.* viii, 13 (*Vulgate*): "Et vidi, et audivi vocem unius aquilae volantis per medium coeli, dicentis voce magnâ," etc. (In the Authorized Version the words are "I . . . heard an angel flying," instead of "the voice of an eagle.")

† *vincere:* I have not here followed Scartazzini and Casini, who take *vincere* in the sense of *guadagnare.* The large majority of Commentators explain it as *superare,* and with the meaning that that glory is superior to every human desire. Scartazzini instances *vincere il palio*, "to win the prize," etc. Both he and Casini quote the opinion of Perazzini, *In Dantis Com. correct. et adnotat.* ed. Scolari, p. 155. Brunone Bianchi is decidedly opposed to this interpretation, though Costa prefers it, and Fraticelli is undecided. In the doubt, I take that which is the more simple, and understand it *superare.*

Sì fatta, che le genti lì malvage
Commendan lei, ma non seguon la storia."*—
Così un sol calor † di molte brage
Si fa sentir, come di molti amori
Usciva solo un suon di quella image.

And it began : " Through being just and good am I exalted unto that glory (of Paradise) which does not allow itself to be surpassed by any desire of ours (but rather itself surpasses all our desires) ; and upon Earth I left my memory of such a sort, that the evil-minded people (even) there commend it, but do not follow up its story." Thus does one single heat among many glowing embers make itself felt, as from many loves (*i.e.* from many spirits inflamed with Heavenly Love) there went forth one sound from that image.

Benvenuto commends the appropriateness of this simile. As from a large number of burning logs there results one single heat, so from many spirits enkindled with radiance there issued forth one single warmth of Love [*unus amor caritatis*], which is everywhere figured by fire.

Division II.—Dante now entreats the spirits that form the Eagle to solve a doubt which for a long

* *non seguon la storia :* That is, they do not follow my example in history, they do not imitate that of the righteous princes and leaders in Roman History, narrated as a model for their descendants. " Et hic nota quod autor in hoc verissimam dat sententiam ; quia, sicut videmus de facto, hodie reges injusti et tyranni crudeles summe commendant justitiam et clementiam romanam, libentissime legunt, conferunt, audiunt de justitia Trajani, Camilli, Scipionis, Catonis, de clementia Titi, Antonini Pii et aliorum multorum, et tamen non sequuntur exempla eorum." (Benvenuto.)

† *un sol calor :* Scartazzini quotes the following from Guido Guinicelli in the *Rime Antiche* :—

" E prende amore in gentilezza loco
Come calore in chiarità di foco."

time had exercised his mind. It is this:—Without Faith in Christ, and without Baptism, there is no salvation. In that case every man ought to have the opportunity given him of embracing the Faith and receiving Baptism. And yet this does not happen. Millions of men live and die without even having heard of Christ, and consequently without having had the opportunity offered them of embracing the Faith and receiving Baptism. Are they to be damned? Where is their fault? Where is Divine Justice?—We shall see by the lines that follow, that Dante, while on Earth, had been unable to find a satisfactory answer, and had smothered the doubt instead of solving it. Man is unable to comprehend the decrees of Divine Justice, he must, however, believe in the justice of God, even when it is hid from him. The Schoolmen took refuge in the distinction between Explicit Faith and Implicit Faith, and taught that the latter only is absolutely necessary to salvation. (See St. Thom. Aquin., *Summ. Theol.* pars ii, 2^{dæ}, qu. ii, art. 2, et seq.)

It is (says Scartazzini) evident from Dante's words, that his doubt upon this point pre-occupied him during many years.

Ond' io appresso:—"O perpetui fiori *
Dell' eterna letizia, che pur uno

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* *O perpetui fiori:* At this point of my work (May, 1898) I received Mr. Gardner's interesting work (*Dante's Ten Heavens, a Study of the Paradiso*, by Edmund G. Gardner, M.A., Westminster, 1898), a volume which cannot fail to be of the greatest utility to the student of the *Paradiso*. On these lines he says (p. 136): "This blessed sign was woven of praise of the Divine grace; and the perfect unity and concord of the spirits that compose it, the 'perpetual flowers of eternal joy,' is vividly expressed."

Parer mi fate tutti i vostri odori,*
Solvetemi spirando il gran digiuno
Che lungamente m' ha tenuto in fame,
Non trovandogli in terra cibo alcuno.†
Ben so io ‡ che, se in cielo altro reame
La divina giustizia fa suo specchio,
Che 'l vostro non l' apprende con velame.

Whereupon I followed: "O everlasting flowers of Eternal Joy, who make all your odours seem to me as one only, break for me, by speaking, the great fast which for so long a time has kept me hungering, not finding any food for it on earth. Well do I know that if in Heaven Divine Justice makes another realm its mirror, your realm (*i.e.* the Sphere of Jupiter) does not apprehend it through any veil.

If there be in Paradise any Order of Blessed Spirits by whom Divine Justice is clearly discerned, it must be in the Heaven of Jupiter, the planet of Justice.

Sapete come attento io m' apparecchio
Ad ascoltar; sapete quale è quello

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* *vostri odori:* By odours Dante means voices, and he uses this term, observes Casini, so as not to discontinue the metaphor of the flowers; as in the following lines he uses *spirando* to signify *parlando.* On this Tommaséo says: "Segue il traslato de' fiori. E più volte ha *spirare* il senso di *parlare*, perchè la parola è spirito del Verbo creante." Buti remarks on this: "Ma latentemente dice quello che è il vero, cioè: Pregate che Iddio spiri in me la soluzione del dubbio che io ho."

† *Non trovandogli in terra cibo alcuno:* "Nota che l' autore intende che 'l suo dubbio non si porìa assolvere per ragione terrena, e perchè è sovra natura tale considerare e tale assoluzione, sì la domanda a quelli a cui la teologìa è per cibo." (Lana.)

‡ *Ben so io*, etc.: Dante had already had this information from Cunizza. See *Par.* ix, 61-63:—

"Su sono specchi, voi dicete Troni,
Onde rifulge a noi Dio giudicante,
Sì che questi parlar ne paion buoni."

Dubbio, che m' è digiun cotanto vecchio." *—

Ye know how intently I prepare myself to listen ; ye know what that doubt is, which in me is a fast of such long standing."

The Sacred Eagle, on hearing Dante's doubts, tells him in so many words that the matter is one reserved for the judgment of God ; but, before giving that explanation, it shows Dante that God, having created the universe, could not stamp His virtue upon it in any such way but that His own Divine Mind must still remain infinitely superior to that of every one of His creatures ; and that is why Lucifer was so utterly lost when he, in his arrogance, presumed to make himself equal to the Creator ; still less ean human intellect, inferior to the angelic, expect any other lot, should it presume to investigate the infinite abysses of Divine Wisdom. Wherefore, in matters of religion where our understanding does not suffice, faith in revealed truths, which render us certain of the infallible Justice of God, must supply the deficiency ; and the truest knowledge in these matters is absolute ignorance, and humble, silent deference to the Faith.

Quasi falcone ch' esce † del cappello,

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* *cotanto vecchio :* " Un dubbio che in terra non mi potè esser sciolto : perciò dice tanto vecchio il digiuno di saperne il vero." (Cornoldi.)

† *Quasi falcone ch' esce :* Some read *Quale il falcon, ch' uscendo :* others *quale il falcon, ch' esce :* others again *Quasi falcon, ch' uscendo :* others *quale falcon, ch' uscendo :* others *Qual è 'l falcon, ch' uscendo.* But, as Scartazzini points out, none of these variants alter the sense. As we have remarked in *Readings on the Purgatorio*, 3rd ed., vol. ii, p. 119 (with reference to *Purg.* xix, 64-66), Dante drew many similes from the falcon ; and Ariosto, Pulci, and Frezzi later on followed in his footsteps.

Move la testa, e coll' ali si plaude,* 35
Voglia mostrando e facendosi bello,
Vid' io farsi quel segno, che di laude
Della divina grazia era contesto,
Con canti,† quai si sa chi lassù gaude.
Poi cominciò :—"Colui che volse il sesto ‡ 40
All' estremo del mondo, e dentro ad esso
Distinse tanto occulto e manifesto,§
Non potè suo valor sì fare impresso
In tutto l' universo, che il suo verbo
Non rimanesse in infinito eccesso. || 45

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* *si plaude:* "cioè, si sbatte." (Lana.)

† *Con canti,* et seq.: Compare *Rev.* xiv, 3: "And they sung as it were a new song before the throne . . . and no man could learn that song but the hundred and forty and four thousand."

‡ *Colui che volse il sesto:* Compare *Prov.* viii, 27: "When He prepared the heavens, I was there: when He set a compass upon the face of the depth." Compare also Milton, *Par. Lost*, vii, 224 et seq. :—

". . . . . And in His hand
He took the golden compasses, prepar'd
In God's eternal store, to circumscribe
This universe, and all created things.
One foot he center'd, and the other turn'd
Round through the vast profundity obscure,
And said, Thus far extend, thus far thy bounds,
This be thy just circumference, O world."

The form in more general use is *le seste* = a pair of compasses.

§ *occulto e manifesto:* Compare *Conv.* iv, 5, ll. 1-10: "Non è maraviglia se la divina Provvidenza, che del tutto l' angelico e l' umano accorgimento soperchia, occultamente a noi molte volte procede . . . Ma da maravigliare è forte, quando la esecuzione dello eterno consiglio tanto *manifesto* procede, che la nostra ragione lo discerne."

|| *in infinito eccesso:* Compare St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. i, art. 5): "Nihil prohibet id quod est certius secundum naturam, esse quoad nos minus certum propter debilitatem intellectus nostri, qui se habet ad manifestissima naturae, sicut oculus noctuae ad lumen solis, ut dicitur (*Metaph.* lib. ii). Unde dubitatio quae accidit in aliquibus circa articulos fidei, non est propter incertitudinem rei, sed propter debilitatem intellectus humani. Et tamen minimum quod potest haberi de

> Even as a falcon that issuing from the hood rears its head, and flaps its wings with joy, displaying its eagerness, and pluming itself, thus saw I that emblem, which was interwoven with the praise of Divine Grace, become, with songs, of such a kind as are known by them that rejoice on high. Then it (the Eagle) began: "He Who turned His compasses on the extreme edge of the world, and Who within it devised so much concealed and manifest, could not so impress His power through the whole universe, but that His Word should not remain in infinite excess (*i.e.* immeasurably above all created intelligence).

Benvenuto begs his readers to note that there are certain things which God cannot be said to have power to make. Such a power would tend to the diminution of His Own Almighty Power; as for instance, the creation of anything greater than, or similar to, Himself; or the transmission of His Virtue into a thing to be created in such wise, that It (His Virtue) should no longer remain infinite in Itself.

Lucifer, the first created, and the greatest of the Angels, was a direct instance of the most perfect of created beings not understanding that he was finite and God infinite.

> E ciò fa certo che il primo superbo,
> Che fu la somma d' ogni creatura,*

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cognitione rerum altissimarum, desiderabilius est quam certissima cognitio quae habetur de minimis rebus." And *ibid.* qu. xxv, art. 6. Compare also *Epist. Kani*, § 1, ll. 14-16: "Et quemadmodum prius dictorum suspicabar excessum, sic posterius ipsa facta excessiva cognovi."

* *la somma d' ogni creatura:* As to the supereminent beauty of Satan or Lucifer, see *Purg.* xii, 25, 26:—

> "Vedea colui che fu nobil creato
> Più ch' altra creatura."

See also St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars. i, qu. lxiii, art. 7):—"Si consideretur motivum ad peccandum, majus inveni-

Per non aspettar * lume, cadde acerbo:
E quinci appar ch' ogni minor natura †
È corto recettacolo a quel bene
Che non ha fine, e sè con sè misura.‡

And (the fact) that the first proud being, who was the summit of everything created, fell immature from not awaiting light, makes that (which I have just said) certain. And hence it is seen that every less perfect nature is (but) a scant receptacle unto that Good Which has no end, and by Itself (alone) is measured.

The argument of the passage, according to Mr. Fearon (see *The Pilot*, Feb. 9th, 1901) is this: God could not create anything of such worth that it should not be infinitely inferior to Himself. God creates nothing equal to His Word. Lucifer was the

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tur in superioribus quam in inferioribus. Fuit enim daemonum peccatum superbia, cujus motivum est excellentia, quae fuit major in superioribus. Et ideo Gregorius dicit, quod ille qui peccavit, fuit superior inter omnes." Compare *Inf.* xxxiv, 18; and *ibid.* 34.

* *Per non aspettar*, etc.: In the *De Vulg. Eloq.* i, 2, ll. 26, 27, Dante says of Lucifer and the rebellious angels that "divinam curam perversi expectare noluerunt." Eve also under Lucifer's guidance; see *Purg.* xxix, 24-30.

† *ogni minor natura:* Compare Dryden, *Religio Laïci*, ll. 36-41:—

"Thus anxious thoughts in endless circles roll,
Without a centre where to fix the soul:
In this wild maze their vain endeavours end:
How can the less the greater comprehend?
Or finite reason reach Infinity?
For what could fathom God were more than He."

‡ *sè con sè misura:* "Iddio è bene infinito, che con niuno altro bene si può misurare, se non con sè medesimo: imperò che ogni altro bene è minore di lui, sicchè con niuno altro si può misurare: e com' elli è infinito; così l' opere sue sono ininvestigabili et incomprensibili da l' omo e da ogni altra creatura. E così è dimostrata la maggiore proposizione; cioè che ogni creatura è corto ricettaculo d' Iddio e delle sue opere: può bene ricevere parte; ma non tutte." (Buti.)

summit of all creation, the most superb thing that God ever created. Yet he fell immature, because he would not wait for light. And the fact that he so fell makes that (namely, that God creates nothing equal to Himself) certain. The most supereminent thing that God ever made failed through unwillingness to wait for light from Him. Human intellect, therefore, which is but a part of the Divine Mind, cannot be competent to explore the depths of Divine Justice.

Dunque nostra veduta,* che conviene
Essere alcun dei raggi della mente †
Di che tutte le cose son ripiene,
Non può ‡ da sua natura esser possente
Tanto, che suo principio § non discerna

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* *nostra veduta:* I follow Dr. Moore here, who in his Oxford text reads *nostra*, the reading adopted by the *Ottimo*, Lana, the *Anon. Fior.*, Pietro di Dante, Daniello, Br. Bianchi, Fraticelli, Biagioli, and others. Benvenuto, Buti, Landino, the *Codice Cassinese*, Scartazzini, Casini, and others read *vostra*, and Benvenuto says: "Aliqui tamen dicunt: *nostra veduta*, scilicet animarum beatarum, et non bene," etc. The *Ottimo*, who reads *nostra veduta*, writes: "Cioè nostro intelletto, che conviene essere alcuno de' raggi della mente divina, alla cui similitudine siamo fatti, dalla quale mente tutte le cose hanno *pienezza* [or, *potenza*, according to some texts of the *Ottimo*], non può dalla sua natura creata essere potente tanto, che 'l suo principio increato non veggia molto più là che quello ch' ella vede."

† *mente:* On this as meaning the Divine Mind, compare *Par.* xviii, 118-119:—

"Per ch' io prego la Mente, in che s' inizia
Tuo moto e tua virtute," etc.

Compare also *Par.* xxvii, 109, 110:—

"E questo cielo non ha altro dove
Che la mente divina," etc.

‡ *Non può*, et seq.: Casini begs us to note a parallelism in form and in thought between these three lines, and ll. 43-45, of which these are more or less an explanation.

§ *che suo principio*, et seq.: Compare similar ideas in St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. xii, art. 2): "Virtus intellectualis creaturae lumen quoddam intelligibile dicitur, quasi a prima luce derivatum . . . per nullam similitudinem

Molto di là da quel che l' è parvente.

Therefore our (intellectual) vision, which must needs be some one of the rays of that (Divine) Mind with Which all things are replete, cannot of its own nature be so potent but that its origin (*i.e.* the Divine Mind) does not discern far beyond that which is apparent to it (*i.e.* to our human vision).

As Professor Norton remarks on this passage, our vision is not powerful enough to reach to the source from which it proceeds. Observe, some (including the *Ottimo*) take *suo principio* as the nominative case to *discerna*, as I follow Casini in doing; others take *nostra veduta* as the nominative, and *suo principio* as the accusative: among these last is Benvenuto. Mr. Gardner (*op. cit.*) thinks these two last lines mean that God is infinitely more than the finite image of Himself presented to us by His visible creation.

The Eagle, which we must remember symbolizes the Imperial Justice, now adds that Man is not able to penetrate the secrets of God, because Man's mental vision cannot see more of the Divine Justice than can the human eye see down into the depths of the sea, though near the shore the bottom be visible.

Però * nella giustizia sempiterna
La vista che riceve il vostro mondo,
Com' occhio per lo mar, dentro s' interna; 60

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creatam Dei essentia videri potest . . . Multo igitur minus per speciem creatam quamcumque potest essentia Dei videri."

* *Però*, et seq.: L. Venturi (*Simil. Dant.* p. 64, sim. 107) remarks: "Il concetto, che rende il biblico *Judicia tua abyssus multa* [*Ps.* xxxv, 7], è spiegato con una similitudine di maravigliosa evidenza." See also Cornoldi: "Noi uomini entriamo col nostro pensiero nella *giustizia sempiterna* ch' è Dio, ma da ciò che è detto seguita che ne comprendiamo ben poco. Come presso il lido, veggiamo il fondo del mare, ma in alto pelago sappiamo che c' é, ma nol vediamo: così di certe cose ben

Chè benchè dalla proda veggia il fondo,
In pelago * nol vede, e nondimeno
È lì, ma cela lui l' esser profondo.

Therefore the vision with which your world is endowed penetrates within, as does the eye through the sea, into the Sempiternal Justice; which (human vision) although from the shore it may see the bottom, in the deep sea cannot see it, and nevertheless it is there, but its being deep down conceals it.

Whence the Eagle concludes that there can be no true understanding but that which emanates from the pure ray of the Omniscience of God.

Lume non è,† se non vien dal sereno
Che non si turba mai,‡ anzi è tenèbra,§ 65

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vediamo il perchè, ne vediamo la provvidenza o la giustizia, ma nelle più astruse sappiamo che essere ci deve il perchè, ma non lo vediamo." In *Par.* iii, 122, 123, the disappearance of Piccarda is likened to that of a stone sinking in the dark water :—

"e cantando vanío,
Come per acqua cupa cosa grave."

* *pelago :* "[cioè,] alto mare : Dante sempre usa in cotal senso questa voce (*Inf.* i, 23 and *Par.* ii, 5) ; e qui ne fa più chiara la distinzione, dicendo che l' occhio dalla proda del mare vede il fondo, cui non vede in pelago. Così nel proprio come nel traslato, *mare* indica ampiezza ; *pelago*, profondità." (Venturi, *ibid.*) "The finite mind must, in the nature of the case, be incapable of measuring the Infinite." (Plumptre.) "Thy righteousness is like the great mountains ; Thy judgments are a great deep." (*Ps.* xxxvi, 6.)

† *Lume non è*, et seq. : Compare *James* i, 17 : "Every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of Lights, with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning." And *Rev.* xxi, 23 : "And the city had no need of the sun, neither of the moon, to shine in it : for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof."

‡ *sereno Che non si turba mai :* Compare *Conv.* iii, Canzone, ll. 77, 78 :—

"Tu sai che 'l ciel sempr' è lucente e chiaro,
E quanto in sè non si turba giammai."

Compare *James* i, 17, where God is called "the Father of Lights."

§ *anzi è tenèbra :* Dean Plumptre observes that the natural darkness of the mind comes either from the necessary limita-

Od ombra della carne, o suo veleno.*

Light there is none, unless it comes from the Serene (*i.e.* God the Divine Light) which is never clouded, nay, rather is it darkness, or shadow of the flesh, or else its poison.

Benvenuto conceives this to mean that, without that light which Divine Grace has conferred upon us through the Articles of the Faith and the Sacraments of the Church, it is impossible for any one to be saved. Therefore he endorses the saying of St. Augustine: *Omnis infidelium vita peccatum est.*

Division III.—The Eagle now points out to Dante that what prevented him from understanding the Justice of God, in the particular instance of his still unexpressed doubt, was the utter insufficiency of the human intellect. We must remember that, in ll. 22-33 Dante had only alluded to the fact of his having a doubt, but had not stated what it was, feeling that the spirits he was addressing would have no difficulty in reading what was in his mind. The Eagle now defines his doubt, and proceeds to solve it.

Assai t' è mo † aperta la latèbra,‡

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tion of man's fleshly life, or from poison of sensuality. "Senza la grazia illuminante d' Iddio noi siamo ciechi, o per lo dimonio che si accieca, o per la concupiscienzia della carne che n' offusca, o per piacere del mondo che ci corrompe; e però è necessaria la grazia d' Iddio illuminante, che ci difenda da queste tre occupazioni." (Buti.) Compare the beautiful lines in Dryden's *Religio Laïci* (ll. 174-207), too long to quote here.

* *ombra . . . veleno:* Compare *Wisd.* ix, 15 (*Vulgate*): "Corpus enim quod corrumpitur aggravat animam, et terrena inhabitatio deprimit sensum multa cogitantem."

† *mo:* It has been explained in the *Readings on the Inferno*, vol. ii, p. 225; and *ibid.* pp. 390-392, that *mo* = *modo*, and means "now."

‡ *aperta la latèbra:* This passage may be paraphrased thus: Henceforth that must be sufficiently clear to thee, which, up to

Che t' ascondeva la giustizia viva,
Di che * facei question cotanto crebra;
Che tu dicevi: 'Un uom nasce alla riva
Dell' Indo,† e quivi non è chi ragioni ‡
Di Cristo, nè chi legga, nè chi scriva;
E tutti i suoi voleri ed atti buoni
Sono, quanto ragione umana vede,
Senza peccato in vita o in sermoni.
More non battezzato e senza fede;
Ov' è questa giustizia che il condanna?
Ov' è la colpa sua, se ei non crede?'

Now is the hiding place sufficiently opened to thee which concealed from thee living Justice, about which thou didst make such frequent questioning; for thou saidst: 'A man is born upon the banks

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now, Divine Justice was concealing from thine intelligence, and thou wilt have understood that those are hidden mysteries which Man is unable to fathom.

* *Di che* refers to *latèbra*, not to *giustizia*.

† *Indo:* According to the geography of Dante's time, India was the country farthest distant from the centre of Christianity at Rome. Dante evidently intends to include all Asiatic countries in this general term.

‡ *non è chi ragioni:* Compare the words of St. Paul (*Rom.* x, 14): "How then shall they call on Him in whom they have not believed? and how shall they believe in Him of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher?" And *ibid.* 17: "So then faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God." "Of the possibility of salvation for a savage born and reared in the backwoods, and who follows the voice of conscience, St. Thomas (*De Vero*, qu. 14, a. ii, ad. i) says: 'It is certain that God will impart to him the necessary truths of faith, either through interior illumination, or through a preacher of the faith.' And again (*In.* iii, *Sent.* d. 28, qu. 3, a. 1-2): 'For God never suffers any one to want what is necessary to his salvation, if he only desires it. No one loses his soul save through his own fault; since God makes known to him truths which are essential to his salvation, either through interior revelation; or, as in the case of Cornelius, by the voice of a preacher.'" (Hettinger, *Dante's Divina Commedia*, ed. H. S. Bowden, p. 211, footnote.) See also St. Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, xviii, c. 47.

of the Indus, and in that place there is not any one who can speak, or who can read, or who can write of Christ; and all his wishes and his actions are good, in so far as human Reason can discern, without sin in life or in conversation. He dies unbaptized and without the Faith; where is this justice that condemneth him? where is his fault, if he does not believe?'

The Eagle, having thus recited to Dante his own unspoken doubt, continues speaking; and first, he severely censures the presumption of those who, in their utter ignorance, rashly venture to sit in judgment of the Justice of God, which surpasseth all human understanding; and such persons he likens to a near-sighted man, who, unable to discern objects at a greater distance than a hand's breadth, would yet imagine he could do so a thousand miles off.

Or tu chi sei,* che vuoi sedere a scranna,
Per giudicar da lungi mille miglia,
Con la veduta corta d' una spanna?

Now who art thou, who wouldst sit upon the judgment-seat to judge from a thousand miles away, with the short-sighted vision of a span?

Benvenuto observes that at this point the Eagle, lest any one might attempt to make the excuse of ignorance, puts ignorance entirely out of court; but the

* *Or tu chi sei:* Compare *Rom.* ix, 20, 21: "Nay but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God? Shall the thing formed say to Him that formed it, Why hast thou made me thus? Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel to honour and another to dishonour?" And 1 *Cor.* ii, 16: "For who hath known the mind of the Lord, that he may instruct Him?" Compare also *Job* xxxiii, 12, 13: "Behold in this thou art not just: I will answer thee, that God is greater than man. Why dost thou strive against Him? for He giveth not account of any of His matters." And *De Mon.* ii, 8, ll. 28, et seq.

passage which now follows is involved in difficulty, and no Commentator, in Casini's opinion, would seem to have given a thoroughly satisfactory interpretation of it, except perhaps Benvenuto, whose explanation appears the simplest and best.

Certo a colui che meco s' assottiglia,
Se la scrittura * sopra voi non fosse,
Da dubitar sarebbe a maraviglia.
O terreni animali,† o menti grosse! 85
La prima Volontà ch' è per sè buona,
Da sè, ch' è Sommo Ben, mai non si mosse.‡
Cotanto è giusto,§ quanto a lei consuona;

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* *Se la scrittura*, et seq.: *i.e.* if Holy Scripture were not there with its authority, to enjoin Man to believe in the infallible Justice of God. Compare Boëthius, *Philos. Consol.* iv, Pros. v, ll. 22-26: "Nec mirum, inquit, si quid ordinis ignorata ratione temerarium confusumque credatur. Sed tu quamvis causam tantae dispositionis ignores, tamen quoniam bonus mundum rector temperat, recte fieri cuncta ne dubites."

† *terreni animali*: There is a very similar passage in *Conv.* iv, 5, ll. 73-79: "O istoltissime e vilissime bestiuole che a guisa d' uomini pascete, che presumete contro a nostra Fede parlare; e volete sapere, filando e zappando [*digging*], ciò che Iddio con tanta prudenza ha ordinato! Maledetti siate voi e la vostra presunzione, e chi a voi crede." Boëthius (*Philos. Consol.* iii, Pros. iii, in the opening words) uses the very same words: "Vos quoque o terrenia animalia," etc.

‡ *mai non si mosse*: These words, with those that go before them, seem to be derived from the *Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. xix, art. 7: "Voluntas Dei est omnino immutabilis." Compare also *Mal.* iii, 6: "I am the Lord, I change not."

§ *Cotanto è giusto*, et seq.: Scartazzini remarks that the Commentators, nearly all, turn away from this passage, which to him seems the most important one in the whole line of argument. He asks: What is *giusto*? or in other words, what is the general conception of justice? He answers that in *Conv.* iv, 17 (ll. 62-64), Dante defines *Giustizia* as that virtue "which disposes us to love and practise righteousness in all things." (Miss Hillard's *Translation*.) The definition here in our text is not quite the same. *Giusto* is that only which is in accordance with the Will of God. This definition at once demolishes the doubt which Dante was feeling. If conformity to the Will of God be the sole

Nullo creato bene a sè la tira,*
Ma essa radïando † lui cagiona."— 90

Assuredly for him who attempts minute investigations concerning me, it would be a matter for doubting to a marvellous degree, if there were not the Scripture above (*i.e.* in supreme authority over) you. Oh earthly animals, oh minds obtuse! The Primal Will, which of Itself is good, never has moved from Itself, which is the Supreme Good. So much (only) is just as is in consonance with It (the Primal Will);

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law of Justice, the query as to whether the Will of God be just is entirely out of court. Justice simply rests upon that which God wills. Man cannot ask whether the judgments of God are just. On the contrary, if he has to decide for himself whether something or other is just or the reverse, he must ask himself the question: "Is this thing in conformity with the Will of the Almighty?" Witte says in his note on the passage, which I translate: "Our idea of Justice is but a reflection, a simple ray of the essence of Justice resting in God. If the archetype and the reflected image do not accord conformably, it would be foolish, because of that, to censure the former as erroneous, as surely the imperfection of the mirror can well be the cause of the difference."

* *la tira:* Scartazzini observes that, in the doubt referred to in l. 70 et seq., there is tacitly comprised the second doubt, as to whether one race may not have prerogatives and merits superior to those of another race, so that to the former is offered Grace in Christ, and to the latter not. And this doubt is at once demolished, since we are told that, so far from God being attracted by the good of His creatures, it is He Himself Who is the Author of that Good. This is what St. Paul (*Phil.* ii, 13) teaches: "For it is God which worketh in you both to will and to *do* of His good pleasure." Scartazzini thinks moreover that the whole line of this argument, nearly in its entirety, is taken by Dante, the Theologian and Poet, from the ninth chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans; but the line of argument, especially about the potter in v. 21, is not satisfactory, neither on the part of Dante, nor of St. Paul; and that we have before us one of those frequent contradictions in Christian dogmatism, too often composed of elements which destroy each other.

† *radïando:* "gittando e spargendo li raggi della sua bontà." (Buti.)

no created good draws It to itself, but It, by raying forth, is the cause of that (good)."

Casini says that the *crux* of the passage is in the words *meco s' assottiglia*, of which no better explanation seems to be forthcoming than "enters into minute investigations about *me*," that is, about the Eagle, who is speaking, and who is the symbol of Divine Justice. Benvenuto's words are: "Certe esset dubitabile et mirabile illi qui subtiliter conatur investigare rationem meae justitiae, scilicet divinae, quae maxime relucet in me, *se la scrittura sopra voi non fosse*, quasi dicat si non haberetis Sanctam Scripturam, quae docet vos quomodo voluntas Dei semper est, et quod non est investiganda ratio ejus." Benvenuto was once much struck, he says, as an instance of this, by the answer of one servant to another, when the latter had questioned some order of their master. "When our Master signifies his will to us, you must not seek to know the reason why; in fact we usually say: 'Masters know their own business; it is not our place to seek to find out their reasons.'" It is enough for mortals to know that the will of God *is* just, and could not be otherwise.

Benvenuto goes on to say that the will of God gives to every created thing its own functions and duties. It is like the potter who fashions "unum vas ad balsamum, unum ad oleum, aliud ad stercus, urinam et sputum." Hence we see that Life Eternal cannot be won without Grace, whether we consider human nature in the state of innocence in which Adam was before the Fall, or, in the miserable condition in which

he found himself after the Fall, when sin had been added to him.

Dante now, comparing himself to the young stork who, after being fed, gazes up at the parent bird hovering above the nest, himself gazes in wondering affection at the Eagle, which, after having fed him by explaining his doubts, is wheeling above his head, and would seem to have been singing some strains that were unintelligible to him. It then asks Dante, how, if he cannot understand that song, can he expect to comprehend the Judgment of God.

Quale sopr' esso il nido si rigira,
Poi che ha pasciuto la cicogna i figli,
E come quei ch' è pasto la rimira;
Cotal si fece * (e sì levai li cigli)
La benedetta imagine, che l' ali
Movea sospinta da tanti consigli.†
Roteando cantava, e dicea:—"Quali
Son le mie note a te, che non le intendi,
Tal è il giudizio eterno a voi mortali."—

* *Cotal si fece*, et seq.: "La benedetta imagine si fece cotale, e io levai gli occhi così, etc.: la comparazione è doppia, appropriando il poeta a sè stesso l' atto del cicognino, e all' aquila l' atto della cicogna; e il costrutto è spezzato dall' intromissione d' una proposizione (*e sì levai li cigli*) in mezzo a una coordinata, come in *Inf.* xxix, 16, 17." (Casini.)

† *sospinta da tanti consigli:* Benvenuto says this passage is so intricate and involved that he begs his Bologna pupils to take the sentence word for word: "Nunc construe literam, quae est aliqualiter intricata et catenata, et redde singula singulis, sic: *La benedetta immagine*, scilicet, aquila facta ex tot spiritibus benedictis, *che movea l' ali*, scilicet, girando se circulariter, *sospinte* idest impulsas, *da tanti consigli*, dictorum spirituum, de quorum communi consilio et consensu loquebatur, *si fece cotal qual la cicogna si rigira sovresso il nido poi c' ha pasciuto i figli, e sì levai li cigli*, idest, oculos ad respiciendum et mirandum aquilam, *come quel*, scilicet, ciconiolus, *ch' è pasto* idest, cibatus, *la rimira*, quasi factus laetus ex accepto cibo; ita autor ex audito sermone aquilae."

Even as the stork wheels above her nest after she has given food to her young, and as the one that has been fed looks up at her; so lifted I my brows, and such became the blessed image, which was moving its wings, impelled by so many counsels (*i.e.* by the will of all the spirits composing the figure). As it wheeled it sang, and said: "As are my notes to thee, who comprehendest them not, such to you mortals is the Eternal Judgment."

Division IV.*—Dante then describes how the host of blessed spirits forming the Eagle stopped its motion and their chant, in order that an opportunity might be afforded for the further speech that now issued from its mouth.

Poi † si quetaron quei lucenti incendi
Dello Spirito Santo, ancor nel segno
Che fe' i Romani al mondo reverendi,
Esso ricominciò:—"A questo regno
Non salì mai chi non credette in CRISTO,‡

* Benvenuto begins Division IV at l. 106, but I do not follow him in this instance. A break in the middle of the highly significant lines, where CRISTO is made to rhyme thrice, appears awkward, and the sense is better preserved by putting the whole speech of the Eagle into one division.

† *Poi* stands here for *poichè*. Compare *Purg.* x, 1: "Poi fummo dentro al soglio della porta," and see note in *Readings on the Purgatorio*, 3rd ed., vol. i, p. 343, on the word. See also Petrarch, part i, son. 41:—

"Ma poi vostro destino a voi pur vieta
L' esser altrove."

Poi for *poichè* is used also in prose. See Boccaccio, *Decam.* Giorn. ii, nov. 3: "L' abate . . . già piene di compassion divenuto delle sue sciagure . . . pregollo che, poi verso Toscana andava, gli piacesse d' essere in sua compagnia."

‡ *Non salì mai chi non credette in CRISTO*: Compare *Acts* iv, 12: "There is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved." Compare also St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars iii, qu. lxviii, art. 1): "Nunquam homines potuerunt salvari etiam ante Christi adventum, nisi

Nè pria, nè poi ch' ei si chiavasse al legno.* 105

As soon as those burning splendours of the Holy Spirit grew quiet, still within the sign (of the Eagle) which made the Romans to be respected in the world, it (the Eagle) resumed: "To this realm none ever ascended who did not believe in Christ, either before or after He was nailed to the tree.

On the lines that follow from this point to the end of the Canto, Mr. Gardner (*Dante's Ten Heavens*, pp. 139, 140), remarks: "Dante's difficulty is practically solved in the following Canto, but, indirectly, it is answered now as well. Although faith in Christ is necessary, yet many who in speech are most aggressively Christian will be found among the reprobate, and those that knew not Christ among the elect. It is here that Dante first absolutely states that it is the *Roman* Eagle that the blessed spirits of this sphere are forming, *Il segno che fe' i Romani al mondo reverendi;* and it is to prelude and justify the Eagle's denunciation † of the temporary sovereigns. Dante's method

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fierent membra Christi. . . . Sed ante adventum Christi homines Christo incorporabantur per fidem futuri adventus."

* *Nè pria, nè poi ch' ei si chiavasse al legno:* Compare *De Mon.* iii, 3, ll. 62-69: "Quod quidem nefas de opinione mortalium submoveant qui, ante traditiones Ecclesiae, in Filium Dei Christum, sive venturum sive praesentem sive jam passum crediderunt, et credendo speraverunt, et sperantes caritate arserunt, et ardentes ei coheredes factor esse mundus non dubitat." And *Par.* xx, 103-105:—

"Dei corpi suoi non uscir, come credi,
Gentili, ma Cristiani, in ferma fede,
Quel dei passuri, e quel dei passi piedi."

† Mr. Gardner thinks this splendid denunciation is in reality a glorification of a kind of political *sirventes*, employed by the Provençal troubadours, of which the most famous specimen is Sordello's Lament for Blacatz, in which, on the death of that gallant warrior, he summons various sovereigns to partake of his heart to restore their courage, and rebukes them all for their

is characteristic of him: Faith will not avail without good works, so let all these persons look to it! When the book shall be opened in the presence of the Throne, and the dead shall be judged, the very Persians shall condemn these kings. Dante remembers the injunction of Cacciaguida, fearlessly to assail those in the highest places; so he summons before his poetical tribunal all the rulers of Christendom from the Emperor elect to the King of Cyprus, and through the mouth of the Eagle condemns them all. In that eternal volume will be recorded their shameful lives and abominable deeds, some of which Dante himself records, and others leaves till then."

Ma vedi, molti gridan* *CRISTO, CRISTO,*
Che saranno in giudizio assai men *prope*
A lui, che tal che non conosce *CRISTO;*
E tai Cristiani † dannerà l' Etiope,‡

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failings, commencing with the Emperor Frederick II. See my own note on Sordello in *Readings on the Purgatorio*, second edition, vol. i, pp. 208, 209. The influence of this poem of Sordello is (Mr. Gardner observes) clearly visible in this Canto, *Paradiso* xix, and in *Purgatorio* vii, and there is even a reminiscence of it in the first sonnet of the *Vita Nuova.*

* *molti gridan*, et seq.: Compare *St. Matt.* vii, 21-23: "Not every one that saith unto Me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven; but he that doeth the will of My Father which is in heaven. Many will say unto Me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in Thy name? and in Thy name have cast out devils? and in Thy name done many wonderful works? And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you: depart from Me, ye that work iniquity."

† *tai Cristiani:* "Et isti christiani damnabuntur nomine in judicio, qui sunt [*christiani*] nomine et non re." (Pietro di Dante.)

‡ *dannerà l' Etiope:* Compare *St. Matt.* xii, 42: "The queen of the south shall rise up in judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it: for she came from the uttermost parts of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon; and behold a greater

Quando si partiranno i due collegi,* 110
L' uno in eterno ricco, e l' altro inope.
Che potran dir li Persi† ai vostri regi,
Come vedranno quel volume aperto,‡
Nel qual si scrivon tutti i suoi dispregi?

But look you, there are many who are crying Christ, Christ, who at that Judgment will be far less near unto Him, than will he who knows not Christ; and such Christians the Ethiop shall condemn, when the two companies shall be parted, the one rich to all eternity, and the other poor (meaning, the souls of the blessed and those of the lost). What may not the Persians have to say to your kings, when they see that volume opened in which are recorded all their evil deeds?

Scartazzini, Tommaséo, and Antonelli say that from l. 115 to l. 148 Dante unfolds a terrible page of the book of eternity in which one may read the evil deeds of all Europe in his time, from the Emperor Albert to Guy de Lusignan, Lord of Cyprus; and, while presenting to us a prospect of the sad conditions of Christian Europe, he also lays before us a geographical picture

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than Solomon is here." Compare also *ibid.* viii, 11, 12; and *Acts* viii, 27 et seq., where the baptism of the Man of Ethiopia is related.

* *si partiranno i due collegi:* Compare *St. Matt.* xxv, 31-33: "When the Son of Man shall come in His glory, and all the holy angels with Him, then shall He sit upon the throne of His glory: and before Him shall be gathered all nations; and He shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats: and He shall set the sheep on His right hand, but the goats on the left."

† *Persi:* Probably this means all Asiatic heathen, as *l' Etiope* might mean all African heathen.

‡ *volume aperto;* Compare *Rev.* xx, 12: "And I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God; and the books were opened: and another book was opened, which is the book of life: and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works."

from Spain to Bohemia, from the British Isles to Hungary and Illyria, from Norway to Sicily, Cyprus and Jerusalem. Tommaséo points out that it is not among those who are opulent in earthly and eternal glory, but among those who will feel the want of it, that Dante enumerates the reigning princes of Germany, France, Scotland, England, Spain, Bohemia, Naples, Sicily, Portugal, Norway, "Rascia," Hungary, Navarre, and Cyprus. He touches on the Germanic races interfering with the Slav, the French with the Greek and with the Italian; and the haughty pride that he saw in the Britannic race, long before the time when she should hold India as though it were the little island of Malta, and Canada as though it were the Isle of Ithaca. In one swoop the Eagle passes to Jerusalem and Cyprus; nor even do Norway and Portugal, independent kingdoms, though coveted by greater kings, escape notice; Bohemia and Hungary, which were to become at the same time provinces and kingdoms, are not forgotten; and prominence is given to those two remarkable races, the Magyar and the Basque, which to modern ethnological science appear like two islands amid all the other races; he does not forget *Rascia* (the Slavonic district of Dalmatia), the name of which, still preserved in a coarse homespun cloth, attests the ancient intercommunications of peoples whose very names are now unknown.

Lì si vedrà * tra l' opere d' Alberto 115

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* *Lì si vedrà:* In *Purg.* xii, 25-63, we observed that the whole passage was noteworthy from its artificial structure. First there were four *terzine* beginning *Vedea;* then four beginning *O;* then

Quella che tosto moverà la penna,
Per che il regno di Praga fia deserto.

There (in that volume) shall be seen among the works of Albert * that one which will soon cause the pen to move, by which the realm of Prague will be laid waste.

Albert of Hapsburg invaded Bohemia in 1303 (an evil deed which will set in motion the pen of the recording Angel); both on account of his devastation of the country, and from Albert's pretence that he was only acting on behalf of the Empire.

Lì si vedrà il duol che sopra Senna
Induce, falseggiando la moneta,†
Quei che morrà di colpo di cotenna.‡ 120

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four beginning *Mostrava;* and finally a *terzina* of which the first line begins with *Vedea*; the second with *O;* and the third with *Mostrava.* A similar artificial structure occurs now. We have three *terzine* beginning *Lì si vedrà;* three more with *Vedrassi;* and three others with *E.* See *Readings on the Purgatorio,* 3rd ed., vol. i, p. 416.

* *Alberto:* Compare *Purg.* vi, 97-105, and footnote on the passage in *Readings on the Purgatorio,* 3rd ed., vol. i, p. 206.

† *falseggiando la moneta:* This circumstance is related by Giov. Villani (viii, cap. 58): "Lo re di Francia, . . . per fornire sua guerra sì fece falsificare le sue monete, e la buona moneta del tornese grosso, ch' era a undici once e mezzo di fine, tanto il fece peggiorare, che tornò quasi a metade, e simile la moneta prima; e così quelle dell' oro, che di ventitrè e mezzo carati, le recò a men di venti, facendole correre per più assai che non valeano; onde il re avanzava ogni dì libbre seimila di parigini e più, ma guastò e disertò il paese, chè la sua moneta non tornò alla valuta del terzo."

‡ *cotenna:* The word means literally "pig's-hide," and is used here for the boar itself. *Pars pro toto.* Compare a similar use of the word by Giusti in his immortal *Sant' Ambrogio,* wherein (st. 8) he relates how on hearing a beautiful German hymn sweetly sung by Austrian soldiers, he was astounded that such lovely sounds could come from such thick hides :—

"E mi stupisco che in quelle cotenne,
In quei fantocci esotici di legno,
Potesse l' armonia fino a quel segno."

There shall be seen the misery which he (Philip *le Bel*), who shall die from the stroke of the wild-boar (*lit.* of the hide), is bringing upon the Seine (*i.e.* upon France), by falsifying the coin.

Philip *le Bel* debased the coinage to pay the expenses of his Flemish war. He was killed while out hunting in 1314, either from being ripped up by the boar, or from the effects of a fall caused by the boar running between his horse's legs.

Lì si vedrà la superbia ch' asseta,
Che fa lo Scotto e l' Inghilese folle,
Sì che non può soffrir dentro a sua meta.

There shall be seen the arrogance (of Edward I) that sets athirst, that makes both Scot and Englishman so mad that neither can rest quiet within his borders.

On these lines Dr. Barlow (*Critical, Historical, and Philosophical Contributions to the Study of the Divina Commedia*, London, 1864, pp. 485-495) writes that had Sir Walter Scott, in his *Border Antiquities*, intended to write a commentary on Dante's words in the Divina Commedia, he could not have expressed himself more to the purpose than he has done (see vol. i, pp. xlix-li). Dante is, by most Commentators, thought to be here alluding to the fierce wars between Edward I and John Balliol, which devastated the borders of England and Scotland (consequent on the usurpation by Edward I of the latter's crown), and lasted for a century afterwards. Henry II and Malcolm IV had established a friendly intimacy that had brought peace and prosperity to both countries, but, with the succession of Edward I, all this was changed, and much for the worse. Lubin and Casini try to show that the allusion is rather to Edward II than to Edward I.

Vedrassi la lussuria e il viver molle
Di quel di Spagna a di quel di Buemme,* 125
Che mai valor non conobbe, nè volle.
Vedrassi al Ciotto di Jerusalemme
Segnata con un I la sua bontate,
Quando il contrario segnerà un emme.

The luxury shall be seen and the effeminate living of him of Spain, as also of him of Bohemia, who never knew valour nor desired it. There shall be seen counted to the Cripple of Jerusalem his virtue with an I, while an M shall mark the contrary.

This scathing sarcasm is applied to Charles II, King of Naples, and son of Charles of Anjou. He was generally known as Charles *le Boiteux* [*ciotto* is derived from the mediæval Latin *coxus*, lame]. He also bore the title, an empty one, of King of Jerusalem. "I" stands for "one," and "M" for a "thousand," and the sense is, that in the book of the recording Angel the one solitary virtue of Charles, his liberality, will be registered † on the credit side, while fully a thousand vices will stand on the debit side.

Dante next alludes in bitter terms to Frederick,

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* *quel di Spagna . . . quel di Buemme:* He of Spain is thought to be Ferdinand IV of Castille, born in 1285, crowned King of Castille in 1295, and died 1312. Some think Alphonso X of Aragon is meant; but both Scartazzini and Casini agree with *Philalethes* that Dante, throughout this description, is only speaking of persons then living, and Alphonso died in 1281. He of Bohemia is undoubtedly the indolent Wenceslaus (Wenzel) IV, of whom Dante speaks in *Purg.* vii, 101, 102, saying that Ottacar, the father, was, even as a suckling

". . . . meglio assai che Vincislao suo figlio
Barbuto, cui lussuria ed ozio pasce."

† On Charles's one virtue, see *Par.* viii, 82, where Charles Martel, speaking of his younger brother Robert King of Sicily, utters an expression of regret that Robert had by no means inherited the liberal qualities of their father Charles *le Boiteux*,

son of Pedro of Aragon, King of Sicily, which island Dante, from the fact of Mount Etna being in it, terms "the Isle of Fire." Frederick's great crime in the eyes of Dante was his having first espoused the cause of the Ghibelline Imperialists, which he abandoned upon the death of the Emperor Henry VII, in 1313.

Vedrassi l' avarizia e la viltate
Di quel che guarda l' isola del foco,
Dove Anchise finì la lunga etate ; *
Ed a dare ad intender quanto è poco,
La sua scrittura fien lettere mozze,†
Che noteranno molto in parvo loco.

The avarice and cowardice shall be seen of him who guards the Isle of Fire (Sicily), where Anchises ended his long life; and to make understood his utter littleness, the record of him shall be in abridged writing (*lit.* maimed letters), which will express much matter in a brief space.

Dante goes on to vituperate two blood relations of Frederick's.

E parranno a ciascun l' opere sozze
Del barba ‡ e del fratel, che tanto egregia
Nazione e due corone han fatte bozze.

---

thereby accentuating the fact that there had been that one merit in Charles :—

"La sua natura, che di larga parca
Discese," etc.

* *Dove Anchise finì la lunga etate :* Anchises is supposed to have died in Sicily. See Virgil, *Æn.* iii, 707-711 :—

"Hinc Drepani me portus et illaetabilis ora
Accipit. Hic, pelagi tot tempestatibus actus,
Heu ! genitorem, omnis curae casusque levamen,
Amitto Anchisen. Hic me, pater optime, fessum
Deseris, heu, tantis nequidquam erepte periclis ! "

† *lettere mozze* = mutilated, *i.e.* contracted letters, meaning "abbreviations." Frederick is considered too worthless even to have his evil deeds written out in full. Abbreviations are sufficient for such a creature.

‡ *Del barba :* "Il Barba" (masculine) is an old Lombard

And to every one shall be known the foul deeds of his uncle and his brother, who have dishonoured a lineage so illustrious, and two crowns.

These two are James, King of the Balearic Isles, and James, King of Aragon, the former uncle, the latter brother to Frederick of Aragon, King of Sicily.

Three kings are next mentioned together, namely, Dionysius, King of Portugal (1279-1325); Hákon VII (surnamed *Hákeggr* or *Höjbenet, i.e.* Longshanks), King of Norway (1299-1319); and Stephen Ouros, King of Rascia, the modern Dalmatia, who in 1307 struck coins which counterfeited the Venetian ducat, though of a debased value. Scartazzini denies the counterfeit, and says these coins did not bear the Venetian stamp, but Stephen Ouros own effigy.

E quel di Portogallo, e di Norvegia*
Lì si conosceranno, e quel di Rascia
Che mal ha visto† il conio di Vinegia.

And he of Portugal, and he of Norway, shall there be known, and he of Rascia, who to his own hurt has seen the coin of Venice.

---

word for "Uncle" still existing in Lombardy and the Tuscan Romagna.

* *Norvegia:* Benvenuto says Norway is a kingdom in the coldest parts, very near the north, where the days are exceedingly short, and from whence are brought good falcons. Benvenuto had evidently not heard Norway spoken of as "The Land of the Midnight Sun"!

† *Che mal ha visto*, or *male a visto* (*a* being the same as *ha*), Dr. Moore found in 118 MSS. Others read *male aggiustò*, *mal a visto*, *male advisto*, *i.e.* adiustò, *male a justo*, and *che molto ha vista*. See *Textual Criticism*, p. 471; and the prefatory note at p. iv. Compare *Purg.* iv, 71, 72:—

"la strada
Che mal (*i.e.* to his destruction) non seppe carreggiar Feton;"

and *Par.* vi, 69:—

". . . . mal per Tolommeo poi si riscosse."

Hungary and Navarre are next mentioned.

O beata Ungaria, se non si lascia
Più malmenare! E beata Navarra,
Se s' armasse del monte che la fascia!

O blessed Hungary, if she let not herself be further ill-treated! and blessed Navarre, if she would arm herself with the mountain chain, that girds her (*i.e.* resist behind her natural fortification, the Pyrenees, any attempts to bring her into subjection to France)!

Andreas of Hungary, who reigned 1290-1301, was the last king of the line of St. Stephan. He was said to have usurped the throne, which by right belonged to Carobert, son of Charles Martel (see *Par.* viii).

Philip *le Bel* married Joan, daughter of Henry I of Navarre, the last of that line, and after her death in 1304, their son Louis *Hutin* succeeded to the throne of Navarre; but after the death of his father, in 1314, he succeeded to the throne of France also, and took the style of King Louis X of France and Navarre.

The Canto concludes by the Eagle adding that, as an anticipated proof of what he has predicted of Navarre, the two principal cities of Cyprus, meaning the whole island, are impatiently lamenting over their misgovernment * by Henry II de Lusignan, who, a beast of sensuality himself, keeps pace with the other crowned beasts, namely, the other above-mentioned bad monarchs.

E creder dee ciascun che già, per arra
Di questo, Nicosía e Famagosta
Per la lor bestia si lamenti e garra,
Che dal fianco dell' altre non si scosta."—

* See Benvenuto's denunciation of the state of things in Cyprus.

> And every one must believe now, in earnest of this, that Nicosia and Famagosta bewail themselves, and cry aloud, because of their beast who departs not from the other (beasts)."

De Gubernatis remarks that any one reading the above long denunciation might well call Dante the Scourge of Princes, long before the days of Aretino, and with better right to the name. We must not however infer, as many modern republicans do at the present day, that Dante was hostile to monarchical government, nor, because he wrote very severely about certain Popes, that he was hostile to the Church; but the fact is, that Dante had such a lofty conception, both of the Monarchy and of the Church, that he regarded both the Imperial crown and the Tiara as honours almost divine, and willed therefore that only those princes and those priests should be exalted to such great honours as were really and truly great and virtuous.

END OF CANTO XIX.

CANTO XX.

SPHERE OF JUPITER (CONCLUDED)—THE SONG OF THE JUST —THE GLORIFIED SPIRITS OF PRINCES WHO HAVE LOVED JUSTICE, SEEN IN THE EYE OF THE EAGLE— HOW TRAJAN AND RHIPEUS, THOUGH HEATHENS, CAME TO BE SAVED—PREDESTINATION.

THE last Canto brought to an end the Eagle's denunciation of unjust Princes reigning in the time of Dante. We shall now read how the Eagle speaks again, and names some of the more illustrious of the spirits forming its body.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

In the First Division, from ver. 1 to ver. 30, the song of the blessed spirits is resumed.

In the Second Division, from ver. 31 to ver. 72,* the Eagle speaks of certain spirits.

In the Third Division, from ver. 73 to ver. 129, the Eagle solves Dante's doubt on the subject of the salvation of Trajan and Rhipeus.

In the Fourth Division, from ver. 130 to ver. 148, the Eagle describes the Mystery of Predestination as an inscrutable abyss.

Division I.—So soon as the utterance of the Eagle

* I do not follow Benvenuto here for reasons explained later.

has ceased, the blessed Effulgences that form its shape are seen to shine with far greater radiance than before, burning as they are with the fire of Love. This increased resplendence is likened by Dante to what happens during the transition from sunset to night. As long as the Sun is above the horizon, the heavens are lighted up by it alone, but when once it has set, its functions are, as it were, delegated to countless multitudes of stars, which, according to the belief in Dante's time, illumined the heavens after night-fall with light reflected from the Sun. The blessed spirits had been silent while the Eagle was speaking, but as its last words die away, so do they again resume their song, even as the stars resume their light so soon as the Sun's disappearance gives them the signal to shine forth. Dante professes himself unable in earthly language to give any idea of the sweetness of those celestial strains.

Quando colui che tutto il mondo alluma *
Dell' emisperio nostro sì discende,
Che il giorno d' ogni parte si consuma,
Lo ciel, che sol di lui prima s' accende,†

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* *colui che tutto il mondo alluma:* Compare *Conv.* iii, 12, ll. 52-56: "Nullo sensibile in tutto 'l mondo è più degno di farsi esemplo di Dio, che 'l sole, lo quale di sensibile luce sè prima e poi tutti i corpi celestiali ed elementali allumina."

† *di lui prima s' accende:* Compare *Par.* xxiii, 28-30:—

"Vid' io, sopra migliaia di lucerne
Un Sol che tutte quante l' accendea,
Come fa il nostro le viste superne."

And *Conv.* iii, 2, ll. 44, 45: "La natura del sole è participata nell' altre stelle." See also Cesari, vol. iii, p. 379: "Fa notar Dante col primo verso, che stando il sole nel nostro emisferio illumina col suo lume tutte le stelle: ma per essere troppa la sua luce, non si pajono. Corcato questo, e le stelle si fanno vedere."

Subitamente si rifà parvente
Per molte luci,* in che una risplende.
E quest' atto del ciel mi venne a mente,
Come il segno del mondo † e de' suoi duci
Nel benedetto rostro fu tacente;
Però che tutte quelle vive luci,
Vie più lucendo, cominciaron canti
Da mia memoria labili e caduci.‡

When he (the Sun) who illumines all the world descends so far out of our (northern) hemisphere, that the day fades away on every side, the heavens which before (*i.e.* in the day-time) are enkindled by him alone, are on a sudden yet again made conspicuous with many lights, into which one alone, (namely, the Sun) doth shine. And this act of heaven came into my mind, when the ensign of the world and of its leaders had become silent in its sacred beak; because all those living splendours, more luminous than ever, commenced songs which have lapsed and fallen out of my memory.

Full of devout admiration Dante extols the voice of Love that pervades the song of the spirits.

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* *si rifà parvente Per molte luci:* Compare Virg. *Georg.* I, 251:—
"Illic sera rubens accendit lumina Vesper."
In *Conv.* ii, 14, ll. 125, 126, Dante says of the Sun: "che del suo lume tutte le altre stelle s' informano."

† *il segno del mondo:* Dante calls the Eagle the ensign of the World, that is, of the human race, and of its natural leaders the Emperors, strongly emphasizing thereby his firm faith in the Roman Empire possessing, by Divine Providence, the universal rule of the world. In *Par.* vi, 31-33, he denounces equally both Guelphs and Ghibellines as enemies of the Empire represented by its standard, the Eagle:—
"Perchè tu veggi con quanta ragione
Si move contra il sacrosanto segno,
E chi 'l s' appropria, e chi a lui s' oppone."

‡ *labili e caduci:* Casini explains that not only were the chants of a nature to slip away from the memory (*labili*), but they actually did fall out of it (*caduci*).

O dolce amor, che di riso t' ammanti,
Quanto parevi ardente in quei flailli,*
Ch' avieno spirto sol di pensier santi ! 15

O sweet Love, that art mantled in a smile, how ardent didst thou appear amid those pipes (*i.e.* in those singers), which were only breathed into by holy thoughts.

Dante now describes by what means the voice of the Eagle was made to pass through its throat. First, he compares it to the murmuring of a mountain stream as its pure water gushes over the stones ; then, to the different sounds which the fingers produce, as they regulate, either the strings of a guitar, or the holes in a shepherd's pipe.

Poscia che i cari e lucidi lapilli,
Ond' io vidi ingemmato il sesto lume,
Poser silenzio † agli angelici squilli,
Udir mi parve un mormorar ‡ di fiume,

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* *flailli :* Some read *favilli*, which would be a solitary instance of a masculine form of *faville*, " sparks " indicating the Effulgences in their glittering radiance. Tommaséo, one of the authors of the *Gran Dizionario*, reads *favilli*, and consequently *flailli* does not find a place in that Dictionary. Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*) says *flailli* is derived from the Latin *flare*, and probably signifies some wind instrument [*strumento a fiato*], a flute. Scartazzini (edition of 1896) takes this view, understanding the word in the sense of *canti soavi* as according with l. 15, which says that they were only inspired by holy thoughts. Benvenuto reads *favilli*, but applies the word to the voices (*favilli*, idest, sibilis, scilicet, in vocibus canoris illorum spirituum). N.B. *sibilis*, abl. plur. of *sibilus*, a whistling sound, put in the ablative to agree with *in quei favilli.*

† *Poser silenzio,* et seq. Compare *Par.* xv, 4-6 :—
" Silenzio pose a quella dolce lira,
E fece quïetar le sante corde,
Che la destra del cielo allenta e tira."

‡ *mormorar :* Compare Virgil, *Georg.* i, 108-110 :—
" Ecce supercilio clivosi tramitis undam
Elicit ! Illa cadens raucum per levia murmur
Saxa ciet, scatebrisque arentia temperat arva."

Che scende chiaro giù di pietra in pietra,
Mostrando l' ubertà del suo cacume.*
E come suono al collo della cetra †
Prende sua forma, e sì come al pertugio
Della sampogna vento che penètra,
Così, rimosso d' aspettare indugio,
Quel mormorar dell' aquila ‡ salissi
Su per lo collo, come fosse bugio.§
Fecesi voce quivi, e quindi uscissi
Per lo suo becco in forma di parole,

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* Compare *Purg.* iv, 26 :—

"Montasi in Bismantova in cacume;"

and *Par.* xvii, 113, 114 :—

". . . . lo monte, del cui bel cacume
Gli occhi della mia Donna mi levaro."

† *collo della cetra :* "Pone la similitudine del sonare de la chitarra, dicendo: E come lo suono della chitarra, *Prende sua forma*, cioè, suo essere; al collo della chitarra, dove tiene lo sonatore le dita de la mano sinistra, stringendo le corde al legno, or coll' uno dito, or coll' altro, et or con più." (Buti.)

‡ *dell' aquila :* This is the reading of Dr. Moore, as also of Witte and Casini, founded on many excellent authorities. Some read *per l' aquila.*

§ *bugio :* This word is derived from *busare, bugiare* to perforate; hence it means "that which is perforated," *i.e.* hollow. Buti paraphrases the passage in the text: "*come fosse bugio*, cioè come fosse vacuo cannone." Compare Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* ix, st. 28, where a fire-arm is described :—

"Un ferro bugio, lungo da due braccia,
Dentro a cui polve ed una palla caccia."

Ferro bugio later on was called *arco bugio*, and afterwards *archibugio* (an arquebuse). Fanfani (*Voc. dell' uso tosc.* p. 186) says: "*Bugio* per Vuoto, detto di cosa di forma cilindrica, usata fino da Dante, . . . e viva vivissima in Castiglion fiorentino." See also Donkin's *Etymological Dictionary of the Romance Languages*, under the head of *Bugia*, pp. 101, 102. See too Giuliani, *Delizie del Parlare Toscano*, Florence, 1884, Lett. lxxxix, p. 440, where a peasant relates how he had been trying to extemporize a violin: "I' mi son messo a farne uno di canna: incollai tre cannoni (*grosse canne*), due più corti che facessero il bugio (*la parte vuota*) e uno più avanzato da reggerlo colla mano."

Quali aspettava * il core ov' io le scrissi. 30

After that the precious and brilliant stones, with which I saw the sixth light (*i.e.* the planet Jupiter) engemmed, had imposed silence on their angelic chimes, methought I heard the murmur of a stream that falls down limpid from rock to rock, displaying the abundance of its mountain-source. And as the sound upon the neck of the cittern takes its form (*i.e.* its different modulations), and as at the vent hole of the pipe the breath that enters it, so, any delay of pause being laid aside, that murmur of the Eagle rose up through its beak, as though it had been hollow. There it became a voice, and thence it issued through its beak in the form of words, such as the heart in which I wrote them expected.

Division II.—Benvenuto remarks that, in the last Canto, Dante censured those Christian Princes to whom was entrusted the government of the Christian Empire, but whose lives were founded on vice instead of on virtue. Dante now sets about glorifying and extolling those Princes who, from their upright and just government of their realms, have deserved the most exalted fame on earth, and eternal happiness in heaven. Of these he introduces six of surpassing excellence, and represents them as forming the arc of the Eagle's eye, that is, the most noble and living organ of the body.†

The Eagle speaks, inviting Dante especially to look upon its eye.

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* *Quali aspettava*, et seq. : "quasi dicat: et dixit mihi verba desiderata, quae ego bene notavi, et postea descripsi. Desiderabat autor habere notitiam aliquorum spirituum excellentiorum de illa spera joviali sicut supra in aliis speris." (Benvenuto.)

† Scartazzini says it is evident that Dante supposes the Eagle's head to have been exhibited in profile, as it would

—"La parte in me che vede, e pate il sole *
Nell' aquile mortali,"—incominciommi,
—"Or fisamente riguardar si vuole,
Perchè dei fochi, ond' io figura fommi,
Quelli onde l' occhio in testa mi scintilla, 35
E' † di tutti i lor gradi son li sommi.

"That part in me which sees, and which in mortal eagles endures the Sun," it began to me, "must now (by thee) be fixedly gazed at, because of the fires (*i.e.* the ardent spirits) of which I make my figure, those wherewith the eye doth sparkle in my head, they are indeed the most supreme in all their grades.

David is first named, as forming the pupil of the eye.

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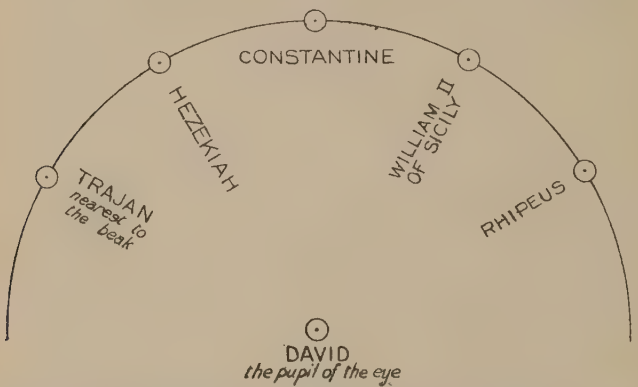
appear on the ancient Imperial Standards, and consequently only one eye would be displayed. The six spirits were disposed as in the accompanying diagram. We must keep in



mind that the Eagle was composed of a multitude of blessed spirits, whose grouping together made up that emblem.

* *pate il sole*, et seq.: Compare what is said of the power of the Eagle's eye to bear the Sun's rays in *Par.* i, 46-48:—

". . . Beatrice in sul sinistro fianco
Vidi rivolta, e riguardar nel sole:
Aquila sì non gli s' affisse unquanco."

† *E'* for *ei*, a pronoun; though some, following La Crusca, read *e*, a copula. *E'* for *eglino* gives great emphasis to the

Colui che luce in mezzo per pupilla,
Fu il cantor dello Spirito Santo,
Che l' arca traslatò di villa in villa.*
Ora conosce † il merto del suo canto,
In quanto effetto fu del suo consiglio,
Per lo remunerar ch' è altrettanto.

He who in the middle shines as the pupil, was the singer of the Holy Spirit, who transferred the Ark from city to city. Now he knows the merit of his song, in so far as it was the effect of his own counsel, by his reward which is proportionate.

David earned his reward in Heaven for that proportion of his authorship of the Psalms, as proceeded from his own free-will, as opposed to that proportion which was due to Divine inspiration, for which he could not be entitled to reward, as it was only a grace vouchsafed unto him.

Having named David, the pupil of the eye, the

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sentence. See Benvenuto: "Illi spiritus splendidiores, ex quibus oculus compositus est, sunt viri summi et maximi."

* *l' arca traslatò di villa in villa:* For the account of the Ark being fetched by David from Kirjath-jearim from the house of Abinadab, and its eventual solemn entry into the city of David, see 2 *Sam.* vi, 1-18; and 1 *Chron.* xiii, xv, and xvi. See too Dante's description of the scene in *Purg.* x, 55-69.

† *Ora conosce:* One may well notice the elaborate mechanical symmetry of the construction in ll. 40-72 which makes *Ora conosce* occur six times over. Similarly in the previous Canto, we find *Lì si vedrà* three times in ll. 115-123; *Vedrassi* three times in ll. 124-132; and *E* or *ed* three times in ll. 133-141. See also *Purg.* xii, 25-63, where there are four *terzine* beginning with *Vedea;* then four beginning with *O;* then four with *Mostrava;* and finally a *terzina* which resumes and unites them all:—

"Vedea Troia in cenere e in caverne:
O Ilïon, come te basso e vile
Mostrava il segno che lì si discerne!"

Also *Inf.* xiii, 1-9, where *Non* occurs five times. Also *Par.* xv, 100-111, where *Non* occurs nine times.

Eagle next names the other five who form the arc of his eye, beginning with Trajan.

Dei cinque che mi fan cerchio per ciglio,
Colui che più * al becco mi s' accosta
La vedovella consolò del figlio.
Ora conosce quanto caro costa
Non seguir CRISTO, per l' esperïenza †
Di questa dolce vita, e dell' opposta.

Of the five who make me an arc along the eyebrow, the one who is nearest to my beak (is he who) gave comfort to the poor widow for her son. Now doth he know how dear it costs not to follow Christ, from his experience of this sweet life and of its opposite.

This refers to the tradition that, in consequence of Trajan's kindness to the widow when, after his death, his soul was already in Hell, the prayers of St. Gregory were successful in getting him restored to life. He then led a new life of penitence and devotion, and at his second death was taken up to Paradise.

The third spirit mentioned is Hezekiah.

E quel che segue in la circonferenza,
Di che ragiono, per l' arco superno,
Morte indugiò per vera penitenza.‡

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* *Colui che più*, etc.: This episode is related by Dante in *Purg.* x, 70-93. See *Readings on the Purgatorio* (3rd edition), vol. i, pp. 359, 360, where a full account is given in the footnote of the legend alluded to here.

† *esperïenza:* Trajan is supposed to be enjoying the bliss of Heaven, after having had the awful experience *dell' opposto*, *i.e.* of the hopeless sadness of *Limbo*.

‡ *Morte indugiò per vera penitenza:* Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, p. 72) observes: "This reference to Hezekiah is interesting, because it looks as if Dante had mixed up two different incidents. When 'sick unto death,' we read that Hezekiah 'wept sore,' but this was in connection, not with penitence for past sins, but with a profession of his constant devotion to the service of God. 'I beseech Thee, O Lord, remember now how I have

Ora conosce che il giudizio eterno
Non si trasmuta,* quando degno preco
Fa crastino laggiù dell' odïerno.

And he who comes next upon the upper arc of the circumference that I am speaking of (*i.e.* the eyebrow), by a sincere repentance postponed his death. Now doth he know that the Eternal Judgment is not altered, when down there (on Earth) a worthy prayer makes what is to-day's to-morrow's.

Hezekiah prayed that his life might be prolonged. The prayer was granted, but he died eventually. His prayer did not alter God's decree that he must die.

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walked before Thee in truth and with a perfect heart, and have done that which is good in Thy sight.' See 2 *Kings* xx, 3. Upon this his life was prolonged. Afterwards he fell into the sin of pride and boastfulness, and his penitence is recorded in 2 *Chron.* xxxii, 26, and the consequence of that penitence was not that the life of Hezekiah was prolonged, but that the wrath of God was not executed in his days." Just in a similar way in the case of the Ark, in *Purg.* x, 55 et seq., Dante has combined or confused incidents in the two stages (3 months apart) of the bringing back of the Ark.

**Non si trasmuta:* In *Purg.* vi Virgil tells Dante that the supreme decrees of God will not have been mitigated in their rigour, because the ardent and loving prayers of friends have accomplished the satisfaction which the soul in Purgatory has to render. The sentence of God once pronounced can never be recalled, but, according to St. Gregory, souls in Purgatory can be absolved in four ways: (1) by offerings of priests; (2) by prayers of holy men; (3) by alms of sons or daughters; or (4) by vigils of kinsmen. See *Purg.* vi, 37-39:—

"Chè cima di giudizio non s' avvalla,
Perchè foco d' amor compia in un punto
Ciò che dee satisfar chi qui s' astalla."

"Dice: ora conosce che 'l giudicio eterno non si trasmuta, quando degno prego, come fu il suo,—*l' odierno*, cioè il dì d' oggi,—*fa crastino*, cioè indugiare, indomane . . . quasi dica: si prolunga solo in differenza di tempo, ma non in quantità di pena." (*Ottimo.*) See also St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars ii, 2^{dæ}, qu. lxxxiii, art. 2).

Scartazzini thinks Dante has taken a very erroneous view as to Hezekiah's alleged penitence (2 *Kings* xx, 3; and *Isaiah* xxxviii, 3). Hezekiah "wept sore" at the announcement of his approaching death, but there is not a word said as to his tears proceeding from contrition.

Constantine the Great is mentioned next, and the Eagle complains that by transferring to Byzantium the seat of Empire, which ought to have remained at Rome, he made himself, and with him the Roman laws and the Imperial Standard, Greek, and by the cession of Rome to the Pope Sylvester I, in the so-called *Donatio Constantini*, the Emperor, with good intentions, wrought great evil.

L' altro che segue, con le leggi e meco,* 55
Sotto buona intenzion che fe' mal frutto,†
Per cedere al pastor,‡ si fece Greco.
Ora conosce come il mal dedutto

---

* *e meco:* Must be understood as *e in mia compagnia*, because the Eagle, as the Standard of the Empire, would always be where the Emperor was.

† *fe' mal frutto:* Compare *Inf.* xix, 115-117:—

"Ahi, Constantin, di quanto mal fu matre,
Non la tua conversion, ma quella dote
Che da te prese il primo ricco patre!"

See on this passage in *Readings on the Inferno*, vol. ii, pp. 100-103.

‡ *Per cedere al pastor:* I translate *per cedere* "to give place," rather than "by giving place," *i.e.* the purpose rather than the means. In *De Mon.* ii, 13, ll. 66-69, Dante distinctly ascribes *intention* to Constantine: "O felicem populum, o Ausoniam te gloriosam, si vel numquam infirmator ille imperii tui natus fuisset, vel numquam sua pia intentio ipsum fefellisset!" Mr. Gardner (p. 144) says: "Constantine illustrates the teachings of Aquinas as to good intentions . . . with the laws and the Eagle he became Greek, to yield Rome to the Pope, *sotto buona intenzione che fe' mal frutto*, or, as Dante has elsewhere (*Purg.* xxxii, 138) written of the Eagle's action in lining the chariot with his feathers, *Forse con intenzion sana e benigna*."

Dal suo bene operar non gli è nocivo,*
Avvegna che sia il mondo indi distrutto. 60

The next who follows, with a good intention that bore evil fruit, to give place to the Pastor (*i.e.* the Pope) made himself Greek, with the laws and with me. Now knows he how the evil derived from his good work has not been hurtful to him (*i.e.* has not been imputed to him as a sin) notwithstanding that the world is being destroyed by it.

William II, the Norman King of Naples and Apulia, is the next. His kingdoms are not only mourning that he is dead, but also that his successors, Charles the Lame on the throne of Apulia, and Frederick of Aragon on that of Sicily, are alive.

E quel che vedi nell' arco declivo,
Guglielmo † fu, cui quella terra plora

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* *non gli è nocivo:* St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, 2^{dæ}, qu. xx, art. 5) writes: "Eventus sequens non facit actum malum qui erat bonus, nec bonum qui erat malus."

† *Guglielmo:* William II, surnamed "the Good," was the third and last of the great Norman Kings of Sicily and Apulia. He was born 1154, crowned 1166, and died 1189. He was descended in a direct line from "the Great Count" Roger de Hauteville. Dying childless, he bequeathed his dominions to his aunt "la gran Costanza" (*Par.* iii, 118), "and," as Mr. Gardner (*op. cit.*) remarks, "so opened the way for the long and deadly struggle between the houses of Hohenstaufen and Anjou." All the old Commentators speak in terms of the highest commendation of his just and admirable rule. *Philalethes* states that William expended the vast treasures that his father (William the Bad) had amassed, upon church building and pious foundations. Chief among these, the Cathedral of Monreale, near Palermo, remains as a splendid memorial of his honoured name. Few that travel in Sicily fail to visit this glorious building, beautiful alike for its gorgeous mosaics as for its graceful proportions, nor can they fail to mark in the south transept the stately porphyry tombs of William II (the Good) and William I (the Bad). The tomb of William the Good only bears this simple inscription:—

Hic situs est bonus rex Gulielmus.

Casini remarks that the following Latin verses, extracted from

Che piange Carlo e Federico* vivo.
Ora conosce come s' innamora
Lo ciel del giusto rege,† ed al sembiante
Del suo fulgore il fa vedere ancora.

And he whom thou seest in the downward arc was William, whom that land (Sicily) bewails, which weeps for Charles and Frederick living. Now knows he how Heaven is enamoured with a just King, and by the aspect of his radiance he still makes it seen.

Of Rhipeus the Trojan, the last of these six super-excellent spirits, nothing is known except that Virgil

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a *Planh* or *Complaint* preserved by Richard de St. Germain, attest the general esteem in which William was held during his life-time.

"Plange planctu nimio, Sicilia, Calabriae regio,
Apulia, Terraque laboris [*Terra di Lavoro*] . . .
Rex Gulielmus abiit, non obiit,
Rex ille magnificus, pacificus,
Cujus vita placuit Deo et hominibus;
Ejus spiritus Deo vivat coelitus."

* *Carlo e Federico:* We read in the last Canto, ll. 127-138, the contemptuous allusion to these two, Charles being spoken of as the "Ciotto di Jerusalemme." See also *Purg.* xx, 79. Frederick is disparagingly referred to in *Purg.* vii, 118. Compare too Dante's fierce denunciation of Charles and Frederick, in *Conv.* iv, 6, ll. 168-190: "O miseri, che al presente reggete! . . . Ponetevi mente, nemici di Dio, a' fianchi, voi che le verghe de' reggimenti [*sceptres of the kingdoms*] d' Italia prese avete; e dico a voi, Carlo e Federigo regi . . . meglio sarebbe a voi, come rondine [*swallow*] volare basso, che come nibbio [*falcon*] altissime rote fare sopra cose vilissime." See also *De Vulg. Eloq.* i, 12, ll. 36 et seq.

† *s' innamora Lo ciel del giusto rege:* Hettinger (see *Bowden's Translation*, p. 372), after saying of Imperial Justice: "Justice, the most admirable of virtues, is the brightest jewel of the imperial crown," adds that St. Thomas Aquinas enlarges the same thought (*De Regim. Princip.* i, 9) when he says that "the eternal reward that God will bestow upon His earthly representatives is the supreme and ultimate motive, which impels the monarch to be just. But since a pre-eminent degree of virtue is requisite in order that he may govern justly, that is, without respect to any personal advantages, therefore a just prince merits a far higher reward than others."

(*Æn.* II, 426, and in two other passages) speaks of him as a most righteous man. Scartazzini thinks that Dante, in introducing him here, must have held the belief that Divine Grace could reveal future redemption even to virtuous heathens. Some think that Æneas, a personage well known, would have far more appropriately held a place among the six most illustrious spirits in the Eagle's eye, but Æneas, being only known as a Pagan, Dante could not apply to him the lines 118-126, in which, by a poetic fiction, he represents Rhipeus as having been converted to the worship of the true God.*

Chi crederebbe giù nel mondo errante,
Che Rifeo Troiano in questo tondo
Fosse la quinta delle luci sante?
Ora conosce assai † di quel che il mondo 70

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* Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, pp. 171, 172) after ascribing the singular selection of Cato, though a suicide, as the guardian of Purgatory to line 670 in Virgil, *Æn.* viii, goes on to say: "Similarly I doubt not that the anomalous privilege accorded to the Trojan Rhipeus (whose natural place would of course be in *Limbo*), that he should be one of the five righteous rulers composing the eyebrow of the mystic eagle typifying Justice, is due to the words in which he is characterized by Virgil, *Æn.* ii, 426, 427:—

'Rhipeus *justissimus* unus
Qui fuit in Teucris, et *servantissimus aequi.*'

Compare with this the language in which Dante afterwards justifies this selection, l. 121:—

'Tutto suo amor laggiù pose a drittura.'"

† *conosce assai*, etc.: Rhipeus, being among the blessed, knows a great part of the Divine mysteries that are not known to men on earth, though his knowledge cannot penetrate *sino al fondo della grazia di Dio.* Compare what Dante says in *Par.* xv, 34-36:—

"Chè dentro agli occhi suoi ardeva un riso
Tal, ch' io pensai co' miei toccar lo fondo
Della mia grazia e del mio Paradiso."

Casini says that this thought was quite in accordance with early Christian theologians, and quotes St. Augustine, *Serm.* xxxviii:

Veder non può della divina grazia,
Benchè sua vista non discerna il fondo."—

Who down in the world would believe that Rhipeus the Trojan was the fifth of the saintly lights in this circle? Now knows he much of what the world is unable to discern of the Divine Grace, although his vision discerns not its extreme depth."

Division III.*—The Eagle, having concluded its commendation of the six blessed spirits that form its eye, is silent for a while; and Dante, in lines of great beauty, likens the pause in its discourse to the pause of a lark as it rejoices in its song. The Eagle had manifested its joy as it enumerated the righteous Princes that formed its eyebrow.

Quale allodetta † che in aere si spazia ‡
Prima cantando, e poi tace contenta

"Attingere aliquantulum mente Deum magna beatitudo est, comprendere autem impossibile." Compare too St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. xii, art. 8): "Nullus intellectus creatus totaliter Deum comprehendere potest . . . Nullus igitur intellectus creatus, videndo Deum, potest cognoscere omnia quae Deus facit, vel potest facere."

* I have not followed Benvenuto here, who ends *Division* II at l. 78. I prefer making the division at the conclusion of the Eagle's speech.

† *allodetta:* Donkin (*Etymological Dictionary of the Romance Languages*, s. v. *allodola*) remarks: "This is one of the few words which we may certainly refer to a Celtic origin. It was known to Caesar, who raised a 'legio *Alauda*' in Gaul. This, Suetonius says, was the Celtic for *galerita* or lark. Various derivations have been given of the Celtic word," too long to quote here. The Provençal diminutive *alauzeta* would of course have been known to Dante.

‡ *si spazia:* Compare Virg. *Georg.* i, 388, 389:—
"Tum cornix plena pluviam vocat improba voce,
Et sola in sicca secum spatiatur arena."

Dell' ultima dolcezza che la sazia,* 75
Tal mi sembiò † l' imago della imprenta
Dell' eterno piacere, al cui disio
Ciascuna cosa, quale ell' è, diventa.

Like unto the lark that takes a wide range in the air, first singing, and then is silent, content with the last sweetness (of her song) which satisfies her, such (*i.e.* equally content with its last words) appeared to me the image of the imprint (*i.e.* the Eagle which is the seal) of the Eternal Pleasure, in accordance with whose desire everything becomes the thing it is.

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* *ultima dolcezza che la sazia:* Virgil (*Georg.* I, 412, 413) notes how the birds rejoice in their own songs:—

"Nescio qua praeter solitum dulcedine laeti,
Inter se foliis strepitant."

† *Tal mi sembiò*, et seq.: Scartazzini differs considerably from the majority of Commentators in his interpretation of this *terzina*. His words are to the following effect: "Dante compares the Eagle to the lark, which first sings and then is silent, rejoicing in its song. It follows then that the speaking of the Eagle is compared to the song of the lark, the silence of the Eagle to the silence of the lark, the gladness of the Eagle to the gladness of the lark. But what is it at which the Eagle rejoices? Dante replies: 'It is the *imprenta dell' eterno piacere*.' The simile absolutely requires us to take as understood, *del piacere da lei provato parlando*. But this pleasure was an imprint of the eternal pleasure (*dell' eterno piacere*)."—"L' imago dell' imprenta dell' eterno piacere" means, however, simply "The Eagle"; and Buti's interpretation, which I adopt, is so generally approved, that I give it *in extenso:* "Sì fatta mi parve, *l' imago de la imprenta;* cioè l' imagine de la figurata aquila, che Iddio la figurava come si figura una figura d' una forma, imprimendola ne la cera, o in altra cosa ricettevile di quella, *De l' eterno piacere;* cioè d' Iddio, che è eterno piacere, *al cui disio;* cioè al desiderio e volontà del quale Iddio, *Ciascuna cosa, qual ell' è, diventa;* cioè ogni cosa diventa tale, quale ella è nel piacere d' Iddio: imperò che ogni cosa è fatta da Dio tale, quale elli la vuole; unde santo Augustino: *Tales nos amat Deus, quales facti sumus dono ejus; non quales sumus nostro merito;* e santo Prospero: *Tales a Domino, quales formamur, amamur; non quales nostro existitimus merito.* E questo dice l' autore, per togliere dubbio al lettore di quel che àe detto; cioè che la detta aquila, finita la sua orazione, cantò; e, poi finito lo canto, si tacque rimanendo contenta di quello canto ch' avea fatto al piacere d' Iddio."

Trissino paraphrases this well : " Ugualmente sazia dell' ultime parole mi sembrò l' immagine dello stemma di quel Romano Impero, in cui l' eterno beneplacito ha ordinata l' universal Monarchia, per volontà del quale, ogni cosa, è quello ch' è." Lamennais : " L' image, qui par l'eternelle volonté de Dieu, est le signe de la Monarchie universelle."

It has been said (observes Scartazzini) by some saintly man, that for those whom the Grace of God has permitted to enter into Heaven, there will be three great marvels :—

(1) Not to find there many whose salvation they have regarded as assured.

(2) To find there many to whom they had never imagined the Gates of Heaven *could* ever be opened. But the greatest wonder of all will be :

(3) To find themselves admitted into Heaven.

Now here it is the second marvel that has forcibly struck Dante. He had not expected to meet any heathen in Paradise, in which belief he was the more confirmed by the words he had heard in *Par.* xix, 103-105 : " To this realm none ever ascended who did not believe in Christ, either before or after He was nailed to the tree."

But now he has seen the blessed spirits of two pagans, one, Rhipeus, born before Christ, and the other, Trajan, born after ; but who both had died without believing in Him. Dante is unable to repress his astonishment, and describes himself here so impregnated with his doubt, that he was as little able to conceal it as stained glass would be to hide its colour. An involuntary exclamation of enquiry as to the possi-

bility of such things springs from his lips. The blessed spirits of the Just, knowing that Dante's doubt concerns the depth of God's Justice, and knowing themselves deputed to reassure him on the righteousness of God's judgments, testify their joy by a great increase of radiance.

Ed avvegna ch' io fossi al dubbiar mio
Lì quasi vetro * allo color che il veste,
Tempo aspettar tacendo non patío; †
Ma della bocca:—"Che cose son queste?"—
Mi pinse con la forza del suo peso;
Per ch' io di corruscar vidi gran feste.

And although I was there in relation to my doubting

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* *quasi vetro*, et seq.: On this Mr. Butler observes: "It may here be noted that, until the fifteenth century, only *ruby glass* was *coated*, *i.e.* made with a film of colour on one side, the rest being clear, whence the force of the metaphor. All other glass was *pot-metal*; *i.e.* coloured throughout." This simile of stained glass is also found in *Conv.* iii, 8, ll. 96, 97: [La passione dell' Anima] "dimostrasi nella *bocca*, quasi siccome colore dopo vetro." Compare also Petrarch, part i, *Canzone* iii, st. 4:—

"Certo, cristallo o vetro
Non mostrò mai di fore
Nascosto altro colore,
Che l' alma sconsolata assai non mostri
Più chiari i pensier nostri," etc.;

and Sonnet xcvii, st. 4:—

"Ma freddo foco e paventosa speme
Dell' alma, che traluce come un vetro,
Talor sua dolce vista rasserena."

† *non patío:* I follow Benvenuto in taking this as the first person singular, though many take it as the third person. He says: "*Et io non patío*, idest, non passus fui, non sustinui," etc. Nannucci (*Analisi Critica*, pp. 162, 163, iii): "Essendosi chiusa in O la prima persona singolare del presente e dell' imperfetto, si chiuse egualmente anche quella del perfetto, affinchè le prime persone singolari di tutti i tempi dell' indicativo avessero una pari desinenza: *amo*, *temo*, *sento: amavo*, *temevo*, *sentivo: amao temeo*, *sentio: amerò*, *temerò*, *sentirò*." Nannucci quotes the following in illustration, from the *Novelle Antiche*, Firenze, 1572, nov. 20: "Io poi che mi partio, abbo avuto moglie e figliuoli."

almost as glass unto the colour that mantles it, I could not endure to wait in silence for the time (for the spirits themselves to speak); but (my doubt) with the force of its own weight urged from my mouth (the exclamation): "What things are these?" Whereat I saw a great revelry of flashing rays.

With joy glistening in its eye, the Eagle proceeds to utter its discourse. It tells Dante that, although he has come to believe its recent words, he evidently does not yet understand them; and is like one who has merely learned the external qualities of things, without discerning their essence.

Poi appresso con l' occhio più acceso
Lo benedetto segno mi rispose,
Per non tenermi in ammirar sospeso:*
—"Io veggio che tu credi queste cose,
Perch' io le dico, ma non vedi come;
Sì che, se son credute, sono ascose.
Fai come quei † che la cosa per nome

**in ammirar sospeso:* The wonderment was at seeing two pagan unbelievers in Christ (Trajan and Rhipeus) among God's elect in Heaven.

†*Fai come quei*, etc.: St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars ii, 2dæ, qu. viii, art. 1 and 2) distinguishes between the two kinds of man's understanding: "Cognitio sensitiva occupatur circa qualitates sensibiles exteriores; cognitio autem intellectiva penetrat usque ad essentiam rei . . . dupliciter dici possumus aliqua intelligere: uno modo perfecte, quando scilicet pertingimus ad cognoscendam essentiam rei intellectae, et ipsam veritatem enuntiabilis intellecti, secundum quod in se est; et hoc modo ea quae directe cadunt sub fide intelligere non possumus durante statu fidei; sed quaedam alia ad fidem ordinata etiam hoc modo intelligi possunt. Alio modo contingit aliquid intelligi imperfecte, quando scilicet ipsa essentia rei, vel veritas propositionis non cognoscitur quid sit aut quomodo sit; sed tamen cognoscitur quod ea quae exterius apparent, veritati non contrariantur, inquantum scilicet homo intelligit quod propter ea quae exterius apparent, non est recedendum ab his quae sunt fidei; et secundum hoc nihil prohibet, durante statu fidei, intelligere etiam ea quae per se sub fide cadunt."

Apprende ben; ma la sua quiditate *
Veder non può, se altri non la prome.†

And thereafter with eye still more enkindled the blessed emblem made reply to me, to keep me not suspended in wonderment: "I see that thou believest these things, because (it is) I (who) say them, but thou dost not discern how; so that if they are believed they remain hidden (*i.e.* not understood). Thou doest as one who well apprehends the thing by name; but is unable to conceive the *quiddity* of it, unless some one else reveal it.

The Eagle proceeds to tell Dante that Man can force himself into acquiring grace by the power of Love and Hope. Trajan returned to life through the prayers of St. Gregory. Rhipeus believed in the eventual coming of Christ, and was saved by Faith, Hope, and Love. The salvation of the one was due to the ardent Hope of St. Gregory, the salvation of the other was the reward of his own love (Scartazzini).

Regnum coelorum violenza pate ‡

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* *quiditate:* The *quiddity* of anything is a scholastic term, meaning the essence of a thing, that which makes it what it is. St. Thomas Aquinas, in the passage from art. 1 cited above, adds: "Objectum intellectus est *quod quid est* (*i.e.* the quiddity of a thing").

† *prome:* This word occurs in no other place in the *D.C.* The *Gran Dizionario* quotes only one other passage in which it is used, viz. in the *Rime* of Lorenzo de' Medici, 98:—

"In ogni loco la natura prome
Ogni animale in terra, in aria, in onde."

Promere, from the Latin = *manifestare, palesare, metter fuori.*

‡ *violenza pate:* These words are derived from *Matt.* xi, 12, in the *Vulgate:* "A diebus autem Joannis Baptistae usque nunc, regnum coelorum vim patitur et violenti repiunt illud." L. Venturi (*op. cit.* Sim. 318) observes that this is a negative simile which falls upon the abuse which arrogant men make of their own strength, just the contrary of what God does. The former is a victory of pride and arrogance, the other a victory of Love.

Da caldo amore e da viva speranza, 95
Che vince la divina volontate;
Non a guisa che l' uomo all' uom sopranza,*
Ma vince lei perchè vuol esser vinta,
E vinta vince con sua beninanza.†

Regnum cœlorum suffers violence (*i.e.* must be taken by storm) from ardent Love, and vivid Hope, which vanquishes the Divine Will; not in the guise that man prevails over man, but vanquishes it, because it wills to be vanquished, and being vanquished vanquishes by its beneficence.

Buti says that the above must be read with this distinction: God's will is expressed in two ways. The first is absolute, and can never be overcome, for it overcomes everything; the second is a conditional Will which is, that God wills that you shall be damned if you are without Faith; but there may be in God such Love towards you, and such vivid Hope, that God *may* so will that, although the first kind of His Will be not removed, which still holds good in so far as that every infidel shall be damned, yet God wills that a means may be found for him to turn into the condition of not being an infidel, but become a believer, and in that way the Will of God remains ever absolute, and yet conditional.

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* *sopranza:* The *Gran Dizionario* does not give this word under *sopr.*, but under *sovr.*, though Tommaséo, one of the authors, in his edition reads *sobranza.* The *Dizionario* has: "*Sovranzare*, e *Sobranzare*, v. a. and N. *Sovraneggiare, Soprastare Sopravanzare.*" Compare *Par.* xxiii, 35, 36:—

"Quel che ti sopranza
È virtù, da cui nulla si ripara."

† *beninanza:* Compare *Par.* vii, 142, 143:—

"Ma vostra vita senza mezzo spira
La somma beninanza."

See footnote on that passage in vol. i, p. 241.

In ll. 94-99, the Eagle has impressed upon Dante that he cannot possibly comprehend how much the power of Love and Hope can prevail over the Divine Will, but it now goes on to assert—what must be looked upon as a stretch of the Poet's imagination—namely, that Trajan and Rhipeus died as believers, or, in other words, Christians in spirit.

La prima vita del ciglio * e la quinta
Ti fa maravigliar, perchè ne vedi
La regïon † degli Angeli dipinta.
Dei corpi suoi non uscîr, come credi,
Gentili, ma Cristiani, in ferma fede,
Quel dei passuri, e quel dei passi piedi;

The first living spirit (*lit.* life) of the eyebrow (Trajan) and the fifth (Rhipeus) make thee marvel, because thou seest the region of the Angels adorned with them. They did not issue from their bodies, as thou imaginest, Gentiles, but Christians, in steadfast belief, the one (Rhipeus) in the feet that were to suffer, and the other (Trajan, in the feet) that had suffered.

That is, Rhipeus believed in a Redeemer Who was to die on the Cross, while Trajan believed in a Redeemer Who had so died. The case of Trajan is dealt with first.

Chè l' una dello Inferno,‡ u' non si riede

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* *La prima vita del ciglio:* Compare *Par.* xii, 127, 128:—

"Io son la vita [*i.e. anima*] di Bonaventura
Da Bagnoregio;"

and *Par.* xiv, 6:—

"La gloriosa vita di Tommaso."

† *La regïon*, etc.: Scartazzini remarks that, according to the Schoolmen, the Heavens are more the abode of blessed men than of Angels.

‡ *l' una dello Inferno . . . tornò all' ossa:* On this legend about Trajan's resuscitation to a second life, his supposed conversion to Christianity, and his consequent eternal salvation,

Giammai a buon voler,* tornò all' ossa,
E ciò di viva speme fu mercede;
Di viva speme, che mise la possa
Ne' preghi fatti a Dio per suscitarla,
Sì che potesse sua voglia esser mossa.
L' anima gloriosa onde si parla,
Tornata nella carne, in che fu poco,
Credette in Lui che poteva aiutarla;
E credendo s' accese in tanto foco
Di vero amor, ch' alla morte seconda
Fu degna di venire a questo gioco.†

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see *Purg.* x, 70-93, in *Readings on the Purgatorio*, 3rd edition, vol. i, pp. 359, 360 (footnote), where Perez is quoted to the effect that the episode belongs to one of those popular legends, which Dante sometimes adopted, giving to them a semblance of truth. Mr. Gardner (*op. cit.* pp. 147, 148) happily remarks: "This amazing legend was gravely discussed by mediæval theologians, even by St. Thomas himself in the *Summa* [pars iii, suppl., qu. lxxi, art. 5], and various explanations were given; some supposed that it was only a temporary respite accorded to Trajan until the day of judgment, and others, like Aquinas and Dante, that after his soul's reunion with his body, he was baptised and did penance on earth, and then went to Paradise. Even as late as Bellarmine's time the matter was thought worthy of discussion, but Bellarmine prudently adds [quoted in Hettinger, Bowden's edition, p. 212]: 'But as Trajan's resurrection was witnessed by no one, and as the fact is not recorded by any ancient author, I prefer the view that the story is fictitious.'"

* *u' non si riede . . . a buon voler:* As long as the soul of Trajan was in Hell, it could not be moved to repent, or to wish to attain good. On this, see St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars iii, suppl., qu. xcviii, art. 1): "Obstinata voluntas nunquam potest flecti nisi in malum. Sed damnati homines erunt obstinati sicut et daemones. Ergo voluntas eorum nunquam poterit esse bona."

† *gioco:* Others, including Buti, read *loco*. On this Dr. Moore (*Textual Criticism*, p. 472) writes: "The reading *gioco* is unhesitatingly to be preferred to *loco*. A shallow notion of some want of dignity in *gioco* no doubt suggested the substitution of the thoroughly commonplace word *loco*. The fact, too, of *gioco* being used in a somewhat unusual sense (= *ἀνάπαυσις*), so that its precise meaning is not quite agreed on among the Commen-

> For the one (living spirit, of Trajan) returned to his bones from Hell, whence none ever returns to righteous will (as there is no room there for repentance), and that was the reward of vivid hope; of vivid hope (St. Gregory's), which based its power in prayers made to God for its resuscitation, so that it might be possible for his (Trajan's) will to be moved. The glorious spirit of whom we are speaking, having returned to the flesh, in which it dwelt but a little while, believed on Him who had the power to aid it; and in believing was kindled to such fire of true love, that upon its second death it was (found) worthy to come to this joyous beatitude.

Trajan's second life, after his resuscitation, is not supposed to have lasted longer than just to allow him to become a believer; after which he died his second death.

As regards the salvation of Rhipeus, Benvenuto remarks that it is more or less an answer to what was said before (*Par.* xix, 67-78) about a just and virtuous man who may have been born on the banks of the Indus; and so Dante has happily introduced another pagan infidel, Rhipeus, of whom it would

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tators, would itself invite the introduction of a *facilior lectio* such as *loco*. But these very considerations would themselves tend to support *gioco* as being after the manner of Dante, for though he claims never to have said anything different from what was in his mind for the sake of a rhyme, yet he maintains that 'many times and often he had made words say for him something different from that which they usually expressed for others;' [and the author of the *Ottimo Commento*, in his note on *Inf.* x, 85, states that he himself heard Dante say this]: and passages will occur to every one in abundance in which our conventional ideas of dignity are disregarded." Compare *giochi*, in *Par.* xxxi, 133, and xxxii, 103; *ludi* in *Par.* xxviii, 126, and *tripudi*, two lines above; *tripudio* in *Par.* xii, 22; *trastullare* in *Par.* ix, 76; and *angelico caribo* in *Purg.* xxxi, 132. Benvenuto explains *gioco* by *coelestem beatitudinem.*

seem far less probable that he should be saved, by reason of the time, because he lived many centuries before the advent of Christ; by reason of the place, because he was of Troy in the East, where haughty pride abounded at that time; by reason of the race because he was a Gentile pagan and not a Jew. Briefly, therefore, our author wishes by this fiction to state this conclusion, that such a pagan as Rhipeus, as to whose salvation there could not reasonably be any hopes, is yet not debarred from being saved.

Tommaséo in a chapter entitled *La Fede e la Salvazione*, in his Commentary, at the end of this Canto, says that Dante, reading in Virgil about Rhipeus, a warrior who died while fighting for his country, *justissimus unus qui fuit in Teucris et servantissimus aequi* (*Æn.* ii, 426, 427), conceived the idea of making him a symbol of those souls who had no direct knowledge of revelation, and therefore had no explicit faith in it, and yet are predestined to salvation. And it was distinctly a source of pleasure to Dante that Rhipeus was a citizen of Troy, from which city there came to sacred Rome both its sacrifices and its gods. Dante placed Rhipeus, a private citizen, in the eyebrow of the Eagle alone in company with kings, so as to show with what equality real merit is rewarded in heaven, and ought to be also on earth.

We shall now see that the soul of Rhipeus is represented as having had such a large infusion of Divine Grace, that he gave up his whole life to justice; and was therefore permitted by God to have a special Divine Revelation of the coming Redemption,

L' altra, per grazia che da sì profonda
Fontana * stilla, che mai creatura
Non pinse l' occhio infino alla prim' onda,
Tutto suo amor laggiù pose a drittura ;
Perchè di grazia in grazia Dio gli aperse †
L' occhio alla nostra redenzion futura :
Ond' ei credette in quella, e non sofferse
Da indi il puzzo ‡ più del paganesmo,
E riprendiene le genti perverse.§
Quelle tre donne gli fûr per battesmo,
Che tu vedesti dalla destra rota,‖
Dinanzi al battezzar più d' un millesmo.

The other (spirit), through the grace that wells up

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* *Fontana :* "Discende dalla fontana profonda, cioè da Dio, della quale fontana di grazia nulla creatura vide mai lo principio suo." Compare *Purg.* viii, 68, 69 :—

"Colui, che sì nasconde
Lo suo primo perchè, che non gli è guado."

† *aperse :* Casini observes that Dante may have been led into his belief as to the salvation of Rhipeus by the words of St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars ii, 2dæ, qu. ii, art. 7) : "Multis gentilium facta fuit revelatio de Christo. . . . Si qui tamen salvati fuerunt quibus revelatio non fuit facta, non fuerunt salvati absque fide mediatoris ; quia etsi non habuerunt fidem explicitam, habuerunt tamen fidem implicitam in divina providentia, credentes Deum esse liberatorem hominum secundum modos sibi placitos, et secundum quod aliquibus veritatem cognoscentibus Spiritus revelasset."

‡ *puzzo :* = "Stench ;" but used in the moral sense, as in *Par.* xvi, 55, 56 :—

"e sostener lo puzzo
Del villan d' Aguglion, di quel da Signa," etc.

§ *perverse :* Some translate this "wicked," others "stubborn," but I prefer to follow Buti, Brunone Bianchi, and Fraticelli, all Tuscans, who render it, "pervertite al paganesmo." Compare *Par.* xxii, 39 :—

"Dalla gente ingannata e mal disposta."

‖ *dalla destra rota :* The three theological virtues, Faith, Hope, and Charity, are described (*Purg.* xxix, 121 et seq.) dancing by the right wheel of the triumphal car in the Terrestrial Paradise.

> from so deep a fountain, that never did creature push the eye as far as its primal source, set all his love down there (in the world) on righteousness; wherefore from grace to grace did God open his eye to our future redemption: so that he believed in it, and from that time could no longer endure the stench of paganism, and he reproved thereof the perverted (*i.e.* pagan) peoples. The three Ladies whom thou sawest by the right wheel (of the Gryphon's chariot) were to him in place of baptism more than a thousand years before baptism (was instituted).

The three theological virtues of Faith, Hope, and Charity, were supposed to have supplied the place of baptism for Rhipeus. Mr. Butler calls attention to the way they are worked in throughout this exposition. We find them (1) in l. 95 and 104; (2) in 109, 114, 116; (3) 121, 123, 124; and all together in 127. On ll. 127-129 Dean Plumptre remarks: "An implicit faith may thus be accepted where explicit faith is wanting; so faith, hope, and charity may be attained without baptism, and supply its place. From Dante's standpoint this did not involve any recognition of merit in man's natural righteousness beyond that of assenting to the first motions of the supernatural light. It was still the grace of God that worked from first to last—from grace to grace. So Aquinas (*Summ.* iii, 66, 11; 68, 2*), and even Augustine (*De Bapt.*

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* The following are the passages quoted by Dean Plumptre (*Summ. Theol.* pars iii, qu. lxvi, art. 11): "Aliquis per virtutem Spiritus sancti consequitur effectum baptismi, non solum sine baptismo aquae, sed etiam sine baptismo sanguinis, inquantum scilicet alicujus cor per Spiritum sanctum movetur ad credendum et diligendum Deum, et paenitendum de peccatis; unde etiam dicitur baptismus paenitentiae." And (*ibid.* qu. lxviii, art. 2): "Sacramentum baptismi alicui deesse re potest, sed non voto; sicut cum aliquis baptizari desiderat, sed aliquo casu

c. Don. IV, 22) admit that the lack of baptism may be supplied either by martyrdom, or by the wish for baptism when it cannot be had, or by the faith working by love which is not tied to visible ordinances."

Division IV.—The Eagle brings his words to an end by concluding that Predestination is an unfathomable abyss into which the human eye is not able to penetrate. And (Scartazzini adds) from the inscrutable mystery of Predestination, the Eagle draws this maxim, namely, not to form judgment lightly upon the future destiny of human souls. We may remember that Canto xiii also concludes with the same maxim.

O predestinazion,* quanto remota 130
È la radice tua da quegli aspetti
Che la prima cagion non veggion *tota* ! †

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praevenitur morte, antequam baptismum suscipiat, et talis sine baptismo actuali salutem consequi potest, propter desiderium baptisti, quod procedit ex fide per dilectionem operante, per quam Deus interius hominem sanctificat, cujus potentia sacramentis visibilibus non alligatur." And St. August. (*De baptis. contr. donat*, lib. iv, cap. 22): "Invenio non tantum passionem pro nomine Christi, id quod baptismo deerat, posse supplere, sed etiam fidem conversionemque cordis, si forte ad celebrandum mysterium baptismi in angustiis temporum succurri non potest."

* *predestinazion:* "Predestinazione è quando Iddio provede che alcuno sia salvato, che non può essere che non sia; e prescienza è quando Iddio provede che uno debbe esser perduto. E perchè l' autore parla qui de' salvati, però dice *predestinazione* e non *prescienza.*" (Buti.) St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. xxiii, art. 2) thus defines predestination: "Praedestinatio est quaedam ratio ordinis aliquorum in salutem aeternam, in mente divina existens. Executio autem hujus ordinis est passive quidem in praedestinatis, active autem est in Deo."

† *tota:* Compare *Par.* vii, 85, 86:—

"Vostra natura, quando peccò *tota*
Nel seme suo," etc.;

and compare my note upon that passage.

E voi, mortali, tenetevi stretti
A giudicar; chè noi che Dio vedemo,
Non conosciamo ancor tutti gli eletti; * 135
Ed enne dolce così fatto scemo,†
Perchè il ben nostro in questo ben s' affina,
Che quel che vuole Iddio e noi volemo." ‡—

O Predestination, how far removed is thy root from the vision of those who do not see the First Cause in its entirety! And ye mortals, keep yourselves wary in judging; for we who behold God [it is the Eagle who is speaking] know not yet all the elect; and to us such a deficiency (of knowledge) is sweet, because our good is perfected in this good, that what God wills that we will also."

Dean Plumptre says that "the doctrine of predestination is recognized by Dante, as it was by Augustine and Aquinas, but so that it does not clash with man's freedom and responsibility. Dante deals with it in the temper of art. xvii of the English Church, and of the royal declaration prefixed to the articles. Men must be silent and adore, refrain from judging others, and from presuming on their own election. We know not—not even the souls of the blest know—the number of God's elect, nor who they are, and can only judge approximately by what we see of men's works and characters. The seeming tares may be really wheat—may be capable of development into wheat;

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* *Non conosciamo ancor tutti gli eletti:* Scartazzini quotes a remark of Venturi upon this: "Conforme a quella Colletta della Chiesa: 'Deus, cui soli cognitus est numerus electorum in superna felicitate locandus.'"

† *scemo:* Compare *Purg.* x, 14: "Lo scemo della luna."

‡ *quel che vuole Iddio e noi volemo:* Of the complete submission and conformation of their wills by the blessed spirits in Paradise to that of God, Dante had already been admonished by Piccarda, in the beautiful lines in *Par.* iii, 52-54, and 70-87.

the seeming wheat may degenerate into tares, or turn out to have been tares from the first. Such ignorance is better for us than knowledge, it being the best discipline for our minds that they should will what God wills, in the belief that that will is absolutely righteous and loving."

Dante now concludes the Canto by remarking that the words of the Eagle, by their gentle persuasion, had acted upon him as a sweet medicine to heal his rash judgment, which (says Benvenuto) is an infirmity greatly prevalent in human minds ; and he describes the bright festival of radiance exhibited by those two spirits, Trajan and Rhipeus, about whom the Eagle had made so long a discourse. Their scintillations of light corresponded with each other, and corresponded with the words of the Eagle, even as the strains of the lute, in perfect harmony, accompany the notes of a singer.

Così da quella imagine divina,
Per farmi chiara la mia corta vista,
Data mi fu soave medicina.
E come a buon cantor buon citarista *
Fa seguitar lo guizzo della corda,
In che più di piacer lo canto acquista ;
Sì, mentre che parlò, sì mi ricorda
Ch' io vidi le due luci benedette,
Pur come batter d' occhi si concorda,†

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* *buon citarista :* Compare *Conv.* i, 11, ll. 79-82 ; "Il mal citarista biasima la citara, credendo dare la colpa del . . . mal sonare . . . alla citara e levarla da sè."

† *si concorda :* Compare *Par.* xii, 22-27, where the same idea is explained :—

" Poichè il tripudio e l' alta festa grande,
Sì del cantare e sì del fiammeggiarsi,
Luce con luce gaudïose e blande,

Con le parole * mover le fiammette.

In such wise by that Divine image, to make clear to me my limited vision, there was given to me sweet medicine. And as a skilled lute-player makes the vibration of the strings accompany a good singer, whereby the singing acquires more delight, so, while it (the Eagle) was speaking, can I remember that I saw the two blessed Effulgences move their flamelets simultaneously with their words, just as the winking of the eyes concord (*i.e.* the eyes move in unison).

Benvenuto observes that there can be no doubt that the senses are more delighted by hearing singing accompanied by melody, than by hearing singing alone, or melody alone. And thus was it with Dante, who experienced a greater amount of joy and delight from the discourse of the Eagle, because it was associated with the scintillations of those two spirits, than he would have done from the discourse alone, or from the scintillations alone.

Insieme, a punto ed a voler, quetârsi,
Pur come gli occhi, ch' al piacer che i move
Conviene insieme chiudere e levarsi."

* *Con le parole:* Buti says that the spirits of Trajan and Rhipeus were joyful that there should be a manifestation of the Glory of God shining in them.

END OF CANTO XX.

CANTO XXI.

THE SEVENTH HEAVEN—SPHERE OF SATURN—THE ASCENT THERETO—THE CONTEMPLATIVE SPIRITS OF MONKS AND HERMITS—THE CELESTIAL LADDER—SAN PIER DAMIANO—THE LUXURY OF PRELATES CENSURED.

In the last Canto, says Benvenuto, Dante described the illustrious spirits of the Sphere of Jupiter that had merited eternal felicity by the active life, both civil and political. In the present Canto Dante purposes to treat of those souls who served God by the contemplative life, far removed from all the turmoil of the world. These souls had followed the influence of the planet Saturn.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

In Division I, from ver. 1 to ver. 42, Dante describes his ascent into Saturn, and how he saw a ladder and blessed spirits upon it.

In Division II, from ver. 43 to ver. 72, he relates how one of these spirits, San Pier Damiano, solved certain doubts that Dante was feeling.

In Division III, from ver. 73 to ver. 102, Dante asks Pier Damiano why he especially, more than any other spirit, has been predestined to come and instruct him, and the spirit gives him an answer.

In Division IV, from ver. 103 to ver. 142, San Pier Damiano tells Dante his name, as well as his abode

on earth, and concludes by upbraiding the luxury of the Cardinals and Prelates of Dante's time.

Division I.—As soon as the Eagle has ceased from speaking, Dante fixes his eyes upon Beatrice, and they rise up into the Sphere of Saturn. Here she does not smile, because Dante, as a mortal man, could not have sustained the power of that heavenly smile; and the spirits in Saturn, for the same reason, refrain from singing. Dante observes a ladder similar to that seen by Jacob, which is intended to symbolize the ascent to contemplation; and on it he sees gleaming the radiant forms of holy hermits. San Pier Damiano talks with him, giving him information about predestination; and then, after extolling the simple lives of the monks of olden time, he inveighs against the luxury of modern prelates.

Già eran * gli occhi miei rifissi al volto

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* *Già eran*, et seq.: On ll. 1-24 Lombardi observes: "In Saturn, of all the planets the most exalted, by reason of the virtue of Contemplation that is ascribed to it, Dante places the contemplative Saints; and—recognizing in Beatrice the type of all Theology, and consequently of mysticism, namely, the contemplative part—under the figure both of his own actions and those of Beatrice which he here describes, indicates what things are requisite to the contemplative mind. Therefore when he says that his eyes were fixed upon the countenance of Beatrice, and that not his eyes only but also his mind were withdrawn from all other thought or purpose [*tolto da ogni altro intento*], he indicates that Contemplation absorbs Man's whole self in God, and does not suffer him to think of aught else; and Beatrice's abstention from smiling here, and her saying that were she to smile Dante would be consumed like Semele, indicates that, for human intellect to elevate itself to the contemplation of God, there is need of special aid from Heaven, without which Man's vision would be completely dazzled." See also Landino: "Quando l' uomo trascende insino al supremo grado della specu-

Della mia Donna, e l' animo con essi
E da ogni altro intento s' era tolto ;
E quella non ridea, ma :—" S' io ridessi,"—
Mi cominciò—" tu ti faresti quale
Fu Semelè,* quando di cener fêssi ;
Chè la bellezza mia, che per le scale
Dell' eterno palazzo più s' accende,
Com' hai veduto,† quanto più si sale,
Se non si temperasse, tanto splende,
Che il tuo mortal potere al suo fulgore
Sarebbe fronda che tuono ‡ scoscende.

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lazione divina, se Beatrice ridesse, cioè dimostrasse tutto il suo splendore, l' ingegno umano n' abbaglierebbe, in forma che vol'endo veder il tutto, non vede alcuna cosa." We shall see, however, in Canto xxiii, that, when Dante reaches the Heaven of the Fixed Stars, he has then acquired the power to gaze upon the smile of Beatrice, though such power is lacking to him now.

* *Semelè :* Compare Tasso, *Rime* i, Canz. 15 :—

" E bene il fato
Di Semelè infelice or mi sovviene,
Che il gran Giove veder nelle terrene
Forme ignude bramò, come de' suoi
Nembi e fulmini cinto in sen l' accoglie
Chi gli è sorella e moglie ;
Ma sì gran luce non sostenne poi,
Anzi sue belle spoglie
Cenere fêrsi."

The story of Semele, who, at the instigation of Juno, besought Jupiter to come to her in the full blaze of his unveiled divinity, and was instantly consumed, is told by Ovid, *Metam.* iii. See also Statius, *Theb.* iii. 184, 185 :—

" Fulmineum *in cinerem* monitis Junonis iniquæ
Consedit."

† *Com' hai veduto :* The beauty of Beatrice grew more radiant the higher Dante ascended in the Heavens. Compare *Par.* v, 94 et seq. ; viii, 13 et seq. ; xiv, 79 et seq.

‡ *tuono :* In *Conv.* iii, Canzone, st. 4, Dante speaks of the wonders produced by the beauty of Beatrice. In a letter to me on this passage, Dr. Moore writes : " According to Aristotle, and therefore no doubt to Dante, it was thunder rather than lightning that caused the mischief. Wind pent up in an overstrained cloud was the cause of both. The cloud bursts at last, and the wind rushes out with a great noise, that is *thunder.*

> Already were my eyes once more fixed upon the countenance of my Lady, and with them my mind, and it had abstracted itself from every other consideration; and she was not smiling, but: "Were I to smile," she began, "thou wouldst become such as was Semele, when she turned into ashes; because my beauty, which upon the stairs of the eternal palace is more enkindled, as thou hast seen, the higher one ascends, blazes with such radiance that, were it not tempered, at its effulgence thy mortal power would be as a branch which the thunderbolt rives.

Beatrice now (apparently by way of giving a reason for her increased beauty) informs Dante that they have reached the Sphere of Saturn, where the contemplative spirits are enjoying their eternal rest, and where silence and gravity prevail. Lana, followed by the *Anonimo Fiorentino*, and some others of the old Commentators, asserts that the dwellers in this Sphere are of two kinds: the one gross and material, as peasants, husbandmen, and the like; the other kind are entirely withdrawn from worldly occupations, such as those who have given themselves up

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If the wind *happens to ignite*, lightning occurs, if not, it is manifested as a typhoon (τυφὼν) or a hurricane. No doubt, the fire in lightning becomes an additional and separate cause of danger, but the destructiveness of the phenomenon did not depend on its becoming visible in the form of lightning. See *Par.* viii, 22, and my note in *Studies in Dante*, p. 132. To the passages in Aristotle quoted may be added *Meteor.* ii, 9 (369a, 28-29); and *De Mundo*, c. 4 (395a, 11-17). Hence, says Aristotle, the thunder really precedes the lightning, though it *seems* to follow it, because sight is a quicker sense than hearing. See *Purg.* xiv, 134, which refers to the rumbling of the imprisoned wind which dies away if the cloud bursts and lets it out. Then l. 136 describes the rushing forth either in the form of lightning or not, and the crash which *follows* in the sense explained above." Dr. Moore adds that the above explanation sufficiently indicates Dante's ideas on thunder and lightning.

to a contemplative religious life. The gross and material follow the peculiarity of Saturn, which is a cold and dry planet, and they are cold and material; but as Saturn is elevated far away beyond the other planets, so are the spirits of the second category elevated far beyond all other acts and operations.

Noi sem levati al settimo splendore,
Che sotto il petto del Leone ardente *
Raggia mo misto † giù del suo valore. ‡ 15
Ficca diretro agli occhi tuoi la mente,
E fa di quegli specchi alla figura,
Che in questo specchio § ti sarà parvente."—

We are now lifted up to the seventh splendour (*i.e.* Saturn), which underneath the breast of (*i.e.* in conjunction with) the burning Lion is at this time darting down (on the earth) his rays mixed with some of the power of it (Leo). Make thy mind follow after thine eyes, and of them make mirrors

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* *Leone ardente:* Cornoldi says of the Sphere of Saturn: "il quale pianeta mentre Dante visitavalo, era dai terreni veduto nella costellazione del Leone, e perciò, secondo l' opinione del volgo, mandava i suoi influssi proprii misti con quelli della stessa costellazione." Benvenuto, also, notes that in March, 1300, Saturn was in Leo, and the natural cold of that planet is supposed to be tempered by the warmth of that sign. And Lana, after saying almost the same words, adds: "Nota come la influenzia venne mista alla terra della natura de' corpi celesti: Leone si è caldo e secco, . . . Saturno è freddo e secco; or mischia queste due complessioni, averai eccellente secco, ma le qualità *active*, come caldo e freddo, l' una tempera l' altra."

† *misto:* Compare *Par.* ii, 143:—

"La virtù mista per lo corpo luce."

‡ *valore:* Compare *Conv.* iv, 2, ll. 96-99: "E avvegnachè *valore* intender si possa per più modi, qui si prende *valore* quasi potenza di natura, ovvero bontà da quella data, siccome di sotto si vedrà."

§ *specchio:* Compare *Purg.* iv, 61-63, where *specchio* means the Sun:—

". . . Se Castore e Polluce
Fossero in compagnia di quello specchio,
Che su e giù del suo lume conduce."

for the figure which in this mirror (*i.e.* the Sphere of Saturn) shall be made manifest unto thee."

Fraticelli thus explains this obscure passage: "Get your mind, that is, your attention, to be fixed where your eyes will be fixed, and of these last make mirrors, which is the same as saying, turn them, to the figure which *in questo specchio*, that is, in this radiant planet, *ti sarà parvente*, will appear to you." Fraticelli adds that *Fare specchio degli occhi a una cosa* signifies to look closely at an object. As De Gubernatis remarks, Dante is invited to be "all eyes," so that in his eyes may be reflected the figure which he is to see in this new planet. This figure, we shall see, is the ladder of pure gold which reaches up to the Highest Heaven.

Dante exclaims that, great and intense as is his delight in gazing at Beatrice, even greater is the delight of obeying her.

Chi sapesse * qual era la pastura
Del viso † mio nell' aspetto beato, 20

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* *Chi sapesse*, et seq.: Scartazzini remarks that these lines have given rise to much controversy. He examines their context. Dante is all absorbed in contemplation of Beatrice. She, after telling him he would not be able to endure her smile, orders him to turn his eyes and his attention away from her to the things that will be shown him in the heaven of Saturn into which they have risen. It is clear, in ll. 19-24, that Dante tells us how he obeyed Beatrice's commands. In l. 22 he describes how pleasant that obedience was to him, and in l. 24 he says that one will better know the pleasure of the obedience, if one compares *l' un con l' altro lato.* But, to picture to oneself a pleasure, one must not compare it with a *dis*pleasure, but with some other pleasure. Hence *l' altro lato* is something agreeable. Hence the first pleasure is the contemplating of Beatrice; the second is the obeying her.

† *viso:* In *Inf.* iv, 11, 12, Dante uses *viso* to express the eyes, the sight:—

"Tanto che, per ficcar lo viso al fondo,
Io non vi discerneva alcuna cosa."

Quand' io mi trasmutai ad altra cura,
Conoscerebbe quanto m' era a grato *
Ubbidire alla mia celeste scorta,
Contrappesando l' un con l' altro lato.

Whoso could realize what was the feasting of my eyes upon that saintly countenance, when I transferred myself to another object, will know how pleasing it was to me to do the bidding of my celestial guide, weighing the one side against the other.

On this Cesari observes that Dante was inebriated by first turning back to the sight of Beatrice; and she at once orders him to turn his eyes elsewhere. What resolution did he not have to summon in order to obey her! But when he had done so, how great would be his gratification in pleasing her, if only he could conquer the desire of contemplating her. *Contrappesando* is the same as saying putting these two pleasures in a pair of scales. Cf. *Inf.* xxviii, l. 142: *lo contrapasso.* Beatrice (ll. 16-18) has bidden Dante to look upon a certain figure, and he has turned to seek for it. He now sees a ladder of pure gold extending farther up than the eye can reach, and numberless shining ones ascending and descending † upon it. In *Par.* xxii,

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* *quanto m' era a grato Ubbidire*, et seq.: Compare *Purg.* xxxii, 106-108:—

". . . ed io, che tutto ai piedi
De' suoi comandamenti era devoto,
La mente e gli occhi, ov' ella volle, diedi;"

and *Par.* xxiii, 76-78:—

". . . Ed io, ch' a' suoi consigli
Tutto era pronto, ancora mi rendei
Alla battaglia dei debili cigli."

† Compare *Gen.* xxviii, 12: "And he dreamed, and, behold, a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven; and, behold, the angels of God ascending and descending on it."

70 et seq., he expressly states that he took the idea from Jacob's ladder.

Dentro al cristallo * che il vocabol porta,
Cerchiando il mondo, del suo chiaro duce,
Sotto cui † giacque ogni malizia morta,
Di color d' oro in che raggio traluce,‡
Vid' io uno scaleo § eretto in suso

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* *cristallo* follows well after *specchio* in l. 16.

† *Sotto cui:* This refers to the Golden Age when the world, under the beneficent reign of Saturn, is supposed to have had a happiness and tranquillity never known before or since. Compare *Inf.* xiv, 96 :—

"Sotto il cui rege fu già il mondo casto;"

and *Purg.* xxviii, 139-141 :—

"Quelli che anticamente poetaro
L' età dell' oro e suo stato felice,
Forse in Parnaso esto loco sognaro."

See also Juv. *Sat.* vi, 1, 2 :—

"Credo pudicitiam Saturno rege moratam
In terris."

Ovid (*Metam.* i, 89-112) describes the Golden Age.

‡ *in che raggio traluce:* "cioè, percosso dal sole, cioè fulgidissimo." (Andreoli.) Andreoli adds that this verb is not used in the sense of *trans*lucere, but of the *inter*lucere of the Latin. Compare *Par.* xvii, 123 :—

"Quale a raggio di sole specchio d' oro."

Dr. Moore writes to me: "Perhaps note that *lucido* in Dante and elsewhere does not mean *transparent*, but bright, and polished, *e.g.* clearly so in *Purg.* xv, 69, and also no doubt in vii, 74. *Conv.* iii, 7, l. 118, proves this conclusively." Dr. Moore mentions having come across a good illustration recently in the *Legenda Aurea*, where there are said to be three kinds of bodies *creatura:* (1) opaca; (2) transparens sive pervia; (3) lucida.

§ *scaleo:* St. Bernard (Liber *De modo bene vivendi*, L III) gives the following interpretation of Jacob's ladder: "Upon this ladder are placed all those *predestined* to the Life Eternal, and whosoever aspires to Heaven, finds a place on it. This ladder is the *Church Universal*, one part of which is still militant on Earth, and one part reigns in Heaven. Upon it there are three orders of persons, namely: the militant on Earth; the Active spirits; and the Contemplative spirits. The militant on Earth upon the lowest steps; the Active higher up; the Contemplative are upon the summit of this ladder, placed almost in Heaven

Tanto che nol seguiva la mia luce. 30

itself, because they meditate upon celestial matters. These are the Angels of God ascending the ladder, for they ascend through contemplation to God, and descend through compassion to their neighbour. The *Active Life* is the *Innocence* of good works; the Contemplative, however, renouncing the world, finds its delight in living unto God alone." In Lubin's Commentary reference is made to the German nun Mechtildis von Hackeborn, whose mystical writings and supposed revelations are embodied in a book entitled *Della Grazia Spirituale e delle Rivelazioni.* Dr. Lubin thinks Dante may well have been acquainted with this work, about the time of the death of Mechtildis in 1300. In the *Studi* prefixed to Lubin's Commentary, pp. 346, 347, there is a very long passage quoted, in which Mechtildis is said to have seen in a vision a ladder. I quote a few lines of it: "Dopo di che ella vide una scala con nove gradini, sulla quale stava una moltitudine di Angeli in modo che sul primo gradino più basso, erano gli Angeli; sul seguente gli Arcangeli, e così di seguito sopra ogni gradino vi era un Ordine dei cori angelici. Ed il Signore le fece intendere come in questa Scala era significata la vita e la condotta degli uomini." After detailing the increasing merits of the various grades of spirits on the first eight steps, those on the ninth are described in a passage of such beauty that I feel constrained to translate and give it in detail: "And they who love God with their whole heart and soul, and who cast themselves into the Eternal Fire, which is God Himself, and who make themselves like unto Him; they too, who, not from personal love, but from love of God, love even as they are themselves loved, who loved all in God and all for God; who behave to their enemies the same as they would to their friends; they whom nothing can separate from God, nor hinder them from coming to Him; who become so enkindled with His Love, that, were it possible for them, they would render all men perfect in the love of God; who weep for the sins of others as though they were their own, because they love and seek for, not their own honour, but solely that of God—these will stand in close proximity to God, upon the ninth step with the Seraphim, between whom and God no other spirits have their place." Lubin remarks that we have here the actual plan of the *Paradiso* of Dante. He does not contend that Dante took the idea from Mechtildis; because he had worked out his whole plan before knowing her book; but, as mentioned above, Lubin feels sure that Dante must have read her book, which may well have determined him to take her for one of his teachers.

Vidi anco per li gradi scender giuso
Tanti splendor,* ch' io pensai ch' ogni lume
Che par nel ciel quindi fosse diffuso.

Within the crystal, which, as it revolves round the world, bears the name of its illustrious leader (Saturn), under whose sway (in the Golden Age) all wickedness lay dead, I saw, of the colour of gold on which a sun-ray is gleaming, a ladder raised up so high, that my sight was unable to follow it. I saw moreover descending its steps such multitudes of shining ones, that methought all light that beams in Heaven was shed from thence.

Of the ladder in its allegorical sense, Lana and the *Anonimo Fiorentino* think it portrays the various ranks of ecclesiastical dignities. The *Ottimo* remarks that in Mars the Cross represented the stair, to show that the spirits had ascended to God by martyrdom; in Jupiter the Eagle denoted the sign of the Empire; so here the Ladder denotes that the ascent of these spirits is of a more exalted degree than the others, for they ascended by Contemplation. Benvenuto, Buti, Landino, the *Postillatore Cassinese*, Vellutello, and Daniello take the same view. Benvenuto thinks the ascending is the contemplation from earth to heaven, and from heaven even up to God Himself. The Ladder being of pure gold indicates the perfection of the contemplative life as compared with others.

As Dante looks upon the radiant forms of the spirits, he compares their movements up and down the Ladder to the wheeling about of a flight of daws. The simile

* *Tanti splendor:* Observe that *tanti* means "so many;" it indicates, not *one* great light, but multitudes of lights; countless as the stars in the heavens (as in *Gen.* xv, 5; *Exod.* xxxii, 13; *Deut.* x. 22: "as the stars of heaven for multitude").

embraces the various movements of the birds in comparison with the coming and going of the blessed spirits.

E come per lo natural costume
Le pole * insieme al cominciar del giorno
Si movono a scaldar le fredde piume;
Poi altre vanno via senza ritorno,
Altre rivolgon sè onde son mosse,
Ed altre roteando fan soggiorno;
Tal modo parve a me che quivi fosse
In quello sfavillar che insieme venne,
Sì come in certo grado si percosse; †

And as, according to their natural habit, the daws, assembled at the break of day, bestir them to warm their chilled pinions; then some depart without returning, some repair again to whence they started, and others abide wheeling round and round; such fashion seemed to me was here within that glittering throng flocked together, as soon as it came upon a certain stair.

To understand this better: Dante likens the shining spirits to the daws. They all descended the ladder in company; but when they lighted upon one particular stair, they began, like the daws, a diversity of movements. Some returned upward to whence they

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* *pole:* I should have translated *pole* "rooks," but that Casini expressly says that to do so would be a mistake: "*pola* è il nome popolarmente dato alla *mulacchia* (Lat. *monedula*); cioè alla gazza o pica [?], bene perciò *l' Ottimo* spiega: *pole*, cioè mulacchie, mentre tutti i commentatori intendono per *cornacchie* (Lat. *cornices*)." *Monedula* is a daw, jackdaw, or chough. Scartazzini (*Enciclopedia Dantesca*, s. n.) says that, in his own native country, the Val Bregaglia in the Grisons, the peasants in calling their chickens say: "*Pola, pola*, or *pola pitta!* or *pula pitta!*" He says some derive *pola* from *pullus*.

† I follow Benvenuto's division of the Canto here, but ending as it does with a semicolon, it is not a very convenient one. The *Ottimo* also ends a division at the same place.

had descended; some departed to go elsewhere; some descended to the foot of the stairs to speak with Dante, while others remained at a certain distance welcoming him with their radiance.

Division II.—Dante is desirous of conversing with the nearest of these spirits, who is shining with an especial radiance, but he dares not address him until Beatrice gives him permission. It is the spirit of San Pier Damiano, Abbot of the Monastery of Santa Croce di Fonte Avellana in the Apennines.

E quel che presso più ci si ritenne,
Si fe' sì chiaro, ch' io dicea pensando:
—"Io veggio ben l' amor che tu m' accenne."—
Ma quella, ond' io aspetto il come e il quando
Del dire e del tacer, si sta, ond' io
Contra il disio fo ben ch' io non domando.
Perch' ella, che vedeva * il tacer mio
Nel veder di Colui che tutto vede,
Mi disse:—"Solvi il tuo caldo disio." †—

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* *vedeva . . . veder . . . vede:* In *Readings on the Inferno*, 2nd ed., vol. i, pp. 456, 457, in a footnote on *Inf.* xiii, 25, a number of passages are quoted of similar word-play.

† *Solvi il tuo . . . disio:* Observe, *solvi* here is not to unloose, make manifest, declare, but *solvere il disio* is an idiom signifying *ottenere ciò che si desiderava, adempire, appagare, saziare* il disio. See *Gran Dizionario*, s. v. *solvere*, § 9. Compare *Par.* xv, 49-52:—

"Grato e lontan digiuno,
. . . . . .
Soluto hai, figlio."

See also *Par.* xix, 25, 26:—

"Solvetemi spirando il gran digiuno
Che lungamente m' ha tenuto in fame;"

and Petrarch, part i, Son. 177:—

"Send' io tornato a solver il digiuno
Di veder lei."

> And that one which kept closest to us, became so radiant, that in my thoughts I said: "Full well do I see the love thou art signifying to me." But she (Beatrice), from whom I await the how and the when of speech or of silence, keeps still, wherefore I, contrary to my wish, do well not to ask. Whereupon she, who in the sight of Him Who seeth all things beheld my silence (*i.e.* by the Omniscience of God discerned my tacit desire), said to me: "Satisfy thine ardent wish."

Availing himself of Beatrice's permission, Dante addresses San Pier Damiano, and puts to him the two following questions: first (ll. 56, 57), "Why have you approached me?" and secondly (ll. 58-60), "Why in this heaven only is there an absence of those sweet melodies which in the other Spheres so entranced my ear?" Scartazzini thinks that the first question is a poetic artifice to give Dante the opportunity of discussing the mystery of Divine Predestination.

Ed io incominciai:—"La mia mercede *
Non mi fa degno della tua risposta,
Ma per colei che il chieder mi concede,
Vita † beata, che ti stai nascosta 55

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* *mercede:* Although the primary signification of this word is "recompense," it often means, as here, *Merito, Cosa meritoria,* and Dante not unfrequently uses it in that sense. Compare *Par.* xxxii, 73, 74:—

"Dunque, senza mercè di lor costume
Locati son per gradi differenti."

Buti explains the first line: "Senza merito di loro operazione." Compare also *Par.* xxviii, 112, 113:—

"E del vedere è misura mercede,
Che grazia partorisce e buona voglia;"

and *Inf.* iv, 33-35:—

"Or vo' che sappi, innanzi che più andi,
Ch' ei non peccaro: e s' elli hanno mercedi,
Non basta, perchè non ebber battesmo."

† *Vita:* For the use of *vita* with the signification of *anima,* see *Par.* ix, 7; xii, 127; xiv, 6; xx, 100; and xxv, 29.

Dentro alla tua letizia, fammi nota
La cagion che sì presso mi t' ha posta :
E di' perchè si tace in questa rota
La dolce sinfonia di Paradiso,
Che giù per l' altre suona sì devota."—

And I began: "Not my own merit makes me worthy of response from thee, butfor the sake of her who concedeth to me the asking, O blessed spirit who dost remain concealed in thine own gladness, let me know the reason that has placed thee so near unto me: and say, wherefore the sweet symphony of Paradise in this Sphere is mute, which throughout the others below rings with such deep devotion."

In line 4 Beatrice had told Dante that she did not smile for the reason that as a mortal man her smile would have consumed him in an instant. The spirit begins by answering Dante's second question, and tells him that his mortal sense of hearing would no more be able to endure the ineffable sweetness of their singing, than his mortal sense of sight would have been able to endure her smile.

—"Tu hai l' udir mortal sì come il viso,"*—
Rispose a me;—"onde qui non si canta
Per quel che Beatrice non ha riso.

"Thou hast the hearing of a mortal, as well as the sight," he replied to me; "therefore there is no singing here for the same reason that Beatrice does not smile.

Then the spirit, answering Dante's first question, disclaims for himself any love greater than that of his

* *l' udir mortal sì come il viso: Udir* and *viso* are equivalent here to *udito* and *vista*, the two senses of hearing and sight. Pietro di Dante ignores his father's own words in i, 62, *qui non si canta*, and makes out that there was singing, but that Dante, being a mortal, could not hear it. (*Qui respondit, ut in textu patet, scilicet, quod bene cantatur ibi, sed mortalis ejus auditus nequit audire!*)

fellow spirits because he has descended before them to meet Dante. All are imbued with love as great, if not greater, as is shown by their greater or lesser radiance; but each fulfils the appointed duty to which God has predestined him, and he himself is only fulfilling the duty allotted to him.

Giù per li gradi della scala santa *
Discesi tanto, sol per farti festa
Col dire, e con la luce che m' ammanta:
Nè più amor mi fece esser più presta,†
Chè più e tanto amor ‡ quinci su ferve,
Sì come il fiammeggiar ti manifesta;
Ma l' alta carità, che ci fa serve
Pronte al consiglio che il mondo governa,
Sorteggia § qui, sì come tu osserve."—

Down by the steps of the hallowed stair have I descended so far, for the sole purpose of giving thee

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* *scala santa:* "questa scala è quella, per la quale i contemplativi ascendano suso a Dio, e li gradi di questa scala sono le cose create da Dio, le quali considerando l' anima devota, ascende a Dio." (Buti.)

† *presta* is in the feminine to agree with *vita beata* of l. 55 above.

‡ *più e tanto amor:* St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars ii, 2dæ, qu. xxvi, art. 13) says that there is a distinction to be drawn between the various degrees of Love or Charity. The passage is too long to quote in full, but the following sentence may especially be noticed: "Tota enim vita beata consistit in ordinatione mentis ad Deum; unde totus ordo dilectionis beatorum observabitur per comparationem ad Deum; ut scilicet ille magis diligatur, et propinquior sibi habeatur ab unoquoque, qui est Deo propinquior."

§ *Sorteggia:* "assortisce a ciascuno quel che vuol che faccia." (Landino.) "Dedit in sortem ut venirem ad te." (*Postill. Cact.*) Compare Virg. *Æn.* vi, 431:—

"Nec vero hae sine sorte datae, sine judice sedes."

Lana and the *Anon. Fior.* explain *sorteggia* "predestines." Cornoldi supposes the spirit to tell Dante that he only comes to speak with him because such is the will of the Eternal Ruler of the world.

greeting with speech, and with the light that enmantles me: nor did greater love make me to be more speedy, for as much and more love (than mine) is burning from here upwards, even as the radiance (in greater or lesser proportion) makes manifest to thee; but the Exalted Love, that makes us prompt ministers of the Counsel which governs the world, here allots (to each his task), as thou dost observe."

Division III.—Dante now turns his thoughts again to what the Eagle said about Predestination (see last Canto, ll. 130-148). He has not been perfectly satisfied with the somewhat general answer to his first question, namely, that Pier Damiano came to him because he was predestined and elected to do so. Therefore Dante very naturally asks him, why it is specially he (Damiano) more than any other spirit. He first however expresses his full understanding that the love which inflames these blessed spirits is sufficient inducement for them to obey the will of Providence without any specific Divine commands.

—"Io veggio ben,"—diss' io,—"sacra lucerna,*
Come libero amore in questa corte †
Basta a seguir la provvidenza eterna; 75

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* *lucerna:* Compare *Par.* viii, 19:—
"Vid' io in essa luce altre lucerne," etc.;
and *Par.* xxiii, 28:—
"Vid' io, sopra migliaia di lucerne," etc.
Compare *St. John* v, 35 (in *Vulgate*), where our Lord says of St. John the Baptist: "Ille erat lucerna ardens et lucens."

† *in questa corte:* Compare *Purg.* xxxi, 41, 42:—
"in nostra corte
Rivolge sè contra il taglio la rota;"
and *Inf.* ii, 125: "nella corte del cielo." And *Par.* x, 70:—
"Nella corte del ciel ond' io rivegno."

Ma quest' è quel, ch' a cerner * mi par forte,
Perchè predestinata † fosti sola
A questo offizio tra le tue consorte." ‡—

"Full well do I see," said I, "O Sacred Lamp (*i.e.* radiant Spirit), how Love, left free, suffices in this (heavenly) Court to fulfil the decrees of Eternal Providence; but this is what seems hard to me to discern, for what reason thou alone among thy consorts wast predestined to this function (of coming to me)."

In an outburst of holy exultation the spirit of San Pier Damiano, both by a further increase of radiance, and by wheeling round with increased celerity, testifies his readiness to satisfy Dante's request. The substance of his answer is to inform Dante that the explanation he has demanded is one not comprehensible by a human intellect, for God did not create in Man the power of comprehending so deep a mystery.§

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* *cerner:* Compare *Inf.* viii, 70-72:—

". . . già le sue meschite
Là entro certo nella valle cerno
Vermiglie;"

and *Par.* xxvi, 35:—

"La mente . . . di ciascun che cerne," etc.

Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*) says the word as used in the above quotation from the *Inferno* expresses physical sight, whereas these two passages in the *Paradiso* express mental discernment.

† *predestinata:* Scartazzini observes that we may reduce to one single argument all that is said in solution of the proposed doubt, and that is, Human Ignorance. But the whole thing is summed up by St. Augustine (*sup. Joan.*, cited by Pietro di Dante): "Quare Deus aliquos praedestinavit, aliquos improbavit, non est dare rationem, nisi quod Deus voluit?"

‡ *consorte:* Probably a feminine plural form of *consorto* which was the older form of the more modern word in present use, *consorte* s. of both genders.

§ Benvenuto says: "Breviter dicit quomodo Deus praedestinavit eam [*i.e.* animam Petri Damiani] ad habendam tantam gratiam quanta est scientia sua, per quam speculatur ista."

Nè venni prima all' ultima parola,
Che del suo mezzo fece il lume centro,
Girando sè come veloce mola.*
Poi rispose l' amor che v' era dentro:
—"Luce divina sopra me s' appunta,†
Penetrando per questa ond' io m' inventro;‡
La cui virtù col mio veder congiunta,
Mi leva sopra me tanto, ch' io veggio
La somma essenza della quale è munta.

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* *come veloce mola:* "La similitudine della mola [*mill-stone*, Fr. *meule*] non ha qui altra relazione che il circolar movimento orizzontale. Il muover dei corpi ben s' adatta a spiegare la vita dello spirito; ma nondimeno una macina col suo girare vertiginoso non sembra convenevole immagine *di* letizia celeste." (L. Venturi, *Sim. Dant.* p. 306, sim. 504.) Compare *Par.* xii, 3:—

"A rotar cominciò la santa mola."

In *Conv.* iii, 5, ll. 142-148, speaking of the aspect of the imaginary city called *Maria,* Dante says that it must see the sun revolve like a mill-stone on the days of the equinox: . . . "conviene che Maria veggia . . . esso sole *girare il mondo* intorno giù alla terra, ovvero al mare, come una mola, della quale non paia più che mezzo il corpo suo." Dante also clearly expresses this in *Conv.* (*l.c.*) l. 143: "nel principio d' Ariete;" and again in l. 144: "when the Sun is beneath (or as we should say 'on') the Equator."

† *s' appunta:* There is some difficulty among the Commentators as to the meaning of this word. In such cases it is, I think, always preferable to seek light from purely Tuscan expositors. Brunone Bianchi says: "si ferma, o si mette, scende in raggio." Fraticelli's explanation is similar: "discende, viene a ferire a modo di raggio sopra di me." Compare *Purg*, xv, 49:—

"Perchè s' appuntan li vostri disiri," etc.;

and *Par.* xxvi, 7, 8:—

"di' ove s' appunta L'anima tua;"

and *Par.* xxix, 12:—

"Dove s' appunta ogni *ubi* ed ogni *quando.*"

‡ *m' inventro:* Compare *Purg.* xxvii, 25, 26, where Virgil pictures to Dante the possibility of his abiding for an indefinite time "within the bosom" of the flames of the Sensual:—

"Credi per certo che, se dentro all' alvo
Di questa fiamma stessi ben mill' anni," etc.

Compare also *Par.* viii, 52-54, where the spirit of Charles Martel

Quinci * vien l' allegrezza ond' io fiammeggio ;
Perchè alla vista via, quant' ella è chiara,
La chiarità della fiamma pareggio. 90

Now scarcely had I got as far as the last word, ere the Light made of its middle a centre, whirling around itself like a swift mill-stone. Then did the loving spirit that was within make answer : " Light Divine is concentrated upon me, penetrating through this (inferior light) in which I am enshrined (*lit.* enwombed) ; the virtual potency of which (Divine Light) conjoined to my own vision, lifts me so far above myself, that I can discern the Supreme Essence wherefrom it emanates (*lit.* is milked). From it is derived the joyfulness with which I glow ; for in proportion to my sight, as it is clear, I match the clearness of my flame.

Scartazzini explains the last few lines as follows : " The potency of this Divine Light, conjoined to the natural force of my intellect, elevates me [Damiano] so much above myself, that I discern the same Divine Essence, from which the said light proceeds. And from the sight of this Sublime Nature, is born that beatitude in which I shine, because in me, as in all others among the Blessed, the clearness of my radiance likens itself to the clearness of the Divine Vision."

Benvenuto says : " Tanta est claritas visionis et

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tells Dante that he is enveloped in his own joyfulness as is a silk-worm in its cocoon :—

" La mia letizia mi ti tien celato,
Che mi raggia dintorno, e mi nasconde
Quasi animal di sua seta fasciato."

Some of the early Commentators, including Lana, read *m' innentro* for *m' inventro.*

* *Quinci*, et seq. : Compare *Par.* xiv, 40-42 :—

" La sua chiarezza seguirà l' ardore,
L' ardor la visïone, e quella è tanta,
Quanta ha di grazia sopra il suo valore."

cognitionis meae, quanta est claritas luminis et splendoris mei. Et hic nota quod per omnia ista verba iste spiritus non vult aliud dicere nisi, quamvis ego alte videam in Deo multa secreta ejus, quia fui ita contemplativus, tamen nescio, nec scire possum causam de qua petis."

Having laid down the above proposition, the spirit of Damiano, in more fully answering Dante's question, tells him that not only are the Mysteries of Predestination beyond man's ken, but that no one in Heaven, whether Angel or spirit, *can* know why a particular soul should have been predestined to perform such and such a function. Divine Light came upon him, which just added so much to his knowledge that he learned that it was the will of God that he should come to Dante.*

> Ma quell' alma nel ciel che più si schiara,
> Quel Serafin † che in Dio più l' occhio ha fisso,
> Alla domanda tua non satisfára ; ‡

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* On ll. 91-96 Dean Plumptre remarks: "The soul of the speaker has attained the beatific vision of the Supreme Essence, but even the most illumined Seraph would fail to unfold the mystery of the Divine Will, which assigns to every man his work. Dante on his return to earth is to report this, in order that men may not 'rush in where Angels fear to tread.' The whole tone indicates the same sense of the limitations of Man's knowledge that we have seen in Canto xiii, 139; xix, 99; xx, 130."

† *Serafin :* In *Conv.* ii. 6, ll. 79-81, we are told by Dante that "li Serafini veggiono più della prima Cagione, che alcun' altra angelica natura." Compare *Par.* iv, 28 :—

"Dei Serafin colui cha più s' india," etc.

‡ *satisfára :* This is not the future tense, which would be *satisfarà*, but the conditional. Let any who doubt this read Nannucci's full treatise on the subject (*Analisi Critica*, pp. 323-327) with numerous illustrations, among which is the present passage. He says that the early Italian writers imi-

Perocchè sì s' inoltra nell' abisso *
Dell' eterno statuto quel che chiedi,
Che da ogni creata vista è scisso.
Ed al mondo mortal, quando tu riedi,
Questo rapporta,† sì che non presuma
A tanto segno ‡ più mover li piedi.

Still, neither that soul which hath the greatest access of light (from God), nor that Seraph whose gaze is most fixed upon God, would be able to satisfy thy demand. For that which thou askest penetrates

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tated the Provençals (who had two terminations in the conditional, and wrote *ameria, amara; temeria, temera*, etc.). One illustration we give, from Il Beato Jacopone, lib. i, *Sat.* xvii, 12 :—

"Volentier ti parlara;
Credo che ti giovara."

Nannucci (*ibid.* p. 324, footnote 4) is very indignant with Venturi, who insists that *satisfára* is the future, and as such, is a grotesque termination without the accent on the last syllable. But, says Nannucci, even if it were the future, *which it is not*, it would *not* be a grotesque termination without the accent. And he proves this from what he has written elsewhere. He adds that certain Commentators, who nearly always leave readers of Dante in uncertainty, had said that *perhaps* Torelli is right in thinking that *satisfára* stands here for *satisfaria*. He sums up in great wrath: "Non *forse*, ma senza dubbio, e bene dice il Torelli che *satisfara* è per *satisfaria*, e basta un' oncia di cervello per capirla."

* *abisso:* There is a great resemblance in this *terzina* to *Purg.* vi, 121-123 :—

"O è preparazion, che nell' abisso
Del tuo consiglio fai, per alcun bene
In tutto dall' accorger nostro scisso?"

† *questo rapporta:* This warning to men not to presume to seek to penetrate such Divine mysteries has been already given in *Par.* xiii, 112-114 :—

"E questo ti sia sempre piombo ai piedi,
Per farti mover lento, com' uom lasso,
Ed al sì ed al no, che tu non vedi."

Also *Par.* xx, 133-139.

‡ *A tanto segno*, et seq.: "Affaticarsi per acquistar questo tanto e sì profondo secreto della predestinazione, che solo nella mente di Dio sta nascosto." (Daniello.)

so far within the unfathomable depth (*lit.* abyss) of the Eternal Statute, that it is cut off from every created sight. And to the mortal world, when thou returnest, carry this back, so that it no longer presume to direct its steps to so lofty a goal (namely, to fathoming the Mystery of Predestination).

Pier Damiano goes on to say that, as the very intellects that shine in Heaven with genuine light, are on earth enshrouded in the mists of error, how then can the mind of Man in its prison of the flesh, discern what remains hidden from the most glorious angels and spirits in Heaven?

La mente che qui luce, in terra fuma ; 100
Onde riguarda, come può laggiúe
Quel che non puote, perchè il ciel l' assuma." *—

The mind that here is radiant on earth gives forth smoke ; consider then, how can it (the human mind) do below that which it cannot (do) even though Heaven take it up."

Division IV.—Dante understands the prohibition implied in these words, and he abandons all further idea of seeking information on the subjects mentioned above, but contents himself with asking the spirit his name, which, be it remembered, he has not yet heard.

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* *perchè il ciel l' assuma :* The verb is in the subjunctive governed by *perchè*, which is here used in the sense of "even though," as in *Inf.* xxxii, 100-102, where Bocca degli Abati yells out to Dante :—

". . . Perchè tu mi dischiomi,
[*Even though you wrench out my hair*]
Nè ti dirò ch' io sia, nè mostrerolti,
Se mille fïate in sul capo mi tomi."

Compare also Petrarch, part iv, Sonnet x (in some editions 77), where *perchè* again is equivalent to "even though" :—

"Non sospirate: a lui non si può tôrre
Suo pregio, *perch'* a voi l' andar si tolga ;" etc.

Sì mi prescrisser * le parole sue,
Ch' io lasciai la questione, e mi ritrassi
A domandarla umilmente chi fue. 105

His words put such a limit upon me, that I relinquished the question, and confined myself to asking him humbly who he was.

San Pier Damiano at once complies with Dante's request, first however giving a description of his retreat at the monastery of Santa Croce di Fonte Avellana on Monte Catria, under one of the rocky ridges of the Central Apennines of Tuscany.†

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* *prescrisser* :. Meaning literally: "His words exercised such a prescriptive right, by possession over me." "Prescrivere non è altro che avere prima ragione per quantità di tempo, . . . quasi dica, le sue parole soprastettero, e mi possederono, sicch' io abbandonai il questionare; però che indarno muove la quistione chi è insufficiente ad intendere la soluzione." (*Ottimo.*) The *Anon. Fior.* apparently copies part of these words, adding: "Praescritio si è alcuna possessione." Benvenuto similarly: "*sì mi prescrisser*, idest, ligaverunt ita me, et ita occupaverunt mentem meam, sicut possessor bonae fidei occupat rem alienam, et suam facit jure permittente," etc. Daniello, followed by most of the moderns, understands *prescrisser*, "put a limit upon me." He says: "prescriver propriamente significa assegnar termine ad alcuna cosa, il quale da essa non si può trapassare." Although either of these interpretations would make good sense in the present passage, yet, as in the two following ones the sense of "to limit, to put an end to," seems to be required, I shall adopt that view. See *Par.* xxiv, 6:—

"Prima che morte tempo gli prescriba."

On which passage Buti makes the following comment: "cioè inanti ch' elli muoia, cioè inanzi che morte li termini lo tempo del vivere: prescrivere è terminare." See also *Par.* xxv, 55-57:—

"Però gli è conceduto che d' Egitto
Venga in Jerusalemme per vedere,
Anzi che il militar gli sia prescritto."

† In her work (*Dante at Ravenna*, London, 1898, pp. 126, 127), Miss Catherine Phillimore well describes this interesting spot: "This monastery is still to be found nestling under the side of the mountain in the midst of the oak glades watered by ever-flowing springs of limpid clearness, still served by the

—"Tra due liti d' Italia surgon sassi,*
E non molto distanti alla tua patria,
Tanto che i tuoni assai suonan più bassi,
E fanno un gibbo † che si chiama Catria,‡
Disotto al quale è consecrato un ermo,

Benedictine monks in their white habit, though only three represent the brotherhood which once peopled the now silent and deserted cells. Still the room which Dante occupied remains as it was then; and through the same window may be seen the rolling green swards of the base of the Catria, that giant of the Apennines, which may well have suggested to him the description of the metaphorical Mount of Consolation (*Inf.* i, 16)." Mr. Gardner (*op. cit.* p. 267) remarks: "It may have been from this watch-tower of contemplation that Dante saw the death of Pope Clement V, in 1314. A long vacancy of the papal chair followed. Very early in this interregnum Dante again seized his pen and wrote the letter to the Italian Cardinals, who, with others of the sacred College, were assembled at Carpentras in Provence." And at p. 157, after speaking of Pier Damiano's lamentation that this cloister had now so degenerated since the time of his own austere life there in God's service, Mr. Gardner adds: "It is possible that Dante's own most noble letter to the Italian Cardinals was written from this same convent, and the mention of the place seems to give rise to analogous thoughts."

* *sassi:* "cioè montagne." (*Ottimo.*) "cioè montagnuole." (*Anon. Fior.*)

† *gibbo:* This is apparently a "hog-backed" ridge. The Italian Commentators all explain it as "rialto," which would be just the idea of the *Rialto*, the famous bridge at Venice.

‡ *Catria:* Benvenuto says that it is Catria to which Lucan is alluding, when he describes it as the loftiest spot in the Apennines in which Pompey took refuge. The passage is in *Phars.* ii, 396-402, and is very suggestive of *Tra due liti* (l. 106):—

"Umbrosis mediam qua collibus Apenninus
Erigit Italiam, nullo qua vertice tellus
Altius intumuit, propiusque accessit Olympo.
Mons inter geminas medius se porrigit undas
Inferni Superique maris: collesque coercent
Hinc Tyrrhena vado frangentes aequora Pisae,
Illinc Dalmaticis obnoxia fluctibus Ancon."

Che suol esser * disposto a sola latria." †—

"Between the two shores of Italy (the Mediterranean and the Adriatic), and not very far from thy birthplace (Florence), there rise mountains so high, that the thunder rolls far down below, and they form a ridge which is named Catria, beneath which there is a hermitage consecrated, that was wont to be dedicated to worship only."

San Pier Damiano was born at Ravenna about the year 1007, of very poor parents, and Casini says that he was brought up by his brother Damianus, Archdeacon of Ravenna, in gratitude to whom he chose to be called *Petrus Damianus;* after completing his studies he attained to great success as a teacher, but at 30 years of age he retired from the world, and joined the monastery of Santa Croce di Fonte Avellana, near Gubbio; here his saintly life and profound learning caused him to be elected Prior; in which capacity he rendered such important services to the Popes, that in

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* *Che suol esser,* et seq.: It is very evident that the present *suole* has here the value of the imperfect *soleva*. The context in l. 118, *Render solea,* clearly proves this. Compare a similar use of *suole* in *Inf.* xvi, 67, 68 (which I regret not to have noticed when I wrote *Readings on the Inferno*), where Dante is asked by Jacopo Rusticucci:—

"Cortesia e valor di' se dimora
Nella nostra città sì come suole [for *soleva*]."

† *latria:* Dante, who was unacquainted with Greek, probably took this word from St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars ii, 2^{dæ}, qu. lxxxi, art. 1): "Dominium convenit Deo secundum propriam et singularem quamdam rationem, quia scilicet ipse omnia fecit et quia summum in omnibus rebus obtinet principatum; et ideo specialis ratio servitutis ei debetur; et talis servitus nomine *latriae* designatur apud Graecos." St. Augustine, *De Civit. Dei,* x, 1: "*latria* interpretatur servitus." Buti in commenting on the text evidently remembered the above definition. He says: "*Latria* è servitù dovuta a solo Iddio, e per questo dà ad intendere che in quello eremo non stavano se non servi di Dio."

1058 he was created Bishop of Ostia and Cardinal by Pope Stephen IX, though he accepted these dignities with much reluctance. His greatest achievement was the reconciliation he effected between the Churches of Milan and Rome. Afterwards he renounced all his honours and returned to the monastery as a simple monk. As a mark of greater humility he caused himself to be surnamed *Petrus Peccator*. He died at Faenza in 1072. He left a copious store of works, the chief of which were written to restrain simony, and to rebuke the vices prevailing among the monks and clergy.

He now tells Dante of his fasts and vigils, as well as of his life of solitude and contemplation.

Così ricominciommi il terzo sermo;*
E poi continuando disse:—"Quivi
Al servigio di Dio mi fei sì fermo,
Che pur con cibi di liquor d' ulivi
Lievemente passava caldi e gieli,
Contento nei pensier contemplativi.

In this wise did he recommence his third speech to me; and then, continuing, he added: "In that place became I so steadfast in the service of God, that merely with victuals (with seasoning) of olive juice, I easily passed the heats (of summer) and the frosts (of winter), well contented with my contemplative thoughts.

We are not to understand that Pier Damiano subsisted merely on oil, but on the simplest food seasoned with oil. So say all the old Commentators. Lana calls the food "cibi quadragesimali conditi con olio, e non con altro grasso." Benvenuto is more explicit:

* *terzo sermo:* Pier Damiano's first speech was from l. 61 to l. 72; his second from l. 83 to l. 102; and this, his third speech, which begins at l. 114, ends at l. 135.

"idest, oleo, jejunando, quasi dicat, cum cibariis vilibus et vulgaribus oleo conditis, puta oleribus et leguminibus sine carnibus et pinguibus, quae gravant animam et impediunt a contemplatione." *

Pier Damiano now bitterly denounces the degeneracy of the brethren of his Order in the time of Dante, because, departing from their rule of piety and austerity, they live luxurious and dissolute lives, enjoying rich possessions which are entirely at variance with their vows of poverty and privation. It is at this point that he tells Dante his name in the world, as well as that which he afterwards assumed in religion.

Render solea quel chiostro a questi cieli
Fertilemente, ed ora è fatto vano,†
Sì che tosto convien che si riveli.
In quel loco fu' io Pier Damiano;
E Pietro peccator fui nella casa ‡
Di Nostra Donna in sul lito Adriano.

* The inmates of that hermitage had their abode two and two in each cell, and were expected to sing psalms, read, and pray without ever ceasing. During four days in the week their diet was bread and water only; on Tuesdays and Thursdays they had a few vegetables, which they cooked for themselves. On fast days the bread was weighed out; wine they never used except for the Holy Sacrifice and for the sick. Their ordinary exercises were to walk always bare-foot, to scourge themselves, to make genuflexions, to beat their breasts, and to stand with their arms stretched out for as long a time together as their bodily strength or their devotion would hold out. After the night offices, they had to recite the whole of the Psalms before daybreak. (Rohrbacher, *Stor. Eccl.* xiii, 485.)

† *ora è fatto vano:* The *Ottimo* says that Damiano is telling Dante, that the Hermitage of Catria of old time used to abound far more in hermits and contemplative men, such as are in conformity with the disposition of the planet Saturn, than is now the case; so that it must soon become widely known that God does not suffer so great a change to pass without contrition followed by penance.

‡ *nella casa*, et seq.: Both Scartazzini (Ed. 1893) and Cornoldi

> That cloister used to yield abundant produce (of blessed spirits) to these heavens, and now it has become barren, as must perforce be soon brought to light. In that place was I, Pier Damiano; and Pier Peccatore was I in the house of Our Lady on the Adriatic coast.

These last lines have given rise to great difference of opinion, nor even among the old Commentators is there any unanimity. It is a question (says Longfellow) whether Pietro Damiano and *Pietro Peccatore* are the same person, or whether by the latter is meant Pietro degli Onesti of Ravenna, for both of them in their humility took that name. The solution of the question depends upon the reading *fui* (*fu'*) or *fu* in this line (l. 122). I follow the Oxford text which reads *fui*. Casini observes that the dilemma is a difficult one; but he finds sufficient reasons for reading *fui*, *firstly*, in its being the reading of the most authoritative of the texts, *secondly*, the very explicit disavowal

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put a semicolon after *peccator*, which would translate: "In that place was I both Pier Damiano, and *Petrus Peccator*." The rest of the *terzina* is then taken as a subsequent independent sentence. I cannot take upon myself to say which *casa di Nostra Donna* on the Adriatic coast is meant, for there is no certain evidence on this point, but I merely quote an opinion of Scartazzini (reproduced by him from Giov. Mercati, *Pietro Peccatore, ossia Della vera interpretazione di Paradiso* xxi, 121-123, Roma, 1895), according to which the Convent of Pomposa, which lies on the high road between Venice and Ravenna, not far from Comacchio, is meant, and to which, according to Mercati, San Pier Damiano was, when a simple monk at the monastery of Santa Croce di Fonte Avellana, sent by the Abbot. He lived in that convent for about two years. See the account of the pestilential climate of this spot, which caused it to be abandoned afterwards by the Benedictines, in *Readings on the Purgatorio*, 3rd edition, vol. ii, p. 437; as also a conjecture that Dante may have passed by it on his fatal return journey from Venice in the hot summer of 1321, just before his death.

of *fu* by Benvenuto,* whose evidence as to things concerning Ravenna must always carry great weight; and *thirdly*, the unseasonableness of Dante making Pier Damiano give the uncalled-for information about another Pietro, as though to correct an error known to be current in Dante's time, and yet, while doing so, to use words that are equivocal, and likely to cause confusion. As Scartazzini well points out, had Dante been making an antithesis between two persons, he would probably have said *fu' io Pietro Damiano*, ma *Pietro Peccator fu nella casa*, &c. Both Dean Plumptre and Mr. Haselfoot support the reading *fui*. Casini thinks we must infer that, while the Saint was at Santa Croce, he used to call himself *Petrus Damianus*, but in the latter period of his life, when he renounced all his ecclesiastical dignities, he preferred to call himself *Petrus Peccator*. As a matter of fact, by far the larger number of his letters bear the superscription *Petrus peccator monachus*, though in some he styles himself *Christi servorum famulus; indignus; ultimus eremitarum;* or *ultimus monachorum*. The one objection brought forward of the greatest weight, by those who advocate the reading *fu*, is that Pier Damiano could never have dwelt in the monastery

* Benvenuto (writing only fifty years after Dante's death) speaks most decidedly: "Et hic nota quod multi sunt decepti hic, dicentes, quod Petrus peccator fuit alius a Petro Damiano in eodem ordine; quod est penitus falsum; immo Petrus Damianus vocavit se nomine proprio in primo loco catriae; in secundo vero gratia [in other MSS. in signum summae] humilitatis vocavit se Petrum peccatorem." Observe Benvenuto does not say that no one else was ever called *Petrus Peccator*. He only denounces those who deny that Pier Damiano called himself so.

of Santa Maria di Porto Fuori at Ravenna, because it was only founded in 1096, twenty-four years after his death, by Pietro degli Onesti, who was also undoubtedly known as *Petrus Peccator*. Casini suggests, as a possible explanation of this inconsistency as to facts, that, as at Santa Maria di Porto Fuori there is still standing an old tower of a much earlier date than 1096, it may well be that in the time of Pier Damiano some small church dedicated to the Virgin existed as a dependency of the neighbouring convent of Sant' Apollinare. He also suggests that there may have been some local tradition known to Dante, that, at the very place where Pietro degli Onesti afterwards built his convent, Damiano had at some previous time dwelt in penitential retreat.

Damiano now relates how, in his old age, he was summoned, much against his will, to be made a Cardinal, for even then he thought it a vain ambition. Since his death, however, he has learned to see that the dignity is every day conferred upon men still less worthy, and resembles wine that is spoiled by being decanted into a worse vessel.

Poca vita * mortal m' era rimasa,
Quando fui chiesto e tratto a quel cappello,
Che pur di male in peggio si travasa.†

* *Poca vita*, et seq.: On this Buti says: "Poca della vita ne la quale si muore, cioè della vita mondana, *m' era rimasa;* imperò che già era vecchio e poco aveva a vivere, *Quando fui chiesto;* cioè io Piero Damiano, *e tratto a quel cappello;* cioè e tirato per violenzia, eletto dal papa al cardinalato non potendo ritrarmene, *Che;* cioè lo qual cappello, cioè la qual dignità del cardinalato, *pur di male in peggio si travasa;* cioè si tramuta; imperò che, se l' uno cardinale è rio, l' altro che seguita poi è peggiore."

† *travasare:* This is the regular word in Tuscany for the

Little of mortal life was remaining to me, when I was summoned and dragged forth to that hat, which is ever being transmitted (*lit.* decanted) from bad to worse.

At this point Dante, burning with indignation against the abuses existing in the Church, as evidenced by the luxury of the Cardinals and the whole Pontifical Court, makes Pier Damiano utter the most biting sarcasm against them.

Venne Cephas, e venne il gran vasello *
Dello Spirito Santo, magri e scalzi,
Prendendo il cibo di qualunque ostello.†
Or voglion quinci e quindi chi rincalzi
Li moderni pastori, e chi li meni,
Tanto son gravi, e chi diretro gli alzi.‡
Copron § dei manti loro i palafreni,

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operation of decanting Chianti wine by means of a syphon into a clean demi-john (*damigiana*, a carboy) while the sediment remains in the old one. The present writer used to have this done every year at Florence, before the summer. *Travasare* hence comes to mean to transfer from one place to another.

* *il gran vasello:* St. Paul, whom in *Inf.* ii, 28, Dante styles "Lo Vas d' elezione." This is of course derived from the vision of Ananias, in *Acts* ix, 15: "But the Lord said unto him, Go thy way: for he is a chosen vessel unto Me, to bear My name before the Gentiles, and kings, and the children of Israel."

† *cibo di qualunque ostello:* Compare *Luke* x, 7, 8: "And in the same house remain, eating and drinking such things as they give: for the labourer is worthy of his hire. . . . And into whatsoever city ye enter, and they receive you, eat such things as are set before you."

‡ *alzi:* On the meaning of the word *alzare* as signifying "to gird up one's loins," see Dr. Moore's interesting remarks in *Studies in Dante*, pp. 57, 58, and compare *Purg.* x, 64, 65:—

"Lì precedeva al benedetto vaso
Trescando alzato [*with his garments girt up high*]
l' umile Salmista."

§ *Copron*, et seq.: This satire on the luxury of the prelates evidently met with approval at the time from the old Commen-

Sì che due bestie van sott' una pelle:
O pazïenza, che tanto sostieni!"— 135

Cephas came and the mighty vessel of the Holy Spirit (St. Paul) came lean and bare-footed, taking their victuals from any house that chanced. Now the modern pastors must have on either side some one to prop them up, and some to lead them, so obese are they grown, and some to lift their trains behind them. They cover their palfreys with their mantles, so that two beasts go under one hide: O patience, that endurest so much!"

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tators, to whom apparently the picture offered seemed in no way exaggerated. The *Ottimo* alludes to it with much relish: "Questa lezione è chiara, *però che ognuno l' ha veduto:* bestia è il cavalcatore, però ch' esce fuori della regola data al suo vivere, ed in luogo di ragione usa l' appetito, come la bestia: e bestia è il palafreno, e sono coperte ambedue d' una cardinalesca capa." Cesari thinks that these lines suggested to Raphael the figures of the Cardinals attending Leo X, in the great picture of the burning of Rome painted by him in one of the chambers in the Vatican. Benvenuto speaks of the lives of the prelates in Dante's time, and even more of those in his own age, with indignation and horror, rather than with sarcasm. What he says is too long to quote in full, but I give extracts from the original: "Unde dicit *sì che due bestie van sotto una pelle*, scilicet, bestia portans, et ipse portatus, qui verius est bestia et bestialior ipsa bestia. Et certe si autor revivisceret hodie (1375) posset mutare literam istam et dicere: *sì che tre bestie van sotto una pelle*, scilicet, cardinalis, meretrix, et *equus*, sicut audivi de uno quem bene novi, qui portabat concubinam suam ad venationem post se in clune [*on the croup*] equi vel muli; et ipse vere erat sicut equus et mulus sine ratione. Ex dictis Petrus iratus exclamat ad Deum: *o pazienza*, scilicet divina, *che tanto sostieni!* idest, quomodo potes tantum sustinere quod non irascaris? Et non mireris, lector, si autor tamquam poeta ista loquitur de praelatis, cum et magni doctores et sancti viri non potuerunt abstinere ab hujusmodi vituperiis. . . . Et hic nota quod autor noster magna arte usus est fingens Petrum Damianum ista vituperosa dicere de pastoribus, quia fuit cardinalis, et novit vitam eorum; ideo veracius et audacius potuit loqui de suis; immo de rei veritate dictus Petrus talia et pejora scripsit de praelatis. Scripsit enim duo opera praecipua in eleganti stilo, quorum unum est de epistolis et sermonibus, in quo multa mala dixit de ipsis."

Pier Damiano would seem, at the conclusion of his speech, to have broken out into a torrent of fiery eloquence, such as in his life-time he had been wont to utter against the abuses of the Church. This acts like a trumpet-call upon the other spirits, who, flocking down the holy stair, surround San Pier Damiano, and join in a shout of indignation so loud, that Dante, in his dismay, is unable to comprehend the sense of their utterance; though in the next Canto we shall see that the words are explained to him by Beatrice (xxii, 13-18).

A questa voce vid' io più fiammelle
Di grado in grado scendere e girarsi,
Ed ogni giro le facea più belle.
Dintorno a questa vennero, e fermârsi,
E fêro un grido di sì alto suono,
Che non potrebbe qui assimigliarsi;
Nè io lo intesi, sì mi vinse il tuono.

At these accents beheld I many an Effulgence descend from stair to stair and whirl round, and each rotation made them still more glorious. Around this (spirit) they came, and stood still, and uttered a cry of such intense loudness, that here (on earth) it would be impossible to find its like: Nor could I gather its sense, so much did the thunder (of it) overcome me.

END OF CANTO XXI.

CANTO XXII.

SPHERE OF SATURN (CONCLUDED)—ST. BENEDICT—CORRUPTION OF THE MONASTERIES—ASCENT INTO THE EIGHTH, THE STELLAR, HEAVEN—SPHERE OF THE FIXED STARS—THE CONSTELLATION OF GEMINI—A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE EARTH.

IN the last Canto, says Benvenuto, Dante's interview with Pier Damiano, one of the Contemplative spirits, was described. He is now to be brought face to face with another Contemplative spirit, even more illustrious, namely, St. Benedict.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into five parts.

In the First Division, from ver. 1 to ver. 18, Dante receives from Beatrice some explanation of the marvel he had witnessed, described at the end of the last Canto.

In the Second Division, from ver. 19 to ver. 51, St. Benedict addresses Dante, and, after speaking of himself as the founder of the Benedictine Order, names some of his companion spirits.

In the Third Division, from ver. 52 to ver. 99, Dante entreats St. Benedict to show himself to him unveiled, but his request, he is told, can only be granted when he shall reach the Empyrean.

In the Fourth Division, from ver. 100 to ver. 123,

Dante describes his ascent into the Heaven of the Fixed Stars.

In the Fifth Division, from ver. 124 to ver. 154, Dante relates how the vast expanse of the Earth and the Universe below him is disclosed to his view.

Division I.—Dante, like a frightened child, on hearing the terrible cry uttered by the contemplative spirits, turns to Beatrice to seek for aid and for new light. She allays his fears, and encourages him to consider that he is in Heaven, where consequently everything must of necessity be a marvel to him. At the same time he must remember that all that is done in these blessed regions is done in the spirit of fervent Charity.

Oppresso di stupore * alla mia guida
Mi volsi, come parvol † che ricorre
Sempre colà dove più si confida:
E quella, come madre che soccorre
Subito al figlio pallido ed anelo
Con la sua voce che il suol ben disporre,
Mi disse:—"Non sai tu ‡ che tu sei in cielo?

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* *Oppresso di stupore:* Compare Boëthius, *Philos. Consol.* I, pr. 2, ll. 6-8: "quid taces? pudore an stupore siluisti? mallem pudore, sed te ut video stupor oppressit."

† *come parvol:* Compare *Purg.* XXX, 43-45:—

"Volsimi alla sinistra col rispitto
Col quale il fantolin corre alla mamma,
Quando ha paura o quando egli è afflitto."

‡ *Non sai tu*, et seq.: On the three things impressed on Dante by Beatrice, Buti remarks: "Queste son tre cose che moralmente si debbono attendere in ogni cosa, cioè lo luogo, li abitatori e l' opere che nel luogo si fanno: imperò che queste danno e tolliono ogni sospetto. Lo luogo santo, li abitatori santi l' opere piene tutte di carità tollieno ogni timore et ammirazione; e così per contrario lo luogo maladetto, li abitatori scelerati, l' opere viziosissime danno ragionevilmente timore e meraviglia."

E non sai tu che il cielo è tutto santo,
E ciò che ci si fa vien da buon zelo ? *

Overcome with bewilderment, I turned me to my guide as a little child that ever runs for refuge thither where it has most confidence: and she—even as a mother who immediately soothes her pale and breathless boy with her voice, which is wont to give him good courage—said to me: "Knowest thou not that thou art in Heaven? And knowest thou not that Heaven is all holy, and whatever is done in it comes from righteous zeal (*i.e.* Holy Love)?

Benvenuto supposes Beatrice to say that, if these illustrious spirts seek for vengeance from God, it is not from anger, but from the love they owe to God, and therefore it must suffice for Dante to believe that everything that God does is done in righteous justice, even though the cause may not be apparent to Dante. If the mere cry of many voices can affect him so much, let him think what it would have been, had she not withheld her heavenly smile, and the contemplative spirits their song. Had Dante been able to understand what that song expressed, he would then have known what the vengeance of God was that was coming to pass, and which his eyes should see.

Come t' avrebbe trasmutato il canto,† 10
Ed io ridendo, mo pensar lo puoi,

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* *buon zelo:* According to Casini, *zelo* is a word used by Dante in the same sense as that given to it by St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, 2^{dæ}, qu. xxviii, art. 4): "*zelus*, quocumque modo sumatur, ex intensione amoris provenit." Therefore *buon zelo* must in the present passage be understood for the intense love one bears for one's neighbour, or Charity.

† *Come t' avrebbe trasmutato il canto:* "Le quali parole sono esposizione e dichiaragione del perchè essa non rise in questa spera come nell' altre, e perchè qui non fu il cantare come per li altri cieli." (*Ottimo.*)

Poscia che il grido t' ha mosso cotanto;
Nel qual, se inteso avessi i preghi suoi,
Già ti sarebbe nota la vendetta,
Che tu vedrai innanzi che tu muoi.* 15
La spada di quassù non taglia in fretta,†
Nè tardo, ma' che al parer di colui,‡
Che disïando o temendo l' aspetta.

How great a change the singing, and I myself had I

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* *vendetta, Che tu vedrai innanzi che tu muoi:* The *Ottimo* clearly shows that early Commentators did not understand this to mean that there was vengeance determined upon any one person in particular: "In questa lettera manifesta quello che nel grido di quelli beati si contenne: quasi gridassero: Iddio, fanne vendetta di coloro che commaculano li spirituali reggimenti in terra; la quale vendetta dice Beatrice, ch' elli vedrà anzi ch' elli muoia. *Tutto dì, chi guata con la mente sana, si vede di queste vendette e giustizie di Dio.*" Benvenuto and Buti think there is here a prediction of the terrible vengeance coming upon Pope Boniface VIII, when captured at Anagni; others think it foreshadows the humiliation of the Roman Curia by the transfer of the Papal Court to Avignon; some think it is meant to refer to the mysterious *Messo di Dio* (*Purg.* xxxiii, 44 et seq.); others to the equally mysterious *Veltro* (*Inf.* i, 101). I prefer to take the prediction to refer to events that were not past events even when Dante wrote the present passage, but to events yet in the future, and to aspirations which Dante, notwithstanding his bitter disappointments, was still hoping to see realized.

† *non taglia in fretta:* "God's mill grinds slow but sure" (Herbert's *Jacula Prudentum*).

‡ *ma' che al parer di colui:* Dr. Moore (*Textual Criticism*, p. 473) says that there is a great variety of readings in this line, of which the two principal are (1) the one in this text; (2) *mai al piacer*, and that "practically the choice lies between these two. Either of them would give a suitable sense. The former is, however, Dr. Moore thinks, distinctly preferable. The idea is similar to that of 2 *Pet.* iii, 9, though here the *punishments*, and there the *promises* of God are referred to. 'The Lord is not slack . . . as some men count slackness;' *i.e.* the *slackness* is only apparent: and the purpose of the Poet, as in *Par.* iv, 67 seqq., is to show that '*parere* ingiusta la nostra giustizia *negli occhi dei mortali*,' is in fact a matter of appearance only, and not of reality."

smiled,* would have wrought in thee, thou mayest now conceive, inasmuch as the (mere) shout has moved thee so greatly; in which (shout) hadst thou understood what was being prayed (*lit.* its prayers), already would be known to thee the vengeance, which before thou diest thou shalt see. The sword from here on high smites not in haste, nor yet tardily, except in the thought of him who awaits it either with desire or in fear.

To those who long for the sword of the avenging Angel its advent seems tardy, to those who expect it in guilty fear it seems to strike with lightning speed. Mr. Gardner remarks that Dante was clearly in the position of one to whom the sword of Heaven seemed tardy, for he at least was still awaiting it desirously.

Division II.—Beatrice now bids Dante look upon the glorious spirits upon the heavenly stair. He obeys; and sees a hundred small spheres of light that are diffusing radiance each into the other. Benvenuto considers that by this figure Dante wishes to show that these contemplative saints add wisdom and light to each other, as indeed they did by their mutual counsel and encouragement while they were alive.

Ma rivolgiti omai inverso altrui;
Ch' assai illustri spiriti vedrai, 20

* That *ridendo* means "smiling" rather than "laughing" is evident from what Dante says on the subject in *Conv.* iii, 8, ll. 100-112: "Si conviene all' uomo a dimostrare la sua anima nell' allegrezza moderata, moderatamente ridere con un' onesta severità e con poco movimento delle sue membra; sicchè donna che allora si dimostra, come detto è, paia modesta e non dissoluta. Onde ciò fare ne comanda il libro delle quattro *Virtù cardinali:* 'Lo tuo riso sia senza cachinno, cioè senza schiamazzare come gallina.' Ahi mirabile riso della mia Donna, di cui io parlo; che mai non si sentia se non dell' occhio!"

Se com' io dico l' aspetto ridui." *—
Com' a lei piacque gli occhi dirizzai,
E vidi cento sperule, che insieme
Più s' abbellivan coi mutui rai.†
Io stava ‡ come quei che in sè ripreme
La punta del disio, e non s' attenta
Del domandar, sì del troppo si teme.§

But now turn thyself towards something else, for thou wilt see some very illustrious spirits, if as I say thou turn thy gaze back." In the way that she willed, so did I direct my eyes, and saw a hundred (*i.e.* a multitude of) small spheres, which all together were more and more embellishing one another with their mutual rays. I stood as he who subdues in himself the sting of his desire, and ventures not to ask a question, so much is he in fear of (presuming) too much.

The most glorious of these spirits, St. Benedict, now comes forward and addresses Dante. We shall shortly learn that St. Romualdus and St. Macarius are among his companions.

E la maggiore || e la più luculenta

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* *ridui :* Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*) says that this form, which only occurs in this one passage, is a poetical licence, or rather a contraction of *riduci.*

† *coi mutui rai :* "Oltre esser bella, ciascuna pel proprio splendore, più tutte insieme, per lo splendore che vicendevolmente si comunicavano, divenivano belle." (Lombardi.)

‡ *Io stava,* et seq.: Fazio degli Uberti (*Dittamondo,* lib. v, cap. xii, 4-6), has imitated this:—

"Sospeso i' andava, come uom che disia
Cosa fra sè, e che non la dimanda,
Per tema o riverenza che in lui sia."

§ *sì del troppo si teme :* Compare Petrarch, part i, son. 97:—

"Onde, come colui che 'l colpo teme
Di Giove irato, si ritragge indietro;
Chè gran temenza gran desire affrena."

|| *la maggiore,* et seq.: This spirit is that of St. Benedict, the founder of the Order of the Benedictines. He was born in 480,

Di quelle margarite innanzi fessi,
Per far di sè la mia voglia contenta.
Poi dentro a lei udi' :—" Se tu vedessi,
Com' io, la carità che tra noi arde,
Li tuoi concetti sarebbero espressi ;*
Ma perchè tu aspettando non tarde
All' alto fine, io ti farò risposta
Pure al pensier † di che sì ti riguarde.

And the greatest and the most brilliant of those pearls moved forward to make my desire concerning

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of honourable parents, at Norcia in Umbria. In 494, while still a youth, he gave up the world and, separating himself from all his fellow-men, dwelt the life of a hermit in a cave among the mountains near Subiaco, where his food was conveyed to him by a cord which was let down to him by a monk from the overhanging cliff. The fame of his holy life becoming widely known, the monks of Vicovaro, between Subiaco and Tivoli, in 510 elected him by acclamation to be their Superior ; but he introduced a rule so rigid and austere, that they then tried to poison him. He thereupon returned to his former life in his cave. Being followed there by an immense concourse of his disciples, he distributed them into twelve different monasteries which he had founded. It was after this that he went to Monte Cassino in the Terra di Lavoro, or Campania, where he publicly demolished the temple and image of Apollo that stood there, and where heathen rites still were going on. In its stead he erected churches in honour of St. Martin and St. John, and having converted the inhabitants of the neighbourhood to the Christian Faith, he founded the great monastery of Monte Cassino, which became the great centre of the Benedictine Order. Here he died in 543. (Casini.) Mr. Gardner (*op. cit.*) says that Dante's study of St. Benedict is clearly founded upon the *Dialogues* of St. Gregory, whose life of St. Benedict is one of those quaintly devout, yet priceless mediæval biographies which fitly match with St. Bonaventura's picture of St. Francis. See also account of St. Benedict in the *Breviarium Romanum ad 21 Mart.*

* *espressi :* " Li tuoi pensieri sarebbono manifestati da te a noi, e non aresti lasciato per dubitanza di non addimandare troppo : imperò che aresti veduto che noi siamo sì desiderosi del bene del prossimo e sì contenti, che c' è diletto di poterlo fare contento." (Buti.)

† *Pure al pensier :* A few read *pria al pensier.*

itself satisfied. Then from within it (the sphere) I heard: "If thou couldst see, as I do, the Love that burns among us, thy reflections would find expression (in words, secure that thy questions would give us pleasure); but that thou, from waiting, mayest not retard thy lofty aim (of ascending to God), I will make answer to thee, even to the mere thought about (the speaking of) which thou art so reserved.

St. Benedict then tells Dante that it was he who founded the monastery of Monte Cassino, and established the Christian Faith on the very summit where formerly the Gentiles had worshipped in the Temple of Apollo and Diana. He tells him further that God so blessed his mission, that his preaching was the means of converting to Christianity the population of the whole country-side.

Quel monte a cui Cassino * è nella costa,

* *Cassino:* The beautiful situation of the Monastery of Monte Cassino is well known to all who travel by the railway from Rome to Naples, about half way between the two, and about 30 miles from Capua. It is the parent of all the Benedictine monasteries in the world. In the Kingdom of Apulia the Abbot used in former days to be the First Baron of the Realm, and possessed the right, so highly prized among all foreign nobility, of *haute justice*. In all times the monastery has been renowned for its literary attainments; for its rich library; and for its collection of archives. At the time of the suppression of the monasteries in Italy, the late Mr. Gladstone, with a praiseworthy wish that the usefulness of such a seat of learning, and the interest of such a relic of antiquity, should not be impaired, lent his unrivalled enthusiasm in advocating its maintenance. St. Gregory the Great (*op. cit.* lib. 2) thus describes it: "Castrum, quod Cassinum dicitur, in excelsi montis latere situm est (qui videlicet mons distenso sinu hoc idem castrum recepit, sed per tria milia in altum se subrigens, velut ad aëra cacumen tendit), ubi vetustissimum fanum fuit, in quo ex antiquorum more gentilium a stulto rusticorum populo Apollo celebratur. Circumquaque in cultu daemonum luci succreverant, in quibus adhuc eodem tempore infidelium insana multitudo sacrificiis sacrilegis insudabat. Illuc itaque ver

Fu frequentato già in sulla cima
Dalla gente ingannata e mal disposta.
E quel son io che su vi portai prima
Lo nome di Colui, che in terra addusse
La verità che tanto ci sublima ; *
E tanta grazia sopra me rilusse,
Ch' io ritrassi le ville circostanti
Dall' empio culto che il mondo sedusse.

That mountain on whose side lies Cassino, was in olden time inhabited upon its summit by a deluded and ill-disposed race (*i.e.* of Pagans). And I am he who first carried up there the name of Him Who introduced upon earth the Truth which exalts us so high. And such abundant grace did shine upon me that I drew away all the neighbouring towns from the impious worship that misled the world.

St. Benedict points out the other bright spirits who form, as it were, a garland of radiance around him, in which garland the flowers were their words, and the fruits their good works.

Questi altri fochi tutti contemplanti
Uomini furo, accesi di quel caldo †

Dei perveniens, contrivit idolum, subvertit aram, succendit lucos, atque in ipso templo Apollinis oraculum beati Martini, ubi vero ara ejusdem Apollinis fuit, oraculum S. Joannis construxit, et commorantem circumquaque multitudinem praedicatione continua ad fidem vocabat." See also Muratori (*Script. Rerum. Ital. IV*), *Chron. Monast. Casiniensis :* and Dantier's *Monastères Bénédictins d' Italie.*

* *ci sublima :* "Tanto c' innalza, che ci fa montare in cielo in vita eterna." (Buti.)

† *quel caldo Che fa nascer li fiori*, et seq.: Compare the beautiful lines in the prayer of St. Bernard to the Blessed Virgin (*Par.* xxxiii, 7-9) :—

"Nel ventre tuo si raccese l' amore,
Per lo cui caldo nell' eterna pace
Così è germinato questo fiore."

Compare also *Psalm* xxxix, 3 : "My heart was hot within me ; while I was musing the fire burned : then spake I with my tongue." And *Luke* xxiv, 32 : "Did not our heart burn within us, while He talked with us by the way ? "

Che fa nascer li fiori e i frutti santi.
Qui è Maccario,* qui è Romoaldo,†
Qui son li frati miei che dentro ai chiostri ‡
Fermâr li piedi e tennero il cor saldo."—

These other Effulgences were all of them men of contemplative lives, enkindled by that heat which maketh holy flowers and fruits to spring up. Here is Macarius, here is Romualdus, here are my brethren who within the cloisters fixed their feet and kept their hearts steadfast."

Benvenuto remarks that, in the same way that the fish dies when taken out of water, so does the monk die to holiness when taken out of his cell.

Division III.—St. Benedict has not yet named himself, and when he pauses, Dante, encouraged by his kindly demonstration of Love, and expanding like the petals of a rose under the rays of the Sun, entreats

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* *Maccario:* St. Macarius of Alexandria, who died in 404, was one of the most zealous promoters of monastic life in the East. He was one of three followers of St. Anthony bearing the same name, but must not be confounded with St. Macarius the Egyptian (300-391), who was a hermit in the Libyan Desert. Casini feels strongly that Dante has wished to combine in the same line the memory of the two great institutors of monastic life, the one in the East, and the other in the West.

† *Romoaldo:* St. Romualdo of the noble family Degli Onesti of Ravenna, was the founder of the Order of Camaldoli, a reformed and more strict branch of the Benedictines. He was born at Ravenna in 956, and the chief monastery that he built was that of Camaldoli in the Apennines to the east of Florence. It was called Ca-Maldoli (*Casa dei Maldoli*) from the place having previously belonged to a family named Maldoli.

‡ *dentro ai chiostri:* St. Benedict contrasts the austere life of his early followers, who withdrew themselves from all worldly distractions, with that of the self-seeking and degenerate monks of Dante's time, who quitted their monasteries to fill lucrative offices about the Papal Court.

him to show himself unconcealed by the veil of his encircling radiance.

Ed io a lui:—"L' affetto che dimostri
Meco parlando, e la buona sembianza
Ch' io veggio e noto in tutti gli ardor vostri,
Così m' ha dilatata mia fidanza,
Come il sol fa la rosa,* quando aperta
Tanto divien quant' ell' ha di possanza.
Però ti prego,† e tu, padre, m' accerta
S' io posso prender tanta grazia, ch' io
Ti veggia con imagine scoperta." ‡—

And I to him: "The affection *thou* dost display in talking to me, and the kindly expression that I see and note in all your glowing spheres (*lit.* burnings), have as greatly expanded my confidence, as the Sun doth (expand) the rose, when it (the flower) becomes opened out as wide as it hath power. Therefore I entreat, and do thou, my Father, assure me if I may

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* *rosa:* Compare *Conv.* iv, 27, ll. 37-40: "Conviensi aprire l' uomo quasi com' una rosa che più chiusa stare non può, e l' odore ch' è dentro generato spandere."

† *Però ti prego*, et seq.: Casini notices a certain resemblance between the situation of Dante before St. Benedict, and that of Moses before God on Mount Sinai (*Exod.* xxxiii, 18-20). Buti and Landino give an allegorical explanation, which Scartazzini and Casini think is overrefined and subtle, of why this desire to see St. Benedict's face came to Dante especially in Saturn. I quote Mr. Gardner's translation of Buti's words: "Contemplatives consider all the lofty works of God, and, by contemplating creatures, they are lifted up to contemplate the Creator. Since the human soul is made to God's image and likeness, therefore the contemplatives desire to see the essence of the human soul more than of any other created thing; and it is in the face that the soul chiefly finds expression." See *Conv.* iii, 8, ll. 53-64.

‡ *imagine scoperta:* As in the previous note we decide that the *face* is chiefly implied in *imagine*, I have given as the translation of it the scriptural "Open face" (ἀνακεκαλυμμένῳ προσώπῳ) as in 2 *Cor.* iii, 18: "But we all, with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the spirit of the Lord."

assume so much grace, that I may behold thee with open face."

St. Benedict gently replies to Dante, telling him however that his request is inopportune, and cannot be granted here, but shall be satisfied when he reaches the Empyrean, where the holy ladder has its summit, and where all aspirations will meet with their fulfilment. Scartazzini remarks that to the Sphere of Saturn Dante devotes but little more than one Canto, and in it is neither gratified by the smile of Beatrice, nor by the song of the Blessed Saints. The doubt he expresses is not solved for him ; he is much disturbed by the holy acclamation ; and his request is not granted. It would almost seem as if, in this Heaven of the Contemplatives, more than in the others, Dante is made to experience the difference between the condition of a man and that of a blessed spirit.

We have already seen in *Par.* iv, 28 et seq., that the semblances of the blessed, distributed among the different Heavens and Planets, have all their spiritual abode in the Empyrean ; and, in fact, in *Par.* xxxii, 35, we read that Dante actually finds St. Benedict there.

Ond' egli :—" Frate,* il tuo alto disio
S' adempierà in sull' ultima spera,
Dove s' adempion tutti gli altri e il mio.
Ivi è perfetta,† matura ed intera

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* *Frate :* We may remember that Dante was so addressed by Piccarda dei Donati. See *Par.* iii, 70, 71 :—

" Frate, la nostra volontà quïeta
Virtù di carità."

Beatrice calls him *Frate* twice in *Par.* vii, 58 and 130.

† *perfetta, matura ed intera :* In the Empyrean, says Casini, every desire is perfect, mature, and entire ; perfect, in that God, the Supreme perfection, is the object of it ; mature, because no

Ciascuna disïanza; in quella sola
È ogni parte là dove sempr' era;*
Perchè non è in loco, e non s' impola.†
E nostra scala infino ad essa varca,
Onde così dal viso ti s' involа.‡
Infin lassù la vide il patriarca
Jacob § porgere la superna parte,
Quando gli apparve d' Angeli sì carca.

Whereupon he: "Brother, thine exalted desire shall be fulfilled up in the last Sphere, where are fulfilled all the others and my own (desire as I know by experience). There every desire is perfect, mature,

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longer out of season, but rendered opportune by the former merits of every soul; and entire, because wholly and without restriction, heard and granted by God. With *intera* compare *Par.* xxvii, 7-9:—

"O gioia! O ineffabile allegrezza!
O vita intera d' amore e di pace!
O senza brama sicura ricchezza!"

* *là dove sempr' era:* Compare *Conv.* ii, 4, ll. 13-39, especially the following extracts: "Li Cattolici pongono lo cielo Empireo . . . essere immobile, per avere in sè secondo ciascuna parte, cioè che la sua materia vuole . . . E quieto e pacifico è lo luogo di quella somma Deità che Sè sola compiutamente vede. Questo è lo luogo degli spiriti beati, . . . Questo è il sovrano edificio del mondo, nel quale tutto il mondo s' inchiude, e di fuori dal quale nulla è: ed esso non è in luogo, ma formato fu solo nella prima Mente."

† *non s' impola:* "È da sapere che ciascuno cielo di sotto del Cristallino, ha due poli fermi, quanto a sè; e lo nono gli ha fermi e fissi, e non mutabili secondo alcuno rispetto." In contrast with these the Tenth Heaven has no poles at all (*non s' impola*), because it has no revolution. It is only by contrast that this passage from the *Convivio* illustrates the text (*ibid.* ll. 48-51).

‡ *dal viso ti s' involа:* Compare *Par.* xxi, 29, 30:—

"Vid' io uno scaleo eretto in suso
Tanto che nol seguiva la mia luce."

§ *la vide il patriarca Jacob:* Compare *Gen.* xxviii, 12: "And he dreamed, and behold a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven: and, behold, the angels of God ascending and descending on it. And, behold, the Lord stood above it."

and entire; in that (sphere) alone is every part there where it always was; for it is not in (*i.e.* confined in) space, nor does it revolve (*lit.* nor has it any poles); and our ladder reaches even up to it, for which reason it thus fades away from thy view. As far up as there the patriarch Jacob saw it extend its topmost part, when it appeared to him so laden with Angels.

St. Benedict now upbraids the monks of Dante's time. He sees his Order deteriorated, and his Rule ignored. None of the brotherhood will now ascend that ladder. Their feet are fast bound to the Earth. The monasteries are dens of thieves. Avarice, concupiscence, and laxity of the observance of their Rule have corrupted their hearts, and Usury has taken the place of spirituality. Nothing short of a miracle could alter such a state of things.

Ma per salirla mo nessun diparte
Da terra i piedi, e la regola mia
Rimasa è per danno delle carte.* 75

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* *per danno delle carte:* St. Benedict means that the Rule of his Order has been of late so neglected that it is a mere waste of paper to transcribe it. Benvenuto gives a very graphic account of a recent visit to Monte Cassino by his friend Boccaccio, whose horror, as a real lover of books, at the wanton neglect and gradual destruction of the fine Convent library is most vividly described: "Et volo hic ad clariorem intelligentiam hujus literae referre illud quod narrabat mihi jocose venerabilis praeceptor meus Boccaccius de Certaldo. Dicebat enim quod dum esset in Apulia, captus fama loci, accessit ad nobile monasterium montis Cassini, de quo dictum est. Et avidus videndi librariam, quam audiverat ibi esse nobilissimam, petivit ab uno monacho humiliter, velut ille qui suavissimus erat, quod deberet ex gratia aperire sibi bibliothecam. At ille rigide respondit, ostendens sibi altam scalam: ascende, quia aperta est. Ille laetus ascendens invenit locum tanti thesauri sine ostio vel clavi, ingressusque vidit herbam natam per fenestras, et libros omnes cum bancis coopertis pulvere alto; et mirabundus coepit aperire et volvere nunc istum librum, nunc illum, invenitque ibi multa

Le mura che soleano esser badia,
Fatte son spelonche,* e le cocolle †
Sacca son piene di farina ria.
Ma grave usura ‡ tanto non si tolle

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et varia volumina antiquorum et peregrinorum librorum; ex quorum aliquibus detracti erant aliqui quaterni, ex aliis recisi margines chartarum, et sic multipliciter deformati: tandem miseratus labores et studia tot inclytissimorum ingeniorum devenisse ad manus perditissimorum hominum dolens et illacrymans recessit; et occurrens in claustro petivit a monacho obvio quare libri illi pretiosissimi essent ita turpiter detruncati. Qui respondit quod aliqui monachi, volentes lucrari duos vel quinque solidos, radebant unum quaternum et faciebant psalteriolos, quos vendebant pueris; et ita de marginibus faciebant evangelia et brevia [*breviaries*], quae vendebant mulieribus. Nunc, vir studiose, frange tibi caput pro faciendo libros."

* *spelonche:* Compare *Jeremiah* vii, 11: "Is this house, which is called by My name, become a den of robbers in your eyes?" And *St. Matt.* xxi, 13: "My house shall be called the house of prayer; but ye have made it a den of thieves." Scartazzini quotes what was written on this subject about 1160 by Pierre de Blois (*Ep.* 68 *ad Alexandrum III, in Bibl. PP. Lugd. XXIV*, 988): "Evacuatum est obedientiae jugum, in qua erat unica spes salutis, et praevaricationis antiquae remedium. Detestantur Abbates habere suorum eccessum correctorem, vagam impunitatis licentiam amplectuntur, claustralisque militiae jugum relaxant in omnem desiderii libertatem. Hinc est, quod monasteriorum fere omnium facultates datae sunt in direptionem et praedam. Nam Abbates exterius curam carnis in desideriis agunt, non curantes, dummodo laute exhibeantur, ut fiat pax in diebus eorum: claustrales vero, tamquam acephali, otio vacant et vaniloquio: nec enim praesidem habent, qui eos ad frugem vitae melioris inclinet. Quodsi tumultuosas eorum contentiones audiretis, claustrum non multum differre crederetis a foro."

† *cocolle:* This means the monastic dress, not the head-dress only. Equivalent in Italian to *toga monacale.*

‡ *grave usura:* "Tanto non dispiace a Dio la grave usura, ch'è peccato contro a natura, quanto li dispiace la vita moderna de' monaci." (*Ottimo.*) Casini remarks that Dante is here giving expression, as though it were his own, to an idea which is really indicated in a Decretal of Pope Alexander III, in which these words occur: "quod monachi, abbates et priores accipiunt, gravius est usurâ;" Dante evidently sharing the opinion of many of his contemporaries, that the sin of Usury, even

Contra il piacer di Dio, quanto quel frutto
Che fa il cor dei monaci sì folle.
Chè quantunque * la Chiesa guarda, tutto
È della gente che per Dio domanda;
Non di parenti, nè d' altro più brutto.

But to ascend it no one now lifts his feet from off the earth, and my Rule has remained as a mere waste of paper. The walls, that used once to be an abbey, have become dens (of robbers), and monastic dresses are but sacks filled with corrupted flour. But foul usury does not so much uplift itself against what pleases God, as that fruit (greed of gain) which makes the heart of monks so besotted. For, whatsoever the Church has in its keeping, all of it belongs to the people who ask for it in God's name (*i.e.* the poor); and not to the kindred (of priests and monks) nor to what is much worse (their paramours).

The concluding words of St. Benedict which follow, are, De Gubernatis thinks, to be interpreted thus: Man is so weak and so easily corrupted, that the mere

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though considered as one of the crimes against Nature (compare *Inf.* xi, 97-111), is still a lesser offence against God than that of priests and friars who appropriate to themselves ecclesiastical revenues, *decimas quae sunt pauperum Dei* (*Par.* xii, 93).

* *quantunque*, et seq.: On this *terzina* Lana writes: "Questa è la ragione che l' avere che possiede la Chiesa si è di [*belongs to the*] poveri e limosinanti, e non delli parenti de' pastori, nè di femmine di mondo [*courtezans*] che è più brutto. Onde è da notare che non senza peccato li pastori ecclesiastici molte fiate distribuisceno li beni della Chiesa a' proprii parenti o in disordinato modo." Benvenuto's remarks are caustic in the extreme: "In hoc notat praelatos, qui nimium carnaliter afficiuntur ad consanguineos suos. Et certe in hoc non imitantur Christum, cujus sunt successores. Christus enim nullum habuit consanguineum quem non facerat sanctum; et moderni pastores nullum habent consanguineum quem non faciant divitem. Sunt enim similes machinis, quae parvos lapillos jaciunt a longe, magnos vero prope se; ita praelati praesentes parva beneficia dant extraneis, magna vero suis; et dicit: *nè d' altro più brutto*, puta meretricum, canum, avium et similium, quae voluptuarie tenent."

starting on a right road is not enough to ensure his reaching his goal unless he unflinchingly keeps himself from straying from the paths of virtue. Many oaks are planted in a good soil, that are too much affected by the inclemency of the weather to bear good acorns. [The Benedictine Order began upon a good foundation.] St. Peter was destitute. St. Benedict gave himself up to prayer and fasting; St. Francis of Assisi founded his Order in true humility; but the end has not corresponded to the beginning, and, by a too rapid downward course, the original purity has been changed into foul wickedness. Only a miracle, such as when Jordan was driven back or the Red Sea divided, could restore the pristine virtue and the unsullied life into those now corrupt brotherhoods.

La carne * dei mortali è tanto blanda
Che giù non basta buon cominciamento
Dal nascer della quercia al far la ghianda.
Pier cominciò † senz' oro e senza argento,
Ed io con orazioni e con digiuno,
E Francesco umilmente il suo convento.

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* *La carne*, et seq.: Lana observes that St. Benedict is administering a severe rebuke to the religious orders of Dante's time, who were so entirely given up to sensual pleasures, that no rule could benefit them; and he shows moreover that it has been but of little use for many rules to have merely had a good beginning, since they had been allowed to get so completely changed as to have become almost the contrary of what they were when first designed, and these great changes have taken place in so short a space of time, that the rule so well projected has not lasted unimpaired so long as the time that an oak takes, from its first springing up, to the time when it bears acorns, a period of about twenty years.

† *Pier cominciò:* Compare *Acts* iii, 6: "Then Peter said, Silver and gold have I none; but such as I have give I thee: In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, rise up and walk."

E se guardi il principio di ciascuno,
Poscia riguardi là dov' è trascorso,
Tu vederai del bianco fatto bruno.*
Veramente Jordan vôlto retrorso
Più fu, e il mar fuggir,† quando Dio volse,
Mirabile a veder, che qui il soccorso."—

So dainty is the flesh of mortals, that on earth a good beginning lasts not from the springing of the oak to

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* *del bianco fatto bruno:* "Qui mostra li buoni principii e li mali seguiti; dicendo: san Piero, primo papa, cominciò senz'oro; li successori sono tesaurizzanti in terra. Io Benedetto con orazioni e con digiuno, voi neri e bianchi monaci seguitate con ozio e con ghiottornie, e dellettazioni mondane. San Francesco con umilitate, li successori con superbia." (*Ottimo.*) On *bruno* translated "black" compare *Par.* xv, 50, 51 :—

"leggendo nel magno volume
U' non si muta mai bianco nè bruno."

On which Buti comments: "come nel libro che è scritto non si muta la scrittura, se non si muta il bianco de la carta e *lo nero* de lo inchiostro; così vuole dire che in Dio niente, si muta come nel libro scritto, nè non si muta lo bianco *ne 'l nero.*"

We have already noticed in other notes in these *Readings on the Divina Commedia* that *marrone* is the idiomatic Tuscan word for "brown." *Bruno* means "blackish," "darksome," or, as Petrocchi's Dictionary interprets, "*che tende al nero.*" See *Readings on the Purgatorio*, 3rd edition, vol. ii, pp. 438-440.

† *Jordan vôlto retrorso . . . e il mar fuggir:* A considerable number of MSS. read *volt' e ritrorso*, and a rather smaller number read *mal* for *mar*, but the overwhelming preponderance is with the text as given here. On this passage Dr. Moore (*Text. Crit.* pp. 474-476) says that it "is an instance of a short-sighted alteration made to complete the construction within a line, whereas it originally extended over three. The statement is very simple: 'The turning back of Jordan and the drying up of the Red Sea at the will of God were more startling miracles than a Divine intervention to remedy these present ills would be.' As Benvenuto very clearly puts it: 'quod miraculosius fuit Jordanem converti retrorsum et mare rubrum aperiri per medium, quam si Deus succederet et provideret istis malis.' In other words, however bad things have become, 'the Lord's hand is not shortened that it cannot save.' (*Is.* lix, 1.) A close parallel might be found in *Is.* li, 9, 10: 'Awake, awake, put on strength. O arm of the Lord; awake as in the ancient days, in the generations of old. . . . Art thou not it which hath

the formation of the acorn. Peter began without gold or silver, and I, with prayers and fasting, and Francis (began) his convent with humility. And if thou lookest at the beginning of each, and lookest again to where it has gone astray, thou wilt see white changed into black. But notwithstanding, Jordan turned back, and the sea fleeing when God willed, was more wondrous to see than rescue here."

With these words, St. Benedict, burning with pious indignation, leaves Dante, rejoins the heavenly choir of his companions, and like a cloud of flame they are whirled up the heavenly stair.

Così mi disse, ed indi * si ricolse
Al suo collegio,† e il collegio si strinse;
Poi come turbo tutto in su s' accolse.

Thus spake he to me, and then from that spot drew back to his company, and his company closed up together; then like a whirlwind the whole body was rapt on high.

Division IV.—Dante now describes his ascent from the Sphere of Saturn to the Heaven of the Fixed Stars. We read how Beatrice by a mere sign impelled

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dried up the sea, the waters of the great deep?' This and other familiar scriptural references might well be in Dante's mind here. . . . In the next line *mal* is found instead of *mar* in a considerable number of MSS., but it is so commonplace and pointless that one is surprised at its comparative frequency."

* *indi:* We saw in i, 29, that St. Benedict had moved forward in advance of his companions. From that spot, *indi* [*di lì dov' era, vicino a me*] (*Casini*), he drew back among his saintly companions.

† *collegio:* A word not unfrequently used by Dante to express "a company, an assemblage," etc. Compare *Inf.* xxiii, 91, 92:—

". . . O Tosco, ch' al collegio
Degl' ipocriti tristi se' venuto;"

and *Par.* xix, 110:—

"Quando si partiranno i due collegi."

In the modern Italian Parliament *collegio* is the word for a constituency.

Dante to ascend the Holy Stair. In the twinkling of an eye he finds himself arrived in the Sphere above. He utters a devout prayer that he may so once more ascend after his death.

La dolce Donna dietro a lor mi pinse
Con un sol cenno su per quella scala,
Sì sua virtù la mia natura vinse ;
Nè mai quaggiù, dove si monta e cala
Naturalmente, fu sì ratto moto,
Ch' agguagliar si potesse alla mia ala.
S' io torni mai, lettore,* a quel devoto
Trionfo, per lo quale io piango spesso
Le mie peccata,† e il petto mi percoto,
Tu non avresti ‡ in tanto tratto e messo
Nel foco il dito, in quanto io vidi il segno
Che segue il Tauro, e fui dentro da esso.

My beloved Lady with a single sign urged me on behind them up that stairway, so much did her

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* *lettore :* Dante uses the term "*Lettor*" sixteen times in his poem ; five times in the *Inferno ;* seven times in the *Purgatorio ;* and four times, including this, in the *Paradiso.* This is the last time, Scartazzini observes, almost as though Dante was saying a last farewell to his reader before he was rapt up *all' ultima salute.*

† *peccata :* For *i peccati.* Dante not unfrequently uses this form. Compare one instance out of several, *Par.* xvii, 32, 33 :—

"pria che fosse anciso
L' Agnel di Dio che le peccata tolle."

‡ *non avresti,* et seq.: Venturi (*Simil. Dant.* p. 298, sim. 486) says that this simile is as simple as it is original. Notice particularly that Dante puts *tratto* [*withdrawn*] before *messo,* and this inversion of the natural order of the words is evidently not unintentional, for he wishes to express an act so instantaneous that the "before" and the "after" are but a single moment ; nay rather, if such a thing were possible, one might almost fancy that the "putting" were more rapid than the "withdrawing." Compare an exact parallel to this in *Par.* ii, 23-26 :—

"E forse in tanto, in quanto un quadrel posa,
E vola, e dalla noce si dischiava,
Giunto mi vidi ove mirabil cosa
Mi torse il viso a sè."

power overmaster my nature (*i.e.* the natural gravity of my human body); nor ever down here (on earth), where one goes up and down by natural law, has there ever been motion so rapid, that could be equalled with my flight. O reader, as I hope some day to return to that holy joy (*lit.* triumph), to attain which I oftentimes bewail my sins, and beat my breast, thou hadst not (I assure thee) withdrawn thy finger nor thrust it into the fire so quickly, as I beheld the sign that follows Taurus (*i.e.* Gemini), and was within it.

Dante on arriving in the *Cielo Stellato* encounters *Gemini*, the Zodiacal sign corresponding with May, in which he was born. To that influence he ascribes all his poetic genius. He thanks God for His Grace in allowing him to meet his own most fortunate constellation, and he invokes *the Twins* to fortify him with sufficient virtue to enable him to accomplish the difficult task of describing the final glories of Paradise and the completion of his sublime Poem.

O gloriose stelle,* o lume pregno
Di gran virtù,† dal quale io riconosco
Tutto, qual che si sia, lo mio ingegno;
Con voi nasceva e s' ascondeva vosco 115

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* *O gloriose stelle*, et seq.: "Gemini si è casa di Mercurio, lo quale si è significatore di scrittura e di scienzia e di cognoscibilitade, e però secondo la scienza od arte preditta, colui che ha Gemini per ascendente, si è ingegniero e adatto a scienzia litterale, e maggiormente quando lo sole si trova essere in quel segno." (Lana.) Mr. Gardner considers that it is in reality to the Cherubim who preside over the Eighth Heaven that Dante is here appealing, "for theirs is the mighty power with which the light of these stars is impregnated."

† *lume pregno Di gran virtù:* Of Gemini the *Falso Boccaccio* says: "Questo segno fa gli uomini virtuosi, ed exciellenti, e sommi in parlare e in tutte le scienze."

Quegli ch' è padre d' ogni mortal vita,*
Quand' io senti' da prima l' aer Tosco;†
E poi quando mi fu grazia largita
D' entrar nell' alta rota ‡ che vi gira,

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* *Quegli ch' è padre d' ogni mortal vita:* With this compare *Par.* xxvii, 137, 138:—

"Della bella figlia
Di quei ch' apporta mane e lascia sera,"

and on the two passages, taken together, see Moore, *Studies in Dante*, pp. 140, 141: "These passages are interesting, because, though not direct quotations from Aristotle, they, and especially the former, are almost unintelligible unless familiarity with certain passages in Aristotle be presupposed. At least this is so if we adopt the interpretation which appears to me to be fully established by the reference in question, viz.: that 'la bella figlia Di quei ch' apporte mane e lascia sera' is a paraphrastic description of 'human nature,' and not, as some Commentators say, 'the moon.' 'Quei' is in any case obviously 'the sun:' and if it be correct to say that Dante intended 'human nature' by the daughter of the Sun, we may suppose that he had floating in his memory two passages of Aristotle where this idea occurs, viz.: *Phys.* II, ii (194b, 13), '*ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπον γεννᾷ καὶ ἥλιος.*' This passage was, we know, familiar to Dante, since he quotes it in *De Mon.* i, ix, *sub init.*, 'Optime se habet omnis filius, quum vestigia perfecti patris . . . imitatur. Humanum genus filius est coeli . . . *generat enim homo hominem et sol*, juxta secundum de Naturali auditu (*i.e.* Aristotle, *Phys. l.c.*). Again Aristotle (*Met.* λ. 5, 1071a, 13) says, '*ἀνθρώπου αἴτιον τὰ τε στοιχεῖα πῦρ καὶ γῆ, κ.τ.λ. . . . καὶ παρα ταῦτα ὁ ἥλιος.*'"

† *l' aer Tosco:* Here we have another of those sad touches of Dante's yearning affection for his beloved Tuscany. One can almost fancy one hears him repeat the words spoken to the *Frati Godenti* (in *Inf.* xxiii, 94, 95) of Florence being his birthplace:—

". . . Io fui nato e cresciuto
Sopra il bel fiume d' Arno alla gran villa."

We may remember also that the conversation arose from one of the shades having heard Dante's Tuscan idiom (*ibid.* 76):—

"Ed un, che intese la parola Tosca," etc.

Again in *Inf.* x, 22, 23, we see the shade of the great Florentine, Farinata degli Uberti enraptured at hearing the Tuscan speech:—

"O Tosco, che per la città del foco
Vivo ten vai così parlando onesto,
Piacciati di restare," etc.

‡ *alta rota:* The Heavens of the Fixed Stars, or Stellar Heaven. On the symbolism of this heaven, compare (too long

La vostra regïon mi fu sortita. 120
A voi devotamente ora sospira
L' anima mia per acquistar virtute
Al passo forte * che a sè la tira.

O glorious stars, O light impregnate with mighty power, from which I acknowledge all my genius, whatever it be; with you was rising and with you was setting he (the Sun) who is the sire of all human life, when I did first inhale the Tuscan air, and afterwards, when grace was vouchsafed me to penetrate into the exalted sphere (of the fixed stars) that whirls you round, your region was allotted to me. To you now is my soul devoutly sighing, that it may acquire power to cope with the difficult emprize which draws it to itself.

Division V.—Dante, in obedience to Beatrice, who commands him to prepare for the final vision by vigilance and strength, casts his eyes upon the Earth below the Eighth Sphere, and sees what a vast expanse of the Universe lies beneath. He observes the immensity of the seven great planets and the rapidity of their motions. He views our Earth, which by comparison is so small, and yet makes Man so proud. Beatrice is well assured that Dante will no longer be overcome by the dizziness that assailed him before.

—" Tu sei sì presso all' ultima salute," †—

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to quote here) what Dante says of it in *Conv.* ii, 15, ll. 4-92. On *vi gira*, Buti remarks: " imperò che 'l detto cielo girando se tutto, gira ciò che in esso è."

* *passo forte:* Dr. Moore, in a letter to me, says that he fully believes this to mean the climax of the Tenth Heaven, the Heaven of Heavens and the Vision of God, and for this *ultimo lavoro* Dante needs special help. Some think Dante refers to the high emprize of completing his Poem. Compare *Par.* i, 13 et seq., and as a parallel by contrast *Inf.* xxxii, 7, 8.

† *ultima salute:* Casini is convinced that this neither means

Cominciò Beatrice,—"che tu dèi
Aver* le luci tue chiare ed acute.
E però prima che tu più t' inlei,†
Rimira in giù, e vedi quanto mondo ‡
Sotto li piedi già esser ti fèi;
Sì che il tuo cor, quantunque può, giocondo
S' appresenti alla turba trïonfante,§

"the final vision," nor "the Empyrean," but God, as is evident from *Par.* xxxiii, 25-27:—

"Supplica a te per grazia di virtute
Tanto che possa con gli occhi levarsi
Più alto verso l' ultima salute."

**tu dèi Aver*, et seq.: "Di sopra sempre àe detto che quanto l' omo più monta in su, tanto più schiara lo intelletto: imperò che più s' approssima a Dio. E questo montamento s' intende mentale e non corporale." (Buti.) Mr. Gardner writes: "Like his St. Dominic, Dante was indeed a splendour of Cherubical light (*Di cherubica luce uno splendore*), *Par.* xi, 39. But to complete his task he must not only have light from the Cherubim to comprehend the spiritual substances above him, but must also apprehend rightly the more material objects that lie below. Therefore with eyes *chiare* and *acute*, clear from passion and acute with discernment, Beatrice bids him once more look down," etc. Mr. Gardner's sketch of Dante's final journey takes in, as if from a height, a broad comprehensive view of the situation, such as I have never seen before.

†*t' inlei:* Dante uses the verb *inleiarsi* here, which he has formed upon the personal pronoun *lei*, in the same way that, in *Par.* ix, he uses the term *inluiarsi* (from *in* and *lui*) in l. 73, and in l. 81 *intuarsi* (from *in* and *tu*), and *immiarsi* (from *in* and *me*) both in the same line.

‡*vedi quanto mondo*, et seq.: The *Ottimo* paraphrases this well: "Guata in giù, e vedrai il mondo e le sue cose transitorie; sì che tu d' essere cotanto salito t' allegri, e cotale allegrezza dimostri alli cori beati, li quali vegnono—*per questo etera.*"

§*turba trïonfante:* Scartazzini says this does not refer to the whole multitude of spirits triumphant in Paradise, but to the hosts of "The Triumph of Christ," who will shortly appear before Dante. See *Par.* xxiii, 19-45, and especially 19-21:—

"E Beatrice disse: 'Ecco le schiere
Del trïonfo di CRISTO, e tutto il frutto
Ricolto del girar di queste spere.'"

Che lieta vien per questo etera tondo." *—

"Thou art so near unto the Supreme Salvation (*i.e.* God)," began Beatrice, "that thou oughtest to have thine eyes clear and sharp. And therefore before thou dost enter further therein, look down once more, and see how vast a universe I have already set beneath thy feet; so that thy heart, as jocund as it is able, may present itself to the triumphant throng, which comes exultant through this rounded ethereal sphere."

Dante obeys Beatrice. Dean Plumptre remarks that by an act of scientific imagination the student of astronomy pictures to himself what the earth, then considered to be the centre of the Universe, would look like if seen from the highest of the eight spheres. Dante's astronomical distances were not so vast as those of modern science, but even thus he learned the littleness of earthly things. In *Par.* xxvii † he describes another great prospect, not, apparently, quite consistent with that in this Canto.

Col viso ritornai per tutte e quante
Le sette spere, e vidi questo globo ‡
Tal, ch' io sorrisi del suo vil sembiante; 135

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* *etera tondo:* Cornoldi (who reads *etereo tondo*) says:—
"È il cielo formato dall' etere a guisa di sfera."

† *Par.* xxvii, 79-84:—
"Dall' ora ch' io avea guardato prima,
Io vidi mosso me per tutto l' arco
Che fa dal mezzo al fine il primo clima;
Sì ch' io vedea di là da Gade il varco
Folle d' Ulisse, e di qua presso il lito
Nel qual si fece Europa dolce carco."

‡ *vidi questo globo*, et seq.: It is generally considered that the whole of this passage was suggested to Dante by Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*, xvi (*ad finem*), and xix (*init.*), the context also being similar. Especially in the words, § 3: "Jam ipsa terra ita mihi parva visa est, ut me imperii nostri poeniteret."

E quel consiglio per migliore approbo
Che l' ha per meno ;* e chi ad altro pensa
Chiamar si puote veramente probo.†
Vidi la figlia di Latona ‡ incensa
Senza quell' ombra che mi fu cagione
Per che già la credetti rara e densa.

With my gaze I took my way back through all the seven Spheres already traversed, and I saw this globe of ours such (*i.e.* so small), that I smiled at its paltry semblance ; and that counsel I approve as best which holds it (our globe) of least account ; and he who turns his thoughts elsewhere (*i.e.* to heavenly things) may be called truly righteous. I saw the daughter of Latona (*i.e.* Luna, the Moon) shining without that shadow, which had been the cause why at one time I had thought her to be both rare and dense.

This means that Dante sees the Moon without the spots, which, as we read in Canto II, had so excited his curiosity when he saw them during his first ascent into Paradise. Cornoldi observes that on earth we always see the same side of the Moon. Dante supposes himself to see the other side, which is here illuminated by the Sun. Dante had the knowledge that the Moon, because it revolves on its axis, always dis-

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* *Che l' ha per meno :* See again *Somn. Scip. ibid.* § 6 : " Si tibi [sedes hominum] parva ut est videtur, haec coelestia semper spectato, illa humana contemnito."

† *probo :* Casini observes that as in *Purg.* vii, 122, *l' umana probitate* signifies " virtue," so here *probo* is equivalent to " virtuous, righteous," which at once combines sense and rectitude.

‡ *figlia di Latona :* Compare *Purg.* xx, 131, 132 :—

" Pria che Latona in lei facesse il nido,
A partorir li due occhi del cielo,"

describing the birth of Apollo, and Diana or Luna in the Island of Delos. Again *Par.* x, 67, 68 :—

" Così cinger la figlia di Latona
Vedem tal volta," etc.

plays the same hemisphere to us. From the Heaven of the Stars he sees the other hemisphere, which we never see, and upon that there are no spots.*

Dante finds that his eye is able to gaze upon the Sun without being dazzled.

L' aspetto del tuo nato, Iperïone,†
Quivi sostenni, e vidi com' si move
Circa e vicino a lui Maia e Dïone. ‡
Quindi m' apparve il temperar di Giove § 145
Tra il padre e il figlio ; e quindi mi fu chiaro ||
Il varïar che fanno di lor dove.
E tutti e sette ¶ mi si dimostraro

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* " Che se la Luna si guarda bene, due cose si veggono in essa proprie, che non si veggono nell' altre stelle : l' una si è l' ombra ch' è in essa, la quale non è altro che rarità del suo corpo, alla quale non possono terminare i raggi del sole e ripercuotersi così come nell' altre parti." (*Conv.* ii, 14, ll. 69-76.)

† *tuo nato, Iperïone :* Ovid twice speaks of Hyperion as the father of the Sun, *Met.* iv, 192 : " Hyperione nate ; " and iv, 241 : " Hyperione natus."

‡ *Circa e vicino a lui Maia e Dïone :* See *Æn.* viii, 138-141 :—

" Vobis Mercurius pater est, quem candida Maia
Cyllenae gelido conceptum vertice fudit ;
At Maiam, auditis si quicquam credimus, Atlas,
Idem Atlas generat coeli qui sidera tollit."

§ *il temperar di Giove :* " Nam Jupiter temperat frigiditatem Saturni sui patris et caliditatem Martis ejus filii." (*Postillatore Cassinese.*) Compare *Conv.* ii, 14, ll. 194-202 : " Giove . . . muove tra due cieli repugnanti alla sua buona temperanza, siccome quello di Marte, e quello di Saturno. Onde Tolommeo dice nell' allegato libro, che Giove è stella di temperata complessione, in mezzo della freddura di Saturno e del calor di Marte."

|| *mi fu chiaro Il varïar*, etc. : Compare *Par.* iii, 88 90 :—

" Chiaro mi fu allor com' ogni dove
In cielo è Paradiso, e sì la grazia
Del sommo ben d' un modo non vi piove."

¶ *tutti e sette :* That is, the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn.

Quanto son grandi, e quanto son veloci,
E come sono in distante riparo.* 150

The aspect of thy Son, Hyperion, I could here endure, and I marked how moved around and near him Maia and Dione (*i.e.* Mercury, son of Maia, and Venus, daughter of Dione). After that appeared to me the tempering influence of Jupiter between his father (Saturn) and his son (Mars); and then became clear to me the changes they make in their positions (*i.e.* the movements of these planets, now approaching near to each other, now dividing farther apart, and the reason of these variations). And the whole seven (planets) displayed before me how vast they are, and how great their velocity, and how far apart are their abodes.

Dante's eye now takes a bold sweep over the whole of the inhabited earth, which, from the exalted region in which he is, looks such an insignificant area, that he pityingly likens it to a mere threshing-floor. From the highest mountain summits to the mouths of the rivers, his view comprises the entirety of our hemisphere, on which alone, according to the Cosmography of his times, there was thought to be any land. He is traversing the meridian which passes over Jerusalem, the supposed centre of the habitable earth, and he stands in the sign of Gemini.

L' aiuola † che ci fa tanto feroci,

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* *distante riparo: Riparo* signifies the abode habitually occupied by any one, and is equivalent to the term "house" used by astrologers. Benvenuto's comment is very concise: "*In distante riparo*, idest in situ distanti. Quasi dicat; ostenderunt se mihi omnes in quantitate, cursu, et distantia."

† *L' aiuola:* "Idest areola, idest parvum spatium terrae." (Talice da Ricaldone.) Compare *Par.* xxvii, 85, 86:—

"E più mi fora discoperto il sito
Di questa aiuola,"

and *De Mon.* iii, 16, ll. 89-91: "ut scilicet in areola ista mor-

Volgendom' io con gli eterni Gemelli,
Tutta m' apparve dai colli alle foci:
Poscia rivolsi * gli occhi agli occhi belli.

The little threshing-floor (*i.e.* the inhabited Earth) which makes us so arrogant, as I revolved with the eternal Twins (*i.e.* not subject to corruption), appeared wholly before me from its hills to its estuaries; then I turned back my eyes to the beauteous eyes (of Beatrice).

Benvenuto remarks that a contemplative mind can derive the greatest benefit from the consideration of heavenly things, or by turning his sight back to consider the vileness of all things below, for they are then perceived by him to be all the more vile, and things above become more pleasing in his eyes.

Mr. Gardner says that "the closing lines of this Canto receive very striking illustration from St. Gregory's comments upon a similar vision of St. Benedict, in which the whole world, gathered as it were together

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talium libere cum pace vivatur." See also Boëthius, *Philos. Consol.* ii, pr. 7, ll. 9-23: "Omnem terrae ambitum, sicuti astrologicis demonstrationibus accepisti, ad coeli spatium puncti constat obtinere rationem, id est ut, si ad coelestis globi magnitudinem conferatur, nihil spatii prorsus habere judicetur. Hujus igitur tam exigue in mundo regionis quarta fere portio est, sicut Ptolomaeo probante didicisti quae nobis cognitis animantibus incolatur. Huic quartae, si quantum maria paludesque premunt quantumque siti vasta regio distenditur cogitatione subtraxeris, vix angustissima inhabitandi hominibus area relinquetur. In hoc igitur minimo puncti quodam puncto circumsaepti atque conclusi de pervulganda fama de proferendo nomine cogitatis? ut quid habeat amplum magnificumque gloria tam angustis exiguisque limitibus artata?" See also *Ep.* vii, § 4, ll. 74, 75: "Pudeat itaque *in angustissima mundi area* irretiri tamdiu," etc.

* *Poscia rivolsi*; Compare *Par.* iii, 124-127:—

"La vista mia, che tanto la seguio
Quanto possibil fu, poi che la perse,
Volsesi al segno di maggior disio,
Ed a Beatrice tutta si converse."

under one beam of the Sun, was presented before his eyes. It occurs in that same book of the *Dialogues* upon which Dante based other parts of this Canto :*

" ' All creatures are, as it were, nothing to that soul which beholdeth the Creator : for though it see but a glimpse of that light which is in the Creator, yet very small do all things seem that be created : for by means of that supernatural light the capacity of the individual soul is enlarged, and is in God so extended that it is far above the world ; yea, and the soul of him that seeth in this manner is also above itself ; for being rapt up in the light of God, it is inwardly in itself enlarged above itself ; and when it is so exalted and looketh downward, then doth it comprehend how little all that is which before in former baseness it could not comprehend. What marvel then is it, if he saw the world gathered together before him, who rapt up in the light of his soul, was at that time out of the world. But albeit we say that the world was gathered together before his eyes, yet were not heaven and earth drawn into any lesser room than they be of themselves, but the soul of the beholder was more enlarged, which rapt in God, might without difficulty see that which lay below it, so that in that light which appeared to his outward eyes, the inward light which was in his soul ravished the mind of the beholder to supernal things, and showed him how small all earthly things were.' "

* St. Gregory, *Dialogues*, ii, 35. In the *Dialogues of St. Gregory the Great*, an old English Version, edited by H. J. Coleridge, S.J. (Burns & Oates, London, 1874.)

END OF CANTO XXII.

CANTO XXIII.

SPHERE OF THE FIXED STARS OR STELLAR HEAVEN (CONTINUED)—THE SPIRITS OF THE TRIUMPH OF CHRIST—THE APOTHEOSIS AND CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN.

In this Canto * Dante's wondering eyes are permitted to see the Triumph of Christ, Who appears to him in the shape of a gorgeous Sun blazing in the midst of a countless number of lights, which are the spirits of the Blessed. Fortified by this vision, his eyes are now able to endure the smile of Beatrice, upon whose ineffable beauty they gaze with rapture. Christ then rises into the Empyrean, and the spirits celebrate the Apotheosis of the Blessed Virgin; after which they too in their turn rise up into the Empyrean.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

In the First Division, from ver. 1 to ver. 24, Dante relates how Beatrice prepared his mind for the glorious Vision he was about to see.

In the Second Division, from ver. 25 to ver. 69, he describes the Leader of the Army of the Triumph of Christ.

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* In his Commentary Mg. Poletto says that he possesses a copy of the *D. C.* once belonging to the Padre Giuliani, in whose handwriting there is a marginal reference in pencil at the beginning of this Canto, running thus: "Quest' è il Canto più altamente poetico di tutta la Commedia."

In the Third Division, from ver. 70 to ver. 111, he describes the Army itself.

In the Fourth Division, from ver. 112 to ver. 139, he tells how the Virgin mounted up in glory, and how the Saints fervently sang the Church's Easter Hymn.

Division I.—Beatrice is gazing fixedly towards the South, in an attitude of the most anxious expectation. Dante is about to ask the reason, when Beatrice, her face gleaming with an infinitely increased splendour, anticipates his question, telling him that the hosts of Christ Triumphant are approaching. Mr. Gardner considers that the Heaven of the Fixed Stars is the celestial counterpart of the Earthly Paradise; for as in the latter Dante had beheld the scene of Man's fall, so here in the Stellar Heaven he will have revealed to him somewhat of the work of Man's redemption.

"Come l' augello intra l' amate fronde,*
Posato al nido dei suoi dolci nati,†
La notte ‡ che le cose ci nasconde,

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* *amate fronde:* Compare Statius, *Achill.* i, 212-216:—
"Qualis vicino volucris jam sedula partu,
Jamque timens qua fronde domum suspendat inanem,
Providet hinc ventos, hinc anxia cogitat angues,
Hinc homines; tandem dubiae placet umbra, novisque
Vix stetit in ramis, et protinus arbor amatur."
The bird loves the branches because they are her home, the abode of her young ones.

† *Posato al nido dei suoi dolci nati:* Casini says this verse is literally knit up of Virgilian reminiscences (*Georg.* iv, 514: "ramoque sedens;" *ibid.* ii, 523: "dulces natos"), which are revived by the sweet perfume of deep feeling that the whole simile breathes forth.

‡ *La notte*, et seq.: Poliziano (*Stanze* i, 60) has recopied this entire line. Compare Ariosto (*Orl. Fur.* ii, st. 54):—
"La battaglia durò sino a quell' ora,

Che per veder gli aspetti* disïati,
E per trovar lo cibo onde li pasca,
In che i gravi labor gli sono aggrati,
Previene il tempo in sull' aperta frasca,
E con ardente affetto il sole aspetta,
Fiso guardando pur che l' alba nasca;
Così la Donna mia si stava eretta †
Ed attenta, rivolta invêr la plaga ‡
Sotto la quale il sol mostra men fretta;
Sì che veggendola io sospesa e vaga,
Fecimi quale è quei, che disïando
Altro vorria, e sperando s' appaga.

Even as a bird amid the well-loved branches, sitting

Che, spiegando del mondo oscuro velo,
Tutte le belle cose discolora."

And Virgil, *Æn.* vi, 272:—

". . . rebus nox abstulit atra colorem."

* *aspetti:* There can be no doubt the objects for which the bird yearns are the forms of her little ones, so soon as the dawning day will give her light to see them. Buti, however, seems to think *aspetti* means the surrounding objects, but the context in the next line proves that view to be illusory.

† *eretta Ed attenta:* See Venturi, *Simil. Dant.* p. 266, sim. 441: "Dicendo che Beatrice si stava *eretta ed attenta*, il Poeta la descrive con esatta correlazione alla similitudine. *Eretta* risponde al salir dell' augello sull' ultima frasca, *attenta* al fiso guardar di quello: aspettando l' uno con ardente affetto il Sole, l' altra con desiderio amoroso la vista del Sole eterno. E *fiso* sta bene ad augello, come atto più speciale del corpo; *attenta* sta bene a Beatrice, come atto più della mente."

‡ *la plaga:* Beatrice was looking towards the South, towards the quarter of midday "*il colmo* del dì," where at midday the Sun had the appearance of moving its slowest. Compare *Par.* xiii, 4, 5:—

"Quindici stelle che in diverse plage
Lo cielo avvivan;"

and *Purg.* xxxiii, 103-105:—

"E più corrusco, e con più lenti passi,
Teneva il sole il cerchio di merigge,
Che qua e là, come gli aspetti, fassi;"

and *Conv.* iv, 23, ll. 107 and 145 et seq.

upon the nest of her cherished brood throughout the night which hides all things from us, and who, to behold the forms for which she yearns (*i.e.* her young ones), and to find the food with which she may nourish them, in which (task) heavy toils are sweet to her, anticipates the time (by flying) upon the unsheltered twig, and with burning eagerness awaits the Sun, fixedly watching * till the dawn shall break (*i.e.* immovably and intently gazing Eastward); thus was my lady standing erect and vigilant, turned towards the quarter (the Meridian) beneath which the Sun shows his least speed; so that I, beholding her eagerly expectant, became as is one who in desire yearns after something, and is appeased by his (very) hope.

According to Buti, Dante wishes to show that in the Eighth Heaven Christ is represented with His Apostles and all the Saints of the Old Testament, amid whom He shone with as much radiance as the Sun, and even more. Hence it is an apt picture to represent Him in the South, so that even as the Sun towers above us when it is in the Meridian, so Christ might tower above all the Saints.

After a few moments of ecstatic suspense, Beatrice joyfully proclaims the approach of the Triumph of Christ.

Ma poco fu tra uno ed altro quando,†

* It is difficult to convey in English the full meaning of the word *pur* in this line. *Guardando pur* has the value of "gazing piercingly, persistently, without a movement of eye or lid".

† *tra uno ed altro quando: Quando* is here used as a noun of time, in the same way as *dove* in *Par.* iii, 88, 89:—

"Chiaro mi fu allor com' *ogni dove* [*i.e.* every spot]
In cielo è Paradiso;"

and *il come* in *Par.* xxi, 46, 47:—

"Ma quella, ond' io aspetto *il come e il quando*
Del dire e del tacer," etc. [*i.e.* the how and the when of speech or silence]. As Tommaséo points out, it is one

Del mio attender, dico, e del vedere
Lo ciel venir più e più rischiarando:
E Beatrice disse:—"Ecco le schiere *
Del trïonfo di CRISTO, e tutto il frutto
Ricolto del girar di queste spere."—

But short was the interval between one moment and the other, between my expectancy, I mean, and my seeing the heavens become more and more resplendent. And Beatrice said: "Behold the hosts of the Triumph of Christ, and all the fruit in-gathered by (the influence of) the revolutions of these spheres."

All the Saints, whom Dante had beheld in the other Spheres of Heaven, had come together here to do honour to Christ, and to follow in His train. Buti and Landino are in agreement that, like a Roman conqueror leading before his triumphal chariot all the booty taken from the enemy, so here does Christ bring with Him the booty taken from the Arch-Enemy, the Devil, consisting both of the holy Patriarchs set free from *Limbo*, as well as the Saints of Christianity saved by His Passion.

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of the great conveniences of the Italian language the being able at pleasure to turn adverbs, verbs, and adjectives into substantives.

* *Ecco le schiere*, et seq.: This is one of the difficult passages of the *Divina Commedia*. I follow Casini's explanation of it, namely: "Behold coming before us the soldiery of those blessed ones who were redeemed by Christ Triumphant; behold those blessed ones, who, turning to good the natural inclinations which the influence of these heavens developed in them, earned the merit of Eternal Glory." The early Commentators take *frutto ricolto del girar di queste spere* to mean that the soldiery of Heaven was mustered to follow the triumph of Christ, out of all the spheres among which it had been scattered. But it seems preferable to interpret that the fruit has been in-garnered, *not from* the revolving spheres, but *by reason of the beneficent influences* of the revolving spheres.

Pareami che il suo viso ardesse tutto,
E gli occhi avea di letizia sì pieni,
Che passar mi convien senza costrutto.*

It seemed to me as though her countenance were all on fire, and her eyes were so full of gladness, that I must needs pass it by without description.

Division II.—In the glorious Vision of the Triumph of Christ, Dante sees thousands of lights, and one Divine Sun giving lustre to them, and in the fiery light of that Sun he discerns the Humanity of Christ. He is almost transported out of his mind at this spectacle, and his memory so fails him, that he is now unable to recount all that he saw. This Second Division opens with a *terzina*, which Cesari says is like a smile of Heaven, and the mere reading of which fills one with gladness. Venturi notices the predominance of vowels, and the softness of the accents.†

Quale nei plenilunii ‡ sereni 25

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* *senza costrutto:* That is, *senza costruirlo in parole, senza discorrerne.* Scartazzini says that *costrutto* is an expression of the Schoolmen. Compare *Purg.* xxviii, 145-147:—

"Io mi volsi diretro allora tutto
A' miei Poeti, e vidi che con riso
Udito avevan l' ultimo costrutto;"

and *Par.* xii, 67:—

"E perchè fosse quale era in costrutto."

[Meaning, in order that his, St. Dominick's, name should be the genuine expression of his being.]

† English readers might be disposed to disagree with Venturi here, as the adjacent *terzine* contain as many vowels or even more; but I am told that in Italian recitation the liquid consonants *l*, *n*, and *r* count as vocal sounds, and of such vocal sounds and vowels this *terzina* is almost wholly composed.

‡ *plenilunii:* Compare *Ecclus.* l. 6 (*Vulgate*): "Quasi stella matutina in medio nebulae, et quasi luna plena in diebus suis lucet." Both Scartazzini and Casini quote a long passage here from Comparetti, *Virgilio nel medio evo*, i, 265, urging the strong

Trivia * ride tra le ninfe † eterne,
Che dipingono il ciel per tutti i seni,‡
Vid' io, sopra migliaia § di lucerne,‖
Un Sol ¶ che tutte quante l' accendea,

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sentiment of ancient poetry that Dante had. Compare Horace, *Epod.* xv, 1, 2 :—

"Nox erat, et coelo fulgebat luna sereno
Inter minora sidera."

Also Homer, *Iliad,* ix, 555 et seq.

* *Trivia* is an epithet very commonly given to Diana or the Moon by the ancients. It occurs in the sixth, seventh, and tenth books of the *Æneid,* and Ovid, *Metam.* ii, 414, 415 : "Miles erat Phoebes ; nec Maenalon attigit ulla Gratior hac Triviae." See also Fazio degli Uberti, *Rime* 3 :—

"Come per primavera innanzi il giorno
Ride Diana nell' aere serena
D' una luce si piena
Che par che ne risplenda tutto 'l cielo."

† *ninfe* are used for stars in *Purg.* xxxi, 106 :—

"Noi siam qui ninfe, e nel ciel siamo stelle."

‡ *tutti i seni :* Meaning, in all its innermost recesses, like the gulfs and bays in a sea. Compare *Par.* xiii, 7, 8 :—

"Immagini quel Carro a cui il seno
Basta del nostro cielo e notte e giorno."

§ *migliaia :* Compare *Dan.* vii, 10 (*Vulgate*): "Fluvius igneus rapidusque egrediebatur a facie ejus: millia millium ministrabant ei, et decies millies centena millia assistebant ei."

‖ *lucerne, i.e.* blessed spirits: Compare *Par.* viii, 19, 20 :—

"Vid' io in essa luce altre lucerne
Moversi in giro più e men correnti."

Also *Par.* xxi, 73 : "Sacra lucerna."

¶ *Un Sol :* That is, Christ, Who with His glory illumined those souls. See below (ll. 71, 72) :—

"Che tu non ti rivolgi al bel giardino
Che sotto i raggi di Cristo s' infiora ? "

Compare Boët. *Consol. Philos.* v, metr. 2, ll. 10-13 :—

"Quae sint, quae fuerint, veniantque
Uno mentis cernit in ictu :
Quem, quia respicit omnia solus,
Verum possis dicere Solem."

Nearly every one reads *un Sol, i.e.* "A Sun." Witte alone reads *un sol, i.e.* "a single lamp." In the middle ages the Sun was supposed to be the source of the light of the stars. Dante

Come fa il nostro le viste superne ;* 30
E per la viva luce trasparea
La lucente sustanzia † tanto chiara
Nel viso mio, che non la sostenea.‡

As in the clear skies at the full moon Trivia (*i.e.* Diana or the Moon) smiles among the eternal nymphs (*i.e.* the stars) which paint the firmament through all its gulfs (*i.e.* in all directions), so saw I, above myriads of lustres, a Sun which enkindled them all as our own (Sun) does the stars on high ; and through that living light the radiant substance (*i.e.* the human person of Christ) beamed so resplendently upon my face, that I could not endure it.

Dante, overcome by emotion, utters an exclamation full of praise of Beatrice. She then speaks, and explains to him the mystery of that infinite light which has completely overmastered his visual powers. She is powerless to render him any assistance. What he is experiencing is the natural effect of Divine Virtue on Man. Dante is in the presence of God Himself, in the presence of Christ the Wisdom of God, Christ the

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affirms this in *Conv.* ii, 14, ll. 125, 126: "del suo lume [*i.e.* del Sole] tutte le altre stelle s' informano." See Buti's remarks: "Ben finge l' autore che lo splendore di Cristo facesse lucide tutte quelle beate anime ; imperò che nella virtù della passione di Cristo, e nel suo sangue e nelle sue virtù tutti li santi sono salvati e santificati."

* *viste superne* like *superne rote* in *Purg.* viii, 18, refers to the stars, like *tante vedute* in *Par.* ii, 115. See also *Par.* xxx, 7-9 :—

"E come vien la chiarissima ancella
Del sol più oltre."

† *lucente sustanzia :* "scilicet, dictus sol, idest, essentia vel persona Christi lucidissima". (Benvenuto.)

‡ *non la sostenea :* Contrast with this *Purg.* xxx, 25-27 :—

". . . la faccia del sol nascere ombrata,
Sì che per temperanza di vapori
L' occhio la sostenea lunga fiata."

Power of God, Who by His death and His teachings opened to Man the way to Heaven.

O Beatrice,* dolce guida e cara!
Ella mi disse:—"Quel che ti sopranza † 35
È virtù, da cui nulla si ripara.
Quivi è la Sapïenza,‡ e la Possanza
Ch' aprì le strade § intra il cielo e la terra,
Onde fu già si lunga disïanza."—

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* *O Beatrice*, et seq.: The *Codice Cassinese* has a reading here, for which there is apparently no other MS. authority:—

"E Beatrice, dolce guida e cara,
Allor mi disse."

† *Quel che ti sopranza:* That which overcomes Dante's powers of vision is Divine Power, which no mortal eye can endure. "È virtù divina, che ogni cosa avanza; e però non è meraviglia s' ella avanza la tua virtù visiva." (Buti.) We find *sopranzare*, which is an obsolete verb, with the sense of "to overpower," in *Par.* xx, 97-99:—

"Non a guisa che l' uomo all' uom sopranza,
Ma vince lei perchè vuole esser vinta,
E vinta vince con la sua beninanza."

‡ *Sapïenza:* In 1 *Cor.* i, 24, Jesus Christ is called "the power of God, and the wisdom of God." Compare St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. xxxix, art. 7): "Filius dicitur sapientia Patris, quia est sapientia de Patre sapientia."

§ *Ch' aprì le strade:* Our Lord by His death reopened to man the ways for ascending to Heaven. Compare ll. 74, 75: "li gigli, Al cui odor si prese il buon cammino." Another reading is *Ch' aprì la strada*, but Casini says that *le strade* is by far the more preferable, as well as the more common reading; and is confirmed by *Par.* vii, 109-111:—

"La divina bontà, che il mondo imprenta,
Di proceder per tutte le sue vie
A rilevarvi suso fu contenta."

He adds that *aprir le strade* is a well-known expression, "nel senso di ristabilire i rapporti cessati per la guerra, e quindi per estensione vale far la pace, stringere un vincolo d' amore." Compare also *Hebrews* x, 20: "By a new and living way;" and *Purg.* x, 34-36:—

"L' angel che venne in terra col decreto
Della molt' anni lagrimata pace,
Che aperse il ciel dal suo lungo divieto.

> O Beatrice, gentle and beloved guide! She said to me: "That which overpowers thee is a power from which nothing can shield itself. Herein is the Wisdom and the Power (*i.e.* Christ) Which opened the way betwixt Heaven and Earth, for which (opening) there had been so long a yearning."

The fault of our first parents had (says Scartazzini) closed the way to Heaven from Earth, that is, had broken the peace between God and Man. The Messiah re-opened it.

The following passage is one of several that are quoted as evidencing Dante's accomplishments in knowledge of all branches of natural science. Here Aristotle's theory of the laws of lightning is demonstrated. As the lightning (*i.e.* according to Aristotle's notion the compressed wind) expands, and then escapes from, the thunder-cloud, which is no longer able to resist the explosive force of its contents, so Dante, in that world of radiant spirits, and those feasts and delights of Paradise, had almost changed his nature, had become larger in soul, almost, so to speak, trans-humanized, and he says that now that he has returned to earth, he can no longer recall the divine sensations he felt in Heaven, much less recount them.

Come foco di nube si disserra,* 40

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* *Come foco*, et seq.: Compare *Purg.* xxxii, 109-111:—

"Non scese mai con sì veloce moto
Foco di spessa nube, quando piove
Da quel confine che più va remoto."

Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, p. 130) says that both these passages refer to the theory of Aristotle explained in *Meteor.* ii, ix (369a, 16-24), that thunder and lightning are generated chiefly in the highest regions of the air, because the cold being there most extreme, the clouds are the most dense: "*πυκνοτέρας τῆς συστάσεως τῶν νεφῶν γιγνομένης πρὸς τὸ ἔσχατον πέρας.*" This has

Per dilatarsi sì che non vi cape,
E fuor di sua natura * in giù s' atterra,
La mente mia così, tra quelle dape †
Fatta più grande,‡ di sè stessa uscío,§
E che si fêsse rimembrar non sape.‖ 45

As lightning is discharged from a cloud by reason of such great expansion, that it can no longer be contained within it, and, contrary to its nature, falls down to earth, even so did my soul, amid those

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probably suggested to Dante the words, "quel confine più remoto." And Dr. Moore adds of this passage, in *Par.* xxiii, that "it is to be explained by the same reference to Aristotle's *Meteorologica.* Dante here not only refers to the anomaly of lightning falling, but the explanation of it which he gives also recalls the process of ἔκθλιψις described by Aristotle, and, further, the unnaturalness of the phenomenon is also noted by both authors."

* *sua natura:* Compare *Conv.* iii, 3, ll. 6-13: "Ciascuna cosa . . . ha 'l suo speziale amore, come le *corpora semplici* hanno amore naturato in sè al loro loco proprio, e però la terra sempre discende al centro; il fuoco alla circonferenza di sopra lungo 'l cielo della luna, e però sempre sale a quello." And *De Mon.* i, 15, ll. 38-42: "Sicut plures glebas diceremus concordes, propter condescendere omnes ad medium, et plures flammes propter coascendere omnes ad circumferentiam, si voluntarie hoc facerent."

† *quelle dape:* There is a well-known hymn of St. Ambrose in the *Commune Confessoris non Pontificis* (*Breviarium Romanum*, p. lxiv), in which the following verse occurs:—

"Virtute clarus et fide,
Confessione sedulus,
Jejuna membra deferens,
Dapes supernas obtinet."

Compare too *Par.* xxv, 24:—

"Laudando il cibo che lassù li prande."

‡ *La mente . . . Fatta più grande:* Compare *Par.* xvi, 18:—

"Voi mi levate sì ch' io son più ch' io."

§ *di sè stessa uscío:* Compare *Purg.* viii, 15:—

"Che fece me a me uscir di mente."

‖ *non sape:* Compare *Purg.* xviii, 55, 56:—

"Però, là onde vegna lo intelletto
Delle prime notizie, uomo non sape."

(heavenly) banquets becoming enlarged, issue forth from itself, and what it became, it is not able to remember.

Beatrice had before told Dante (*Par.* xxi, 4 et seq.) that he would not at that time have been able to endure the radiance of her smile, but she now bids him look boldly upon it, as the unspeakable things which he has witnessed on high have added such power to his sight, that he may now look upon her, and go forward from strength to strength, until at last he will have been fortified up to the point of gazing upon God Himself.

—"Apri gli occhi e riguarda qual son io;
Tu hai vedute cose, che possente
Sei fatto a sostener lo riso mio."—
Io era come quei che si risente
Di visïon obblita,* e che s' ingegna
Indarno di ridurlasi a mente,
Quando io udi' questa profferta, degna
Di tanto grado,† che mai non si estingue
Del libro che il preterito rassegna.‡

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* *visïon obblita:* Compare *Par.* xxxiii, 58-60:—
"Qual è colui che sognando vede,
E dopo il sogno la passione impressa
Rimane, e l' altro alla mente non riede."

† *profferta, degna Di tanto grado:* "cioè degna di ricevere tanto e sì grande grado, o vero d' essere avuta sì a grado." (Buti.) Compare *Purg.* viii, 67-69:—
"Per quel singular grado
Che tu dêi a colui, che sì nasconde
Lo suo primo perchè."

‡ *libro che il preterito rassegna:* "cioè rappresenta lo passato, cioè della memoria mia, che come libro rappresenta lo passato." (Buti.) Compare the opening words of the *Vita Nuova:* "In quella parte del libro della mia memoria, dinanzi alla quale poco si potrebbe leggere," etc. And in the *Canzone* beginning *E' m' incresce*, st. 4:—
"Secondo che si trova
Nel libro della mente che vien meno."

"Open thine eyes, and behold me as I am; thou hast seen things such, that thou art become able to endure my smile." I was like one who still feels the influence of a forgotten vision, and who strives in vain to bring it back again into his thoughts, when I heard this invitation (to look upon Beatrice), worthy of such grateful acceptance [*grado*] that it never can be obliterated from the volume which records the past (*i.e.* the memory).

The smile of Beatrice is of such loveliness, that Dante would be unequal to describe it, even though all the poets nurtured by Polyhymnia, the Muse of Lyric Poetry, should come to his assistance.

Se mo sonasser tutte quelle lingue* 55
Che Polinnía con le suore fêro
Del latte lor† dolcissimo più pingue,
Per aiutarmi, al millesmo del vero
Non si verria, cantando il santo riso,

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* *tutte quelle lingue:* Venturi (sim. 458) observes that this mode of expressing the ineffable is followed by many poets; and he gives a wrong reference to Homer, which is followed undetected by other modern Commentators. The right reference is *Il.* B. 488-492:—

"Πληθὺν δ' οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ μυθήσομαι, οὐδ' ὀνομήνω,
Οὐδ' εἴ μοι δέκα μὲν γλῶσσαι, δέκα δὲ στόματ' εἶεν,
Φωνὴ τ' ἄῤῥηκτος, χάλκεον δὲ μοι ἦτορ ἐνείη·
Εἰ μὴ Ὀλυμπιάδες Μοῦσαι, Διὸς Αἰγιόχοιο
Θυγατέρες, μνησαίαθ', ὅσοι ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθον."

Compare also Virg. *Æn.* vi, 625-627:—

"Non, mihi si linguae centum sint, oraque centum,
Ferrea vox, omnes scelerum comprendere formas,
Omnia paenarum percurrere nomina possim."

See also Ovid, *Metam.* viii, 532, 533; and Tasso, *Ger. Liber.* ix, st. 92.

† *latte lor:* Compare *Purg.* xxii, 100-103, where Virgil says to Statius about himself, Homer, and other heathen poets being in *Limbo*:—

"Costoro, e Persio, ed io, ed altri assai,
. . . siam con quel Greco
Che le Muse lattâr più ch' altro mai,
Nel primo cinghio del carcere cieco."

E quanto il santo aspetto facea mero.* 60

If all the tongues were now to sound which Polyhymnia and her sisters have enriched with their sweetest milk, to aid me, the thousandth part of the truth could not be reached, in singing of that saintly smile, and how resplendent it rendered the saintly countenance.

Dante adds that, as he has no words to describe Beatrice's smile, so must he pass over many of the things he saw in Heaven, which were ineffable, such as Man cannot utter.

E così, figurando il Paradiso,
Convien saltar † lo sacrato poema,‡

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* *facea mero:* There is an important discrepancy of readings here. The larger number of texts read, as here, *facea mero*, which means that the saintly smile of Beatrice lighted up her saintly face. Others read *il santo aspetto* IL *facea mero*, making *il santo aspetto* the nominative case. But it is the smile that lights up the face, not the face that lights up the smile. *Mero* here means resplendent, as in *Par.* xi, 16-18:—

"Ed io senti' dentro a quella lumiera
Che pria m' avea parlato, sorridendo
Incominciar, facendosi più mera [*i.e. increasing in brilliancy*]."

† *Convien saltar:* Compare *Par.* xxiv, 25:—

"Però salta la penna, e non lo scrivo,
Che l' imagine nostra a cotai pieghe,
Non che il parlare, è troppo color vivo."

So also in *Par.* xxx, 22-30, in which Dante declares his inability to make more clear by words the vastness of what he saw in Heaven. See further *Par.* xxxi, 136-138; and xxxiii, 121-123:—

"O quanto è corto il dire, e come fioco
Al mio concetto! e questo a quel ch' io vidi
È tanto, che non basta a dicer poco."

‡ *lo sacrato poema:* In the opening lines of *Par.* xxv, that touching passage in which Dante utters a cry of despair at his exile from his beloved Florence, he indulges a hope that possibly his *poema sacro* may be the means of softening the hearts of his cruel enemies, whom he terms wolves, and have the effect of inducing them to restore him to his sheep-fold.

Come chi trova suo cammin reciso.*
Ma chi pensasse il ponderoso tema,
E l' omero mortal † che se ne carca,
Nol biasmerebbe, se sott' esso trema.
Non è pileggio ‡ da picciola barca

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* *cammin reciso:* Compare *Inf.* vii, 100:—

"Noi ricidemmo il cerchio all' altra riva," etc.

Casini says the simile is taken from the act of a wayfarer, who, finding a stream of water across his path, is forced to make a leap over, so Dante not knowing how to describe some of the marvels of Paradise, passes them over without pausing.

† *l' omero mortal:* Dante evidently had in his mind the following passage from Horace (*Ars Poet.* 38-41):—

"Sumite materiam vestris, qui scribitis, aequam
Viribus, et versate diu, quid ferre recusent,
Quid valeant humeri: cui lecta potenter erit res,
Nec facundia deseret hunc, nec lucidus ordo."

‡ *pileggio:* Compare *Par.* ii, 1-7:—

"O voi che siete in piccioletta barca,
Desiderosi d' ascoltar, seguiti
Retro al mio legno che cantando varca,
Tornate a riveder li vostri liti,
Non vi mettete in pelago; chè forse
Perdendo me rimarreste smarriti.
L' acqua ch' io prendo giammai non si corse."

Casini says that, in the passage in the text, it is evident that Dante wished to express the same idea as in *Par.* ii, 1-7. He interprets the words thus: "Quello che la mia *ardita prora va fendendo* (l' argomento che il mio ingegno ha osato di trattare) *non è pileggio da picciola barca*, non è tragitto possible a una barchetta (non può essere compreso da un ingegno volgare) *nè da nocchier ch' a sè medesmo parca*, che risparmi quanto più può le sue forze (nè da chi non sappia affaticarsi per intendere)." Casini adds that the chief difficulty lies in the word *pileggio*, which seems undoubtedly to be a Florentine reduction of the mediæval Latin word *parigium*. The MSS. are divided between *pileggio* and *pareggio;* the former reading occurring in 10 *codices* the latter in 23. Parigium *is not a sea voyage* but a tract of the sea. Compare similar passage in *Purgatorio* xii, 6. He says the *pileggio* in this text corresponds to the *acqua* of *Par.* ii, 7; and the *ardita prora* which cleaves through it (*che lo va fendendo*) corresponds to the *legno che cantando varca* of *Par.* ii, 3. Some read *peleggio;* some *paleggio;* some *poleggio;* some *puleggio;* and some *pareggio.*

Quel che fendendo va l' ardita prora,
Nè da nocchier ch' a sè medesmo parca.

And thus, in depicting Paradise, the sacred poem must perforce take a leap, as does one who finds his way cut off. But whoso thinks upon the weighty theme, and upon the mortal shoulder that is laden therewith, will not upbraid, if it staggers beneath it. No passage is it for a little bark this which my daring prow goes cleaving, nor for a helmsman who would spare himself.

De Gubernatis says no one would blame Dante because he trembles at the difficulties of his subject.

Division III.—Dante is completely absorbed in contemplating the Divine beauty of Beatrice. She very gently reproves him for so doing, and bids him turn his attention to contemplation of the marvellous vision. Christ has already re-ascended on high, and Dante only sees the radiance emanating from Him ; the rays, after lighting up the faces of the Blessed, are reflected in Dante's own vision. He compares to a ray of sunshine breaking through a cloud, and illumining a flowery meadow, those shining hosts who were illumined by the glowing rays, of which he could not perceive the source from which they emanated.

—" Perchè la faccia mia sì t' innamora, 70
Che tu non ti rivolgi al bel giardino
Che sotto i raggi di CRISTO s' infiora ?
Quivi è la rosa in che il Verbo * Divino
Carne si fece ; quivi son li gigli,†

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* *il Verbo* : For Christ " the Word " compare *John* i.

† *gigli* : " È da sapere che il giglio hae tre condizioni : l' una che è di fuori bianco, e questo significa la puritade e la fede ;

Al cui odor * si prese il buon cammino."— 75
Così Beatrice. Ed io, ch' a suoi consigli
Tutto era pronto, ancora mi rendei
Alla battaglia dei debili cigli.†

"Wherefore does my face so enamour thee, that thou turnest thee not to the fair garden (*i.e.* the Saints) which blossoms underneath the rays of Christ? Here is the Rose (*i.e.* the Virgin Mary) in which the Word Divine became Flesh; here are the lilies (*i.e.* the Apostles) from whose sweet fragrance the good way was followed." Thus Beatrice, and I, who for her counsels was wholly ready, again applied myself unto the battle of my feeble eyesight (*lit.* brows).

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l' altra, che è dentro vermiglio, e questo significa la incorrottibilitade e la caritade; l' altra si è l' odore, e questo significa la predicazione e la speranza; or queste condizioni furono nelli Apostoli beati, e però l' autore li apella *gigli.*" (Lana.) Compare *Cant.* ii, *passim*, esp. v. 1: "I am the rose of Sharon, and the lily of the valleys." Mr. Gardner (*op. cit.* p. 170) sees obvious and important analogies between this heaven and the Earthly Paradise. "The Celestial *bel giardino* corresponds to the Garden of Eden, won back for man. The last steps of Purgatory (*Purg.* xxvii, 121 et seq.) are repeated in the visible rungs of the Celestial Ladder, the rebuke of Matelda (*Purg.* xxix, 61) in the admonition of Beatrice, and then comes the triumphal pageant in each. It was in the Earthly Paradise, the highest region of the terrestrial world, that Dante beheld the despoiled Tree from which the forbidden fruit had been taken, and heard the reproachful murmur of 'Adamo' (*Purg.* xxxii, 37-39); so now in the Firmament, the highest visible region of the celestial world, the Poet sees the fruit of the redemption and atonement by Christ. Each again is but a prelude to the ascent to *più alta salute.*"

**odor:* Compare 2 *Cor.* ii, 15: "For we are unto God a sweet savour of Christ."

†*battaglia dei debili cigli:* "Cioè a fare combattere li mei debili occhi, e non potenti sostenere lo splendore di Cristo collo detto splendore, quasi dica: Io di capo mi volsi a ragguardare in verso la parte, dove Cristo s' era rappresentato a la mia fantasia, benchè con tanto splendore che la mia mente vinta diede luogo ed uscitte di sè." (Buti.)

The Garden represents all the Blessed; the Virgin Mary, the *Rosa Mystica* of the Roman Liturgy, is here termed the Rose; the Lilies stand for the Apostles.

Come a raggio di sol,* che puro mei
Per fratta nube, già prato di fiori
Vider, coperti d' ombra, gli occhi miei;
Vid' io così più turbe di splendori,
Folgorati di su di raggi ardenti,†
Senza veder principio dei fulgori.
O benigna virtù che sì gl' imprenti,‡

* *Come a raggio di sol*, et seq.: See the same simile in Frezzi, *Quadriregio*, i, 11:—

"Come quando il chiaro Sole
Tra le men folte nubi sparge il raggio,
Che quasi strada in cielo apparir suole."

But Casini says that these lines of Frezzi are wholly lacking the reality and finish that characterize Dante's. Casini explains that Jesus Christ had ascended so far on high, that Dante could no longer distinguish Him, but His radiance still continued to illumine from above the souls of the Blessed: and this state of things suggested to Dante the stupendous image of the solar rays, which penetrating through a riven cloud clothe all the space below with white light, although the sun is not seen. Both Scartazzini and Casini quote the following apt illustration from Leonardo da Vinci, *Tratt. pitt.* cccx: "I raggi solari penetratori degli spiracoli interposti infra le varie densità e globosità de' nuvoli, alluminano tutti i siti dove si tagliano . . . e tingono di sè tutti i luoghi oscuri che sono dopo loro, le quali oscurità si dimostrano infra gli intervalli di essi raggi solari."

† *Folgorati . . . di raggi ardenti:* As to the signification of this communication of the Divine light to the Blessed, see St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. xii, art. 5): "Ipsum intelligibile vocatur lumen, vel lux. Et istud est lumen de quo dicitur (*Apoc.* xxi, 23), quod *claritas Dei illuminabit eam* scilicet societatem beatorum Deum videntium. Et secundum hoc lumen efficiuntur deiformes, idest Deo similes."

‡ *imprenti:* Except in *Purg.* xvii, 123, Dante always uses *imprentare* for *improntare*, to stamp, to impress with a seal. Compare *Par.* vii, 70-72:—

"Ciò che da essa senza mezzo piove
Libero è tutto, perchè non soggiace
Alla virtute delle cose nuove."

Su t' esaltasti per largirmi loco
Agli occhi lì, che non eran possenti.

As in a sunbeam, that streams unsullied through a rift cloud, mine eyes, (themselves) veiled by the shadow (of the clouds), have ere now seen a flowery mead; so did I see many hosts of shining ones, illumined from above by burning rays, though I beheld not the source of that radiance. O Power benignant (*i.e.* Christ), Who dost so impress them (with Thy radiance), Thou didst uplift Thyself on high so as to bestow scope for mine eyes, which in that place were not strong enough (to endure such effulgence).

From this point to the end of Division III, the subject is the Apotheosis of the Blessed Virgin. As Dante gazes upon the radiance of Mary, which shed a greater light than all the others, from the moment that Christ had been withdrawn, overcoming all the other stars, even as a rose excels all other flowers, he sees another Effulgence, which is the Archangel Gabriel, circling round hers. He describes the Virgin as a Sapphire, and Gabriel both as a flame and as a lyre.

Il nome del bel fior * ch' io sempre invoco
E mane e sera, tutto mi ristrinse
L' animo ad avvisar lo maggior foco.
E come ambo le luci mi dipinse
Il quale e il quanto della viva stella,†
Che lassù vince, come quaggiù vinse,

* *Il nome del bel fior;* Some texts, says Casini, read *La luce del bel fior*, but it is not the increased radiance which draws Dante *ad avvisar lo maggior foco;* but the mention of the rose which makes him perceive and recognize the Virgin Mary in the increased glory (*maggior foco*).

† *la viva stella:* See *Breviarium Romanum*, Hymn, p. cv :—
"Ave, maris stella,
Dei Mater alma,

Per entro il cielo scese una facella,*
Formata in cerchio † a guisa di corona,
E cinsela, e girossi intorno ad ella.
Qualunque melodia ‡ più dolce suona
Quaggiù, e più a sè l' anima tira,
Parrebbe nube che squarciata tuona,
Comparata al sonar di quella lira,§
Onde si coronava il bel zaffiro,
Del quale il ciel più chiaro s' inzaffira.

The mention (*lit.* name) of that fair flower (the Rose typifying the Virgin) which I ever invoke morning and evening, wholly constrained my mind to gaze at the Chiefest Lustre. And as on both mine eyes

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Atque semper virgo,
Felix coeli porta."

Also Petrarch, Part ii, *Canz.* viii, st. 6 :—

"Vergine chiara e stabile in eterno,
Di questo tempestoso mare stella."

* *facella :* We know from l. 103 et seq. that this is the Archangel Gabriel. By *synecdoche* the lyre is there put for the Angel.

† *Formata in cerchio :* Casini warns us not to understand with many Commentators that the light which descended from on high took its circular form from circling rapidly round the Virgin. It already had this form when it descended, being *formata in cerchio ;* and it descended in such wise that the *maggior foco* was enclosed in its centre, and it commenced to revolve as a circle does round its centre.

‡ *melodia :* See the consonance of this with *Purg.* xxix, 22-30, on which Mr. Gardner (*op. cit.* p. 171) observes that "in this heaven amidst *quelle dape*, those feasts regained, a still more angelical music from the Archangel Gabriel heralds the glorification of Mary. . . . Mary had healed the wound that Eve dealt the human race (*Par.* xxxiii, 4-6); and as St. Bernard puts it, Eve was the thorn, Mary came forth as the Rose; Eve was the thorn whose pride brought death to all, but Mary was the Rose diffusing the sweet odour of salvation to all."

§ *lira :* Compare *Par.* xv, 4-6, where the chant of the blessed spirits in Mars is compared to a lyre :—

" Silenzio pose a quella dolce lira,
E fece quïetar le sante corde,
Che la destra del cielo allenta e tira."

were depicted the glory and the grandeur (*lit.* the quality and the quantity) of that living star (the Blessed Virgin), which excels there on high, as she excelled down here on earth, athwart the heavens there descended a flame formed ring-like in fashion as a diadem, and encircled her (the Virgin—or the star), and wheeled around her. Whatever melody down here sounds sweetest, and to itself most draws the soul, might seem a cloud which, rent asunder, crashes, compared to the resonance of that lyre (*i.e.* Gabriel) with which was engarlanded the lovely Sapphire (the Virgin), whose azure is insealed upon the brightest heaven (the Empyrean).

The Archangel Gabriel sings of the part taken by the Blessed Virgin in the Incarnation of Her Son, expressly indicating that she is in Heaven with her body, and that her Assumption has taken place.

—" Io sono,* amore angelico, che giro
L' alta letizia che spira del ventre
Che fu albergo † del nostro disiro ; 105
E girerommi, Donna del ciel, mentre ‡
Che seguirai tuo figlio, e farai dia §

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* *Io sono*, et seq. : Casini says that this song of the Archangel Gabriel should be compared with the words spoken about him by St. Bernard in *Par.* xxxii, 109-114 :—

" Ed egli [*San Bernardo*] a me : ' Baldezza e leggiadria,
Quanta esser può in Angelo ed in alma,
Tutta è in lui, e sì volem che sia,
Perch' egli è quegli che portò la palma
Giù a Maria, quando il Figliuol di Dio
Carcar si volle della nostra salma.' "

† *albergo :* Compare *Conv.* iv, 5, ll. 33-39 : " Perocchè l' albergo, dove il celestiale Re entrare dovea, convenia essere mondissimo e purissimo, ordinata fu una progenie santissima, della quale dopo molti meriti nascesse una femmina ottima di tutte le altre, la quale fosse camera del Figliuolo di Dio."

‡ *mentre* usually means " while," " during the time," but it has here the sense of " until," as in *Inf.* xxxiii, 132 :—

" Mentre che il tempo suo tutto sia vôlto."

§ *farai dia :* Compare *Par.* xiv, 34 : " Luce più dia."

Più la spera suprema, perchè gli entre."—
Così la circulata melodia
Si sigillava, e tutti gli altri lumi
Facean sonar lo nome di Maria.

"I am the Love Angelic, who circle round the Joy Sublime that is breathed from the womb which is the Hostel of our Desire (*i.e.* of Christ); and I shall circle, O Lady of Heaven, until that time when thou shalt follow thy Son, and shalt make the Supreme Sphere (the Empyrean) yet more divine, because thou enterest into it." Thus did the melody (*i.e.* the Angel chanting) as he circled round, receive its seal (*i.e.* shape itself into words), and all the other Effulgences (took up the strain, and) made the name of Mary resound.

Division IV.—As soon as the Archangel Gabriel has concluded his chant, Mary follows her Blessed Son up into the Empyrean, and is lost to Dante's view. The other Saints remain near him. Dante begins by describing the immensity of the Ninth Sphere, the *Primum Mobile*, beyond which Mary had passed, and its distance from himself. He says that it covers, as it were with a mantle, the eight other heavens below, and is itself in contact with the Empyrean. It is therefore more Divine, and far more rapid in its movement than the others.

Lo real manto * di tutti i volumi

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* *Lo real manto:* Scartazzini says that, out of 54 Commentators that he has consulted, 47 understand this to be the Ninth Sphere. Some few, but not the most distinguished, understand the Empyrean. Poletto observes there is no denying that the words are quite as suitable to describe the Empyrean as the *Primum Mobile*, but he thinks Dante would say: "If I could not even discern the *Primum Mobile*, how think you I could follow with my eye the *coronata fiamma*, which was ascending into a heaven even yet more distant and elevated, namely, into

Del mondo, che più ferve* e più s' avviva
Nell' alito† di Dio e nei costumi,
Avea sopra di noi l' interna riva
Tanto distante, che la sua parvenza
Là dov' io era ancor non m' appariva.
Però non ebber gli occhi miei potenza
Di seguitar la coronata fiamma,‡
Che si levò appresso sua semenza.

The regal mantle of all the revolving spheres of the Universe (*i.e.* the *Primum Mobile* which begirds them), which glows most intensely and is the most quickened in the breath of God and in His ways, had its inner margin (*i.e.* concavity) at such a vast distance above us, that in that place where I was standing, the vision of it did not yet appear to me (*i.e.* it was spread out so far above us that I could not yet see it from where I was). Therefore mine eyes had not power to follow the crowned flame (*i.e.* the Virgin Mary), which was lifted up on high following her own seed (*i.e.* Jesus Christ).

Dante now describes the glowing intensity of the holy love exhibited by the spirits who remained below,

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the Empyrean ? " Compare, as confirming this interpretation, *Conv.* ii, 15, ll. 132-138 : " Il detto Cielo [*il Primo Mobile*] ordina col suo movimento la cotidiana rivoluzione di *tutti* gli altri ; per la quale ogni dì *tutti* quelli [*volumi del mondo*] ricevono e mandano quaggiù le virtù di tutte le loro parti. Che se la rivoluzione di questo non ordinasse ciò, poco di loro virtù quaggiù verrebbe o di loro vista."

* *che più ferve :* Compare *Conv.* ii, 4, ll. 20-25, where Dante speaks of the *Primum Mobile* as having " velocissimo movimento ; chè per lo ferventissimo appetito che ha ciascuna parte di quello nono cielo, ch' è immediato a quello, d' esser congiunta con ciascuna parte di quello decimo cielo divinissimo e quieto, in quello si rivolve con tanto desiderio, che la sua velocità è quasi incomprehensibile."

† *alito :* Buti and the *Ottimo* read *abito, i.e.* " l' essere di Dio."

‡ *la coronata fiamma :* This means the Effulgence, the Radiance of Mary, surrounded as with a crown of glory by that of the Archangel Gabriel.

after that the Blessed Virgin had departed up on high. With one accord they all lift up their voices in an outburst of exultant love and praise, singing the Easter Hymn to the Blessed Virgin *Regina Coeli laetare.* Dante himself breaks forth into an exclamation of joy and delight.

E come il fantolin,* che in vêr la mamma †
Tende le braccia poi che il latte prese,
Per l' animo che in fin di fuor s' infiamma ;
Ciascun di quei candori in su si stese
Con la sua fiamma, sì che l' alto affetto
Ch' egli aveano ‡ a Maria, mi fu palese.
Indi rimaser lì nel mio cospetto,
Regina coeli § cantando sì dolce,

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* *il fantolin . . . in vêr la mamma :* Compare the similarity of the scene in the Earthly Paradise, where Dante turns to Virgil in the same way that here in Heaven the Effulgences turn their flames upward after Beatrice. See *Purg.* xxx, 43-45 :—

"Volsimi alla sinistra col rispitto
Col quale il fantolin corre alla mamma,
Quando ha paura o quando egli è afflitto."

† *mamma :* We find that Dante uses this word five times in his sacred poem, namely, *Inf.* xxxii, 9 ; *Purg.* xxii, 97 ; xxx, 44 ; *Par.* xiv, 64 ; and in the present passage. He had, however, in *De Vulg. Eloq.* ii, 7, ll. 30-32, expressly condemned such expressions as *mamma* and *babbo*, *mate* et *pate*, as *puerilia propter sui simplicitatem*, and as unworthy of the *volgare illustre.*

‡ *Ch' egli* (for *eglino*) *aveano :* Compare *Inf.* xix, 113, 114 :—

"E che altro è da voi all' idolatre, [*i.e.* idolators in the plural].
Se non ch' egli [*they*] uno, e voi n' orate cento ?"

§ *Regina coeli :* These are the first words of the Antiphon, which is sung in praise of the Virgin after the Office at Eastertide. The first stanza runs as follows :—

"Regina coeli laetare, alleluia.
Quia quem meruisti portare, alleluia.
Resurrexit sicut dixit, alleluia.
Ora pro nobis Deum, alleluia.
Gaude et laetare, Virgo Maria, alleluia.
Quia surrexit Dominus vere, alleluia."

(See Daniel, *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, ii, p. 319.)

Che mai da me non si partì il diletto.*
Oh quanta è l' ubertà che si soffolce † 130
In quell' arche ricchissime, che fòro
A seminar quaggiù buone bobolce!

And as the little child, after it has taken the milk, stretches out its arms towards its mother, through that love which even in outward action blazes forth; (in like manner) did each one of those white radiances stretch itself upwards with its flame, so that the exalted love which they bore to Mary, was manifested to me. Afterward remained they there within my sight, singing *Regina Coeli* so sweetly that never out of me faded the delight. Oh how great is the abundance that is stored up in those most opulent garners (*i.e.* in those most blessed souls), who here below (in their life-time) were good husbandmen for sowing!

Dante, says Benvenuto, now describes the fruit of the labours of these Saints, thereby meaning that they are in the full enjoyment of the heavenly treasure that they earned by the tears they shed in that world

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* *non si partì il diletto:* Compare Dante's recollection of Casella's song in *Purg.* ii, 112-114 :—

"*Amor che nella mente mi ragiona,*
Cominciò egli allor sì dolcemente
Che la dolcezza ancor dentro mi suona."

† *soffolce . . . bobolce:* Understand: "Oh how great is the beatitude which is gathered in those most blessed souls, who knew how to win it upon earth by their good works!" Casini says that the only difficulty in this *terzina* lies in the above words, about which interpreters differ, but *si soffolce* is certainly the same as *si soffolge* in *Inf.* xxix, 5, and cannot well have any other meaning than *si sostiene, è sostenuta;* and, relatively to the *arche, è contenuta.* As regards *bobolce,* which, according to the majority of interpreters, is the feminine of *bobolco,* it is thought to be derived from *bubulcus,* a husbandman, and to be equivalent to *lavoratrici di terra, seminatrici.* Trissino interprets *buone bobolce a seminar* "buone terre a esser seminate," but I prefer to follow the old Commentators in the version I have given above. Compare *Gal.* vi, 8.

wherein they were pilgrims and sojourners, even as their fathers of old time wept during their captivity in Babylon. In that world they laid aside their gold, and acquired riches in Heaven. They gave up goods of small value, and in return gained great possessions. Dante in conclusion sings the praises of St. Peter, the great leader of the army of Saints.

Quivi si vive e gode del tesoro
Che s' acquistò piangendo nell' esilio
Di Babilon,* dove si lasciò l' oro.
Quivi trïonfa,† sotto l' alto Filio
Di Dio e di Maria, di sua vittoria,
E con l' antico e col nuovo concilio,
Colui che tien le chiavi di tal gloria.

Here do they live and enjoy the (spiritual) treasure that was gained while they wept in the exile of Babylon, where they left behind their gold (*i.e.* their material treasure). There beneath the exalted Son of God and Mary sits in triumph for his victory both with the ancient and the new covenant (*i.e* with the blessed ones both of the Old and New Testament) he (St. Peter) who holds the keys of so great a glory.

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* *esilio Di Babilon:* This signifies the pilgrimage of mankind on earth, and its many tribulations. "Dice, che in Cielo si vive di quello bene e pane celestiale, il quale i Santi acquistarono nelle tribulazioni del mondo. Ed introduce qui l' esilio del popolo di Dio, quando cattivato stava in Babilonia. . . . Chi è nella confusione e persecuzione del mondo, e quelle vince, viene da quello esilio alla santa Gerusalem, visione di pace." (*Ottimo.*)

† *Quivi trïonfa,* et seq.: "Dice, che con Cristo, figliuolo di Dio e di santa Maria, e con li Padri del vecchio Testamento, e con li Beati del nuovo, santo Piero triunfa di tale gloria." (*Ottimo.*)

END OF CANTO XXIII.

CANTO XXIV.

SPHERE OF THE FIXED STARS (CONTINUED)—THE SPIRITS TRIUMPHANT—ST. PETER EXAMINES DANTE ON FAITH.

LANA remarks that, up to now, Dante has only described his vision of the holy company of the Saints. In this Canto, which has been called the Canto of Faith, Dante goes more into detail, in speaking of St. Peter.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

In the First Division, from ver. 1 to ver. 18, Dante describes Beatrice's supplicatory address to the Company of Saints.

In the Second Division, from ver. 19 to ver. 87, St. Peter, at the solicitation of Beatrice, examines Dante on Faith.

In the Third Division, from ver. 88 to ver. 114, St. Peter treats of certain doubts concerning the Foundation of Dante's Faith.

In the Fourth Division, from ver. 115 to ver. 145, St. Peter questions Dante as to *what* it is that he believes.

Division I.—Beatrice addresses a prayer to the assembled Saints elected to the Supper of the Lamb, entreating that they would communicate their grace

to Dante, and give him of that water for which he thirsts, namely, the water of knowledge, spiritual, celestial, and Divine.

— "O sodalizio* eletto alla gran cena
Del benedetto Agnello, il qual vi ciba
Sì che la vostra voglia è sempre piena;
Se per grazia di Dio questi preliba
Di quel che cade della vostra mensa,† 5
Prima che morte tempo gli prescriba,
Ponete mente all' affezione immensa,‡
E roratelo § alquanto: voi bevete
Sempre del fonte onde vien quel ch' ei pensa."—

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* *sodalizio:* On the differentiation of "companionship" see Lana, whose views are followed by some other Commentators: "Quì è da notare ch' egli è di quattro fatte compagnie: l' una si è compagnia in battaglia, e questi si chiamano *compagni;* l' altra si è compagnia in viaggio, e questi si chiamano *comiti;* la terza si è compagnia ad officio, e questi si chiamano *colleghi,* la quarta si è compagnia a mensa, e questi si chiamano *sodali.* Onde uno verso differenziale [quoted also by Pietro di Dante] dice:—

'In bello socii, comites in calle feruntur;
Officium collega facit, discusque sodalem;'

e perchè li predetti stanno in gloria, cibando della grazia di Dio, sì appella l' Autore quella compagnia *Sodalizio.*" Compare *Rev.* xix, 9: "Blessed are they which are called unto the marriage supper of the Lamb."

† *mensa:* Casini observes that the whole of this *terzina* is illustrated by *Conv.* i, 1, ll. 67-77: "E io adunque, che non seggo alla beata mensa, ma fuggito dalla pastura del volgo, a' piedi di coloro che seggono ricolgo di quello che da loro cade, e conosco la misera vita di quelli che dietro m' ho lasciati, per la dolcezza ch' io sento in quello ch' io a poco a poco ricolgo, misericordevolmente mosso, non me dimenticando, per li miseri alcuna cosa ho riservata, la quale agli occhi loro già e più tempo ho dimostrata."

‡ *affezione immensa:* Some read *voglia immensa,* but *affezione* has overwhelming MS. authority.

§ *roratelo:* "*Rorare* vien da *Ros,* che in latino significa rugiada. Onde la Chiesa: *Rorate coeli,* etc. Adunque, sì come questa ravviva e rinverde l' erbette, così illuminate voi alquanto

"O fellowship elect to the great supper of the Blessed Lamb, Who so feedeth you, that your cravings are ever satisfied; forasmuch as by the grace of God this man foretastes of that which falls from your table (*i.e.* knowledge of things divine), before that death prescribes his appointed time, give heed to his intense desire, and shed some dew upon him: since ye for ever drink of the Fountain whence cometh that of which he is thinking (namely, a thirst for knowledge)."

At the conclusion of Beatrice's petition, the spirits begin to circle like spheres round fixed poles, or like wheels inside a clock, making themselves more radiant than ever in their joyful willingness to grant Beatrice's prayer.

Così Beatrice: e quelle anime liete
Si fêro spere * sopra fissi poli,
Fiammando forte a guisa di comete.†
E come cerchi in tempra ‡ d' oriuoli

---

il suo intelletto; la qual cosa vi sarà agevole a fare, perchè voi bevete sempre del fonte, dal qual vien quello ch' egli pensa, cioè quello ch' egli desidera d' intendere." (Vellutello.)

* *Si fêro spere:* That is, they formed themselves into circular shapes, moving round Beatrice and Dante. Compare *Par.* x, 76-78:—

"Poi sì cantando quegli ardenti soli
Si fur girati intorno a noi tre volte,
Come stelle vicine ai fermi poli," etc.;

and *Par.* xiii, 19-21:—

"Ed avrà quasi l' ombra della vera
Costellazion, e della doppia danza,
Che circulava il punto dov' io era."

† *comete:* Compare Virg. *Æn.* x, 272, 273:—

"Non secus, ac liquida si quando nocte cometae
Sanguinei lugubre rubent, aut Sirius ardor;"

and Tasso, *Ger. Liber.* vii, st. 52:—

"Qual con le chiome sanguinose orrende
Splender cometa suol per l' aria adusta."

‡ *tempra:* Though the primary signification of this word is the "tempering" of steel, it has the further meaning of the

Si giran sì, che il primo,* a chi pon mente,
Quïeto pare, e l' ultimo che voli,
Così quelle carole † differente-
mente danzando, della sua ricchezza ‡
Mi si facean stimar veloci e lente.

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accord or harmony of instruments or voices ; and hence is used to express sounds in general. Compare *Par.* x, 145, 146 :—

"Così vid' io la gloriosa rota
Moversi e render voce a voce in tempra," etc. ;

and *Par.* xiv, 118, 119 :—

"E come giga ed arpa, in tempra tesa
Di molte corde, fa dolce tintinno," etc.

Of the passage in the text, Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*) writes : "pare che significhi l' assetto, la disposizione delle ruote." Compare also Petrarch, *Canz.* l. st. 4 :—

"Nè mai in sì dolci o in sì soavi tempre
Risonar seppi gli amorosi guai."

* *il primo :* The first wheel of a clock is the innermost and smallest in circumference, and its revolutions are very slow, while the last, *i.e.* the outermost wheel, has the largest circumference, and moves with great velocity.

† *carole :* "Carolae dicuntur tripudium quoddam quod fit saliendo, ut Napolitani faciunt et dicunt." (*Postillatore Cassinese.*) The word always seems to occur in old writings, where dancing and singing are combined. See Chaucer, *The Dreame*, or *Booke of the Duchesse*, ll. 849-850 :—

"I saw her daunce so comely,
Carol and sing so sweetly."

Froissart (vol. i, cap. 219) says of the King of Cyprus : "Il vint à Altem [Eltham], où le roi se tenoit, et grand foison de Seigneurs appareillés pour le recevoir. Ce fut un dimanche à l'heure de relevée qu' il vint là. Si eut entre celle heure et le souper grans danses et grans karolles. Là étoit le jeune Seigneur de Coucy, qui s' efforcoit de bien danser et de bien chanter quand son tour venoit." Compare also *Par.* viii, 97-99.

‡ *della sua ricchezza :* That *ricchezza* here refers to their wealth of glory, their higher or lower degree of beatitude, is confirmed, says Casini, by *Par.* viii, 19-21 :—

"Vid' io in essa luce altre lucerne
Moversi in giro più e men correnti,
Al modo, credo, di lor viste eterne."

Some read *dalla sua ricchezza*, but it is not a well-authenticated reading.

> Thus Beatrice: and those glad souls transformed themselves into spheres upon fixed poles, flashing brightly after the fashion of comets. And as the wheels in the machinery of clocks revolve in such wise that to one who gives heed, the first wheel seems motionless, and the last (seems) to fly, so did these wheeling circles (*lit.* carols) dancing in different measures, make me judge of their wealth (of glory) by their speed or slowness.

Now here note (says Benvenuto) that, as a clock is a most noble instrument marvellously regulated, so that part corresponds to part, and stroke to stroke, in just proportions, and one wheel moves more swiftly than another; so was this most noble band of companions regulated with the greatest accuracy, so that one sphere or soul was in the most harmonious conformity with another, and one would move more swiftly, namely, that one which had most of glory; while another one would move more slowly, which had less of glory, and yet all were content. Well, therefore, did Christ warn His Apostles against their contention as to who should be chief among them. And so see how the simile of the clock nobly represents the wonderful order of the Apostles here circling round each other. Some, however, understand from this passage, that St. Peter was standing still in the middle, and that the other Saints were circling round him, which is utterly false.

Division II.*—One of the Effulgences now issues forth from that circle of light which Dante has

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*We shall find that in this and the two following Cantos Dante is examined as to his Faith by St. Peter, his Hope by St. James, and his Love or Charity by St. John. Mr. Gardner

marked as the most brilliant of all, and circles round Beatrice, near whom Dante is standing. It is the blessed spirit of St. Peter. He hails Beatrice as his sister (evidently in her character of Divine Theology), and she begs him to examine Dante as to his Faith.

Di quella* ch' io notai di più bellezza
Vid' io uscire un foco sì felice,
Che nullo vi lasciò di più chiarezza;
E tre fïate† intorno di Beatrice
Si volse con un canto tanto divo,
Che la mia fantasia nol mi ridice;
Però salta la penna, e non lo scrivo,
Chè l' imagine nostra a cotai pieghe,‡
Non che il parlare, è troppo color vivo.

(*op. cit.*) points out that "in a well-known passage (he omits to give the reference) of the *De Monarchia*, Dante states that to the blessedness of life eternal, which consists in the fruition of God's countenance, man can only arrive by spiritual lessons transcending human reason, to be followed in accordance with Faith, Hope, and Charity." The passage alluded to is *De Mon.* iii, 16, ll. 43-63: "Duos fines Providentia . . . homini proposuit intendendos; beatitudinem scilicet hujus vitae, quae in operatione propriae virtutis consistit, et per terrestrem Paradisum figuratur; et beatitudinem vitae aeternae quae consistit in fruitione divini aspectus ad quam propria virtus ascendere non potest, nisi lumine adiuta. . . . Ad has quidem beatitudines . . . per diversa media venire oportet . . . ad primam per philosophica documenta . . . ad secundam vero per documenta spiritualia, quæ humanam rationem transcendunt, dummodo illa sequamur secundum virtutes theologicas operando, Fidem, Spem scilicet, et Caritatem." This passage is based upon one in St. Thom. Aquin. *Summ. Theol.* pars i, 2 ^{dæ}, qu. lxii, art. 1.

**quella* (carola): Buti says that this circle of light is the one that contained Christ's Apostles and Disciples.

†*tre fiate:* The old Commentators, Buti, Benvenuto, and the *Ottimo*, see here an implication that St. Peter in Holy Scripture specially instructs faithful Christians as to the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity.

‡*pieghe:* In his footnote on this passage Cary says: "Pindar has the same bold image: '*ὕμνων πτυχαῖς.*' O, l. 170. . . . Since

> From that one (circle of light) which I had noted as of greatest beauty, saw I issue forth a flame so luminous (*lit.* happy), that it left behind (in the circle of light) no other (flame) of greater brilliancy; and three times did it wheel round Beatrice with so divine a song, that my fantasy repeats it not to me; therefore my pen skips it, and I write it not, because for (the painting of) such folds (of drapery) our (human) imagination, still more our speech, is of too flaring a tint.

The old Commentators explain that the simile is taken from a painter, who, when he wants to paint the folds of drapery, must use colours far less bright, and consequently darker than those of the drapery itself.

St. Peter addresses Beatrice. Dante first tells us the words St. Peter uttered, and then goes on to speak of the preparation he made for uttering them. Benvenuto explains this inverse order: "Hic autor describit apparatum Petri ad loquendum. Et in hoc perpendere potes, quod autor utitur hic ordine praepostero, quia posita oratione ponit ejus apparitionem."

—"O santa suora * mia, che sì ne preghe
Devota, per lo tuo ardente affetto
Da quella bella spera mi disleghe."— 30
Poscia, fermato il foco benedetto,

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this note was written (Cary adds) I have found the same interpretation of Pindar's expression as that I had adopted, in the MS. notes on that poet collected by Monsieur St. Amand, and preserved in the Bodleian Library, No. 42: 'Notandum: maximum decus vestimenti antiquitus *sinus* existimabantur, ita ut vix unquam a poetis tam Graecis tam Latinis vestis pulchra describatur sine hoc adjuncto.'"

* *suora:* See the analogous use of "Frate" in *Par.* iii, 70; vii, 58 and 130; and xxii, 61, demonstrating the sentiment of brotherhood among the spirits in Paradise.

Alla mia Donna dirizzò lo spiro,*
Che favellò così com' io ho detto.

"O blessed sister mine, who prayest me thus devoutly, by thy burning affection thou dost detach me from yon beauteous sphere." The blessed radiance, having stopped (*i.e.* desisted from its triple gyration), towards my Lady directed its breath (*i.e.* voice), which spake in the way that I have told.

Beatrice replies at once to St. Peter, and, after singing his praises, entreats him to examine Dante concerning the substance of his Faith (*circa materiam fidei*).

Ed ella :—"O luce eterna del gran viro,
A cui nostro Signor lasciò le chiavi,† 35
Ch' ei portò giù,‡ di questo gaudio miro,
Tenta costui dei punti lievi e gravi,
Come ti piace, intorno della fede,
Per la qual tu su per lo mare andavi.§

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* *spiro :* The emission of the breath is, by extension of signification, the voice formed by that emission of breath. Compare *Par.* xxvi, 3 :—

"Uscì un spiro che mi fece attento."

† *cui nostro Signor lasciò le chiavi :* Compare *Par.* xxiii, 139 :—

"Colui che tien le chiavi di tal gloria."

Compare also *Inf.* xix, 90-92 :—

"quanto tesoro volle
Nostro Signore in prima da san Pietro,
Che ponesse le chiavi in sua balía?"

‡ *Ch' ei portò giù :* "cioè esso Cristo portò di cielo in terra quando venne ad incarnarsi." (Lana.)

§ *la fede, Per la qual tu su per lo mare andavi :* On this Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, p. 73) writes : "It has sometimes been objected (as *e.g.* by Scartazzini) that Dante refers here to St. Peter's walking upon the sea as a proof of his faith, whereas on this occasion 'he began to sink,' and is therefore reproached by our Lord 'for his little faith.' . . . But it may be replied that Dante is thinking chiefly of the initial act of faith which prompted the venture, in which at any rate Peter went beyond the other disciples." See *St. Matt.* xiv, 28-31. I would remark, too, that St. Peter did not begin to sink until after he had

S' egli ama bene, e bene spera, e crede,
Non t' è occulto, perchè il viso hai quivi,*
Dov' ogni cosa dipinta si vede.
Ma perchè questo regno ha fatto civi †
Per la verace fede, a glorïarla,
Di lei parlare è buon ‡ ch' a lui arrivi."—

And she: "O eternal light of the great man, to whom our Lord bequeathed the keys of this marvellous joy, which (keys) He bore down to earth, prove this man (Dante) on points light and grave, as pleases thee, concerning the Faith, through which thou didst walk on the sea. Whether he loves rightly, and hopes rightly, and believes, is not hidden from thee, for thou hast thy sight there where everything is seen depicted (*i.e.* in God). But since this Kingdom has acquired its citizens by means of the true Faith, it is well, for the purpose

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actually walked upon the water. See ver. 29: "And when Peter was come down out of the ship, he *walked on the water*," etc.

* *quivi*, et seq.: *Quivi* means "in God," in Whom, as it were in a mirror, the Blessed discern everything as though it were painted. Compare *Par.* xvii, 37-42 :—

"La contingenza, che fuor del quaderno
Della vostra materia non si stende,
Tutte è dipinta nel cospetto eterno.
Necessità però quindi non prende,
Se non come dal viso in che si specchia
Nave che per corrente giù discende."

† *civi:* To Dante, whose affection was so great for his native city on earth, the idea of a citizenship in Paradise was a cherished image. Compare *Par.* viii, 115, 116 :—

"Or di', sarebbe il peggio
Per l' uomo in terra se non fosse cive?"

and again in *Vita Nuova*, § xxxv, ll. 1-3: "In quel giorno nel quale si compiva l' anno che questa donna era fatta de' cittadini di vita eterna."

‡ *Di lei parlare è buon*, etc.: See in Poletto's commentary a quotation in verse from Jacopo di Dante's Defence of his father's Orthodoxy—Poletto does not say in what book of Jacopo's it occurs; but see Fraticelli's *Life of Dante*, p. 301, in which there is reference to a work attributed to Jacopo entitled *Il Dottrinale*, in 60 chapters, in vol. iii of *Rime Antiche oscane*, Palermo, 1817.

of rendering due honour to it, that the opportunity of speaking of it should come to him (Dante)." *

I quote Benvenuto's remarks on this passage in full. He feels sure that Dante purposely introduced his profession of Faith here, because he had been accused of heresy, and says: "Here, reader, pay particular attention to the fact, that the author has chosen most meritoriously and prudently to treat of Faith at this point, both because it bore upon his subject, and that he might confound the envy of rival detractors, as well as the errors of ignorant persons who, not understanding his figurative mode of speaking in poetry, always calumniated his sayings, of which fact I myself have had experience, in my intercourse with many distinguished men, who at times have said to me: 'Dante is assuredly a heretic in what he writes about Hell, for the souls of the Lost do not put on again their flesh.'" Lana also writes very fully in the same sense: "Si è da sapere che quello che mosse l' autore a volere trattare de' punti della fede cristiana così in singolarità, si fue la invidia di molti morditori [*back-biters*] che sono al mondo, li quali non intendendo lo stile nel modo del parlare poetico, veggendo alcuna parte di questa Commedia gli apponeano che era detto d' eresia, e *per consequens* l' autore d' essa essere patarino [*i.e. Manichaean, or heretic*]. Onde lo primo movimento era d' invidia, che perchè essi non erano di tanta scienzia, voleano vietare che quelli, che avevano grazia da Dio, non dicessono. Lo secondo movimento era da ignoranza,

* Casini makes (by preference, though not of necessity) *il parlare* to be the nominative before *arrivi.*

imperquello che se avessono inteso lo stile e modo, elli sarebbero stati giudici di sè medesmi, giudicando il proprio parlare, e tale appare essere falso. Onde tale inordinazione d' animo de' morditori costrinse lo autore a ligarsi col cristianèsimo con sì chiari e fermi ligami, che non possono essere rotti nè fratti da frivoli imposizioni viziosamente fatte ; lo quale ligame si è lo santo Simbolo approvato per la santa madre Ecclesia essere la forma del verace credere cristiano, che comincia : Credo in unum Deum Patrem, sì come distintamente apparirà nel testo."

Dante prepares himself for the examination on Faith, which he hears is about to take place, and does so as a candidate in the university does for the questions of the master. He arms himself with reasonings, not that he may instruct by new conclusions, but rather that he may exercise his critical powers by argument ; in other words, may adduce his proofs of *pro* and *contra*.

Sì come il baccellier* s' arma, e non parla,
Fin che il maestro la question propone,
Per approvarla, e non per terminarla ;

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* *baccellier :* Casini remarks that we have here a simile, most happily drawn, from the practice of the mediæval schools of Philosophy and Theology ; in which the master of the professorial chair was accustomed to propound the questions which were afterwards discussed (*approvate*) among the *dottori*, *baccellieri*, and *scolari* present, and after the full discussion of each question, the master would, on a subsequent day, put it before the audience with all the arguments that had been uttered *pro* and *contra*, and would conclude by pronouncing his judgment, which was called *terminare la questione*. Benvenuto defines *baccelliere :* "Est baccillerius vel bachalarius ille qui sustinet quaestionem contra opponentes ; ideo bene autor utitur isto vocabulo *arma* . . . ille appellatur magister qui tenet cathedram, et proponit quaestionem publice coram doctoribus et scholaribus et non determinat illam in illa disputatione, sed postea alia vice."

Così m' armava io d' ogni ragione,
Mentre ch' ella dicea, per esser presto
A tal querente * ed a tal professione.

Even as the Bachelor arms himself—and speaks not, until the Master has propounded the question —to argue it with proofs, not to decide it; so did I equip myself with all reasonings, while she was speaking, so as to be ready for such a questioner and for such a profession (as the Christian Faith).

Scartazzini says that in the above is described the modesty of the disciple, who, while in his consciousness he is feeling himself strong in the doctrine of the Faith, yet is ready to humble himself before *Adjudicating Wisdom.*

St. Peter now commences his examination of Dante.

—" Di', buon Cristiano, fàtti manifesto;
Fede che è? " †—Ond' io levai la fronte
In quella luce onde spirava questo;
Poi mi volsi a Beatrice,‡ ed essa pronte
Sembianze femmi, perch' io spandessi
L' acqua di fuor del mio interno fonte.§

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* *per esser presto A tal querente:* Compare 1 *Pet.* iii, 15: " But sanctify the Lord God in your hearts; and be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you with meekness and fear."

† *Fede che è:* Dante's definition of Faith is taken from *Hebrews* xi, 1. Compare St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars ii, 2dæ, qu. iv, art. 1): " Utrum haec sit competens Fidei definitio: *Fides est substantia sperandarum rerum, argumentum non apparentium.*"

‡ *mi volsi a Beatrice:* Scartazzini observes that Dante turns, before replying, to Beatrice, from whom (*Par.* xxi, 46, 47) he is accustomed to await:—

" il come e il quando
Del dire e del tacer."

Compare also *Par.* xviii, 53, 54:—

" Per vedere in Beatrice il mio dovere,
O per parlare o per atto segnato."

§ *L' acqua . . . del mio interno fonte:* Compare *Par.* xvii. 9:—

" Segnata bene della interna stampa."

"Speak, good Christian, manifest thyself, what is Faith?" Whereupon I raised my face towards that light whence this was breathed forth; then I turned me to Beatrice, and she made me prompt signals, that I should pour forth the water from my inward fount (*i.e.* that I should speak out my thoughts).

Benvenuto says that Dante has well pictured himself as doing so, since no one is able to give answers upon questions of Faith unless he turns his eyes to Theology; and if, moreover, one ought, according to Plato, to ask for Divine aid even in small matters, much more should one do so in matters of the highest importance.

Dante prepares himself to reply to the first of St. Peter's questions, by devoutly asking God for grace to answer rightly.

—"La grazia che mi dà ch' io mi confessi,"—
Comincia' io,—"dall' alto primipilo,*
Faccia li miei concetti bene espressi."†— 60
E seguitai:—"Come il verace stilo‡
Ne scrisse, patre, del tuo caro frate,§
Che mise Roma teco nel buon filo,

**primipilo:* "strictly the 'centurio primi pili,' or centurion of the front rank of the *Triarii* or *Pilani*, the senior centurion in the Legion." (Butler.)

†*bene espressi:* This is the reading of the Oxford text and of Scartazzini, who says it has the support of the majority of the MSS., as also of the editions of Foligno, Jesi, and Naples. The other reading, *essere espressi*, is that adopted by Witte and Casini, and the vast majority of the Commentators.

‡*stilo:* From the Latin *stilus.*

§*tuo caro frate:* Compare 2 *Pet.* iii, 15: "Even as our beloved brother Paul also, according to the wisdom given unto him, hath written unto you." On this allusion to St. Paul, see Mrs. Jameson, *Sacred and Legendary Art*, i, 159: "The early Christian Church was always considered under two great divisions: the church of the converted Jews, and the church of the Gentiles. The first was represented by St. Peter, the

Fede è sustanzia* di cose sperate,
Ed argomento delle non parventi;
E questa pare a me sua quiditate."†—

"May the grace which vouchsafes to me," began I, "that I should be shriven by the great captain, (now) permit my conceptions to be clearly expressed." And I proceeded: "Even as the truthful pen, O Father, of thy dear brother (St. Paul in the *Hebrews*) wrote on that subject, who, together with thee, led Rome into the right path, Faith is the substance of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not seen; and this appears to me to be the essence (*lit.* quiddity) of it."

St. Peter confirms Dante's definition of the essence

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second by St. Paul. Standing together in this mutual relation, they represent the universal church of Christ; hence in works of art they are seldom separated, and are indispensable in all ecclesiastical decoration. Their proper place is on each side of the Saviour, or of the Virgin throned; or on each side of the altar; or on each side of the arch over the choir. In any case, where they stand together, not merely as Apostles, but Founders, their place is next after the Evangelists and the Prophets." Dean Plumptre remarks that the words assume that St. Peter wrote the second Epistle that bears his name, and that St. Paul wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews.

* *Fede è sustanzia*, et seq.: Casini observes that Dante is here literally translating the passage cited from *Hebrews* xi, 1 (in the *Vulgate*): "Est . . . fides sperandarum substantia rerum, argumentum non apparentium." In the long passage from St. Thomas Aquinas, referred to in footnote to l. 53, *substantia* is defined as the fundamental principle of things hoped for (*prima inchoatio rerum sperandarum*), which in us is determined by the assent of Faith, and *argumentum* signifies the firm adhesion of the intellect to the unseen truths of Faith.

† *quiditate*: "Quidditas est ipsa rei entitas considerata in ordine ad definitionem explicantem *quid* illa sit. Entitas vero rei considerata in ordine ad esse, dicitur *essentia*; in ordine ad operationem dicitur *natura*." (Mellinii *Lexicon Veterum Theologorum*, Coloniae, 1855.) "In scholastic philosophy, that which distinguishes a thing from other things, and makes it what it is, and not another; substantial form. Its nature [is called *its* quiddity]." (The Century Dictionary.)

of Faith, provided that Dante shall be able further to elucidate the definition, by explaining why Faith is first denominated a substance, and why next a convincing argument. Dante again replies.

Allora udii:—"Dirittamente senti,
Se bene intendi, perchè la ripose
Tra le sustanzie, e poi tra gli argomenti."—
Ed io appresso:—"Le profonde cose* 70
Che mi largiscon qui la lor parvenza,
Agli occhi di laggiù son sì ascose,
Che l' esser loro v' è in sola credenza,
Sopra la qual si fonda l' alta spene;
E però di sustanzia prende intenza;† 75.
E da questa credenza ci conviene
Sillogizzar‡ senza avere altra vista;
Però intenza di argomento tiene."—

Then I heard: "Thou apprehendest rightly, if thou discernest correctly for what reason he (St. Paul)

**Le profonde cose*, et seq.: Mr. Gardner paraphrases this well: "The profound mysteries, which are being made manifest to Dante in Paradise and in which man's beatitude lies, are so concealed from all eyes on earth, since they can neither be deduced from first principles nor observed by the senses, that they exist in us only by the assent of Faith. Upon that belief our hope of obtaining them is based, and therefore Faith is the support or substance of things hoped for. And from this belief we must reason without having any other sight, wherefore Faith is said to be argument or evidence."

†*intenza:* Casini observes that this word must have been a very common one in Dante's time, seeing that Lana does not think it requires any explanation. The *Gran Dizionario* says of it: "Affine a Intelligenza, nel senso che anche dicevano *Intendimento*, cioè il significato e il concetto d' una parola o d' un intero discorso." Scartazzini calls it: "l' indicazione, il nome." Longfellow, "the nature." Norton, "the designation;" and this last I have followed.

‡*Sillogizzar:* We may remember in *Par.* x, 137, 138, it was said of Sigier, that

"leggendo nel vico degli strami,
Sillogizzò invidiosi veri."

ranked it first with substances, and then with evidences." And I thereafter: "The deep mysteries which here vouchsafe to me their visible presence, are so concealed from the eyes of men on earth, that their existence lies wholly in Faith, upon which is founded our exalted Hope, and therefrom it takes the designation of Substance; and from this Faith we must deduce our reasoning without having other sight; wherefore it takes the designation of Evidence."

Dante has answered in a way to merit the praises of St. Peter, *l' alto primipilo,* who tells him that, if all other doctrines were as well understood in the world, there would be but little room for the subtleties of sophists. He adds that Dante's examination so far has proved that his Faith is a right one, but to have cognizance of Faith is not enough, it is necessary to possess it. Does Dante possess it? "Yes," says Dante, and that so well-defined and entire, that there is no point in it upon which he entertains the slightest doubt.

Allora udii:—"Se quantunque s' acquista
Giù per dottrina fosse così inteso,* 80
Non gli avria loco ingegno di sofista."—
Così spirò da quell' amore acceso;
Indi soggiunse:—"Assai bene è trascorsa †
D' esta moneta già la lega e il peso; ‡
Ma dimmi se tu l' hai nella tua borsa."— 85

* *così inteso:* "nel certo e chiaro modo come tu hai inteso le parole colle quali San Paolo definisce la fede." (Buti.)

† *trascorso: trascorrere un libro, scorrere una lezione, dare una scorsa, una passata al brano imparato,* are all terms (says Poletto) akin to the use of the word here, which means "examined."

‡ *D' esta moneta . . . la lega e il peso:* "La moneta è la fede, la *lega* la definizione per cui appare la sua essenza (ll. 64, 65), e il *peso* è la dimostrazione della convenienza della definizione all' essenza della fede (ll. 70-78)." (Casini.)

Ond' io :—" Sì, ho sì lucida e sì tonda,
Che nel suo conio nulla mi s' inforsa." *—

Then I heard : " If all that is received on Earth by teaching were thus understood, the art of the sophist would have no place there." Thus was breathed forth from that enkindled love ; then he added : " Very well have we run through (*i.e.* examined) the alloy and the weight of this coin (*i.e.* Faith) ; but tell me if thou hast it in thy purse (*i.e.* in thine heart) ? " Whereupon I : " Yes, I have it so bright and round, that of its mintage there is to me no peradventure."

Division III.†—Dante is now to be examined as to the source of his Faith ; and St. Peter therefore proceeds to ask him how he acquired this precious benefit, which is the true foundation of all Christian virtues. Dante replies that the beneficent shower of Divine light, that fell upon the sacred pages of the Old and New Testaments, is the argument or evidence that has demonstrated to him the truth of the Faith so conclusively, that beside it all other demonstrations appear inconclusive. The fountain of Faith Dante believes to be the Word of God as contained in Holy Writ.

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* *mi s' inforsa :* " *Inforsa* è verbo informativo, e descende da questo avverbio *dubitandi forsan* o *forsitan.*" (Lana.) " *Nulla mi s' inforsa ;* cioè nulla cosa m' è in dubbio ; questo è verbo derivato da *forsi*, che è avverbio che significa dubitazione : unde *inforsare* si pone per *dubitare.*" (Buti.) Dr. Moore (*Textual Criticism*, p. 316) writes : " Dante uses *in forse* = 'in doubt' or 'in danger' at least three times : *Inf.* viii, 110 ; *Purg.* xxix, 18 ; *Par.* xii, 41 ; and so also does Petrarch, *Trionf. Mort.* i, 58 : 'e poi che'n forse Fu stata un poco.'"

† I have not here followed the division of Benvenuto, who makes Division II end, as I think, awkwardly, in the middle of St. Peter's sentence.

Appresso uscì della luce profonda
Che lì splendeva :—"Questa cara gioia,
Sopra la quale ogni virtù si fonda,* 90
Onde ti venne ?"—Ed io :—"La larga ploia †
Dello Spirito Santo, ch' è diffusa
In sulle vecchie e in sulle nuove cuoia,‡
È sillogismo che la m' ha conchiusa §
Acutamente sì che in verso d' ella 95
Ogni dimostrazion mi pare ottusa." ||

Thereafter issued from the profound light that was shining there : "This precious gem upon which all virtue is founded, whence came it unto thee ?" And I : "The abundant rain of the Holy Spirit, that is poured forth upon the ancient parchments (*lit.* skins) and the new, is a syllogism that has proved it to me so trenchantly, that compared with it every demonstration seems to me dull (*i.e.* inconclusive)."

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* *Sopra la quale ogni virtù si fonda :* Compare *Heb.* xi, 6 : "But without faith it is impossible to please Him : for He that cometh to God must believe that He is, and that He is a rewarder of them that diligently seek Him." And *Rom.* xiv, 23 : "Whatsoever is not of faith is sin." Compare too St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars ii, 2^{dæ}, qu. iv, art. 7) : "Per se inter omnes virtutes prima est fides . . . necesse est quod fides sit prima inter omnes virtutes ; quia naturalis cognitio non potest attingere ad Deum, secundum quod est objectum beatitudinis, prout tendit in ipsum spes et charitas."

† *ploia :* Compare *Par.* xiv, 27 :—
"Lo refrigerio dell' eterna ploia."
Daniello paraphrases the passage thus : "La grazia che largamente piove dallo Spirito Santo su la carte del libro della vecchia e nuova Scrittura."

‡ *cuoia :* Plural of *cuojo*, used here in the sense of parchment, sheep-skin. "Cioè in sulle vecchie e in su le nuove carte, imperò che le carte membrane sono di cuoja e di pelle d' animali, come di pecore, montoni, agnelli, e cavretti ; e per questo intende lo vecchio e 'l nuovo Testamento." (Buti.)

§ *conchiusa :* Casini says that the verb *conchiudere* has here the scholastic sense of proving, demonstrating a proposition to be true.

|| *ottusa* is to be taken in the opposite sense to *acutamente* in l. 95.

Dante is now required to give proofs as to the truth of the Faith. He has replied to St. Peter's question respecting the sources of his Faith, by affirming that he derives it from Holy Scripture, inspired by God. "Yes," says St. Peter, "but what is your reason for thinking that the Scriptures *are* inspired by God?" "By the miracles which confirmed them," answers Dante. "But," persists St. Peter, "who proves to you that those miracles really did occur? You have no evidence but that contained in the Scriptures themselves, whose Divine inspiration you wish to prove by these same miracles, and that is working round in a circle, besides being faulty as evidence." "If the miracles recounted in Holy Writ had not really occurred," replies Dante, "we still have the greatest miracle of all, in that Christianity could be spread throughout the world by men of no education and of no power or influence." This (says Scartazzini) is another rap at the degenerate priesthood. We have here two arguments. (1) That miracles are a proof of the Divine inspiration of the Scriptures; and (2) That the spread of Christianity is a proof of the reality of miracles.

The first argument is biblical. See *St. Matt.* xi, 4; and xii, 28; *St. Luke* xi, 20; *St. John* v, 19. The second argument is that of St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, xxii, 5, and was afterwards amplified by Bossuet, *Histoire Universelle*, ii, 20.

Io udii poi:—"L' antica e la novella
Proposizion * che così ti conchiude,

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* *Proposizion:* According to Daniello this term is used in order to continue the metaphor of the syllogism, which consists of two propositions, major and minor, and a conclusion.

Perchè l' hai tu per divina favella ? "—
Ed io :—" La prova che il ver mi dischiude
Son l' opere * seguite, a che natura
Non scaldò ferro mai, nè battè incude."—
Risposto fummi :—" Di', chi t' assicura
Che quell' opere fosser ? Quel medesmo
Che vuol provarsi, non altri, il ti giura."—
—" Se il mondo † si rivolse al Cristianesmo,"—
Diss' io,—" senza miracoli, quest' uno
È tal, che gli altri non sono il centesmo ;

* *l' opere :* Scartazzini says that miracles are by Dante termed works which Nature never forged nor completed, and which are consequently supernatural. Compare St. August. *De Civit. Dei*, lib. xxi, cap. 8 : " Omnia portenta contra naturam dicimus esse, sed non sunt. Quomodo est enim contra naturam quod Dei fit voluntate, quum voluntas tanti utique conditoris conditae rei cujusque natura sit ? Portentum ergo fit, non contra naturam, sed contra quam est nota natura . . . quamvis et ipsa, quae in rerum natura omnibus nota sunt, non minus mira sint, essentque stupenda considerantibus cunctis, si solerent homines mirari nisi rara." Compare also St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. cx, art. 4) : " Miraculum proprie dicitur, cum aliquid fit praeter ordinem naturae. Sed non sufficit ad rationem miraculi, si aliquid fiat praeter ordinem naturae alicujus particularis ; quia sic cum aliquis projicit lapidem sursum, miraculum faceret, cum hoc sit praeter ordinem naturae lapidis. Ex hoc ergo aliquid dicitur esse miraculum, quod fit praeter ordinem totius naturae creatae. Hoc autem non potest facere nisi Deus : quia quidquid facit angelus vel quaecumque alia creatura propria virtute, hoc fit secundum ordinem naturae creatae ; et sic non est miraculum. Unde relinquitur quod solus Deus miracula facere possit."

† *Se il mondo*, et seq. : On this Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, pp. 292, 293) writes : " In *Par.* xxiv, 106-108, Dante in answer to St. Peter gives us one at least of his reasons for believing in the miracles of the New Testament, that if the world had been converted to Christianity without miracles, this alone would have been a miracle a hundred times greater than all the others. This idea is no doubt borrowed from St. Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, xxii, 5, *fin :* ' Si vero per Apostolos Christi, ut eis crederetur, resurrectionem atque ascensionem praedicantibus Christi, etiam ista miracula facta esse non credunt, hoc nobis unum grande miraculum sufficit, quod eam terrarum orbis sine ullis miraculis credidit.' The same thought is repeated in a slightly different

Chè tu entrasti povero e digiuno *
In campo a seminar † la buona pianta, 110
Che fu già vite,‡ ed ora è fatta pruno."—

Then I heard: "The ancient and the new proposition which so convince thee, wherefore dost thou hold them for the Word Divine?" And I: "The proof which discloses to me the truth, are the works (*i.e.* the miracles) that followed (the Word), for which Nature never heated iron nor smote anvil." It was replied to me: "Say, who vouches to thee that these works ever took place? That same thing which requires to be proved, and none other, swears it to thee." "If the world," said I, "was turned to Christianity without miracles, this (fact) is (in itself) so great a one, that the others are not the hundredth part of it; for thou didst enter poor and unfed into the field to sow the goodly plant, which was once a vine, and has now become a bramble (*i.e.* degenerated)."

At the conclusion of this profession of his Faith by Dante, the spirits of the blessed intone a *Te Deum*, returning thanks to God for such a triumph of Christ's religion.

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form a little later, in cap. 8, *init.*: 'Possem quidem dicere necessaria fuisse (sc. miracula), prius quam crederet mundus, ad hoc ut crederet mundus. Quisquis adhuc prodigia ut credat inquirit, magnum est ipse prodigium, qui mundo credente non credit.'"

* *povero e digiuno:* St. Peter, as well as the other Apostles, preached the Faith with no other moral power than the force of their example of poverty and abstinence, and in that way their work was in itself a miracle.

† *seminar:* "La Chiesa, che fu come buona pianta che dovesse fare buono frutto; . . . la qual fu abbondante, come vite a fare frutto a Dio e convertire l' anime umane a la fede, et al presente è insalvitichita e diventata sterile come lo pruno, imperò che non fa più frutto." (Buti.)

‡ *vite:* In *Par.* xii, 86, 87, it is said of St. Dominic that he was:—

"Tal che si mîse a circuir la vigna
Che tosto imbianca se il vignaio è reo."

Finito questo, l' alta Corte santa
Risonò per le spere * un :—" Dio laudamo," †
Nella melode ‡ che lassù si canta.

This being ended, the high and holy Court resounded through the spheres a *Praise we God*, in that melody such as is sung (only) up there.

Division IV.—Up to this point Dante had been asked by St. Peter, and had given answers to the following questions: (*a*) What is Faith? (*b*) Hast thou that Faith? (*c*) Whence hast thou that Faith? (*d*) On what foundations does thy Faith rest?

The final question is now put to him: (*e*) What dost thou believe? Dante replies: " I believe in one God, sole and eternal, and I believe in Three Persons, and in one Essence."§

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* *spere:* By spheres Dante does not mean the Nine Spheres of Heaven, but the spirits in this Sphere in their circular forms of radiance with what has already been said of them, in ll. 10, 11, of this Canto :—

" quelle anime liete
Si fero spere sopra fissi poli."

Benvenuto distinctly defines this : " *per le spere*, idest, per sectas diversarum sperarum, quae omnes erant aggregatae in illam octavam speram, sicut jam patuit."

† *Dio laudamo:* Compare *Purg.* ix, 139-141 :—

" Io mi rivolsi attento al primo tuono
E *Te Deum Laudamus* mi parea
Udir in voce mista al dolce suono."

‡ *melode:* Compare *Par.* xiv, 122, 123 :—

" S' accogliea per la croce una melode,
Che mi rapiva senza intender l' inno."

§ Scartazzini observes that Dante's faith in Christ is comprised in his faith in the Trinity, and that he has borrowed this profession of faith from the Athanasian Creed, art. 3 and 4 : " Fides autem catholica haec est, ut unum Deum in Trinitate et Trinitatem in unitate veneremur. Neque confundentes personas, neque substantiam separantes." Belief in the Trinity comprises belief in the Redeemer.

E quel Baron,* che sì di ramo in ramo
Esaminando già tratto m' avea
Che all' ultime fronde appressavamo,
Ricominciò:—"La grazia che donnea †
Con la tua mente, la bocca t' aperse
Infino a qui, com' aprir si dovea;
Sì ch' io approvo ciò che fuori emerse;
Ma or conviene esprimer quel che credi,
Ed onde ‡ alla credenza tua s' offerse."

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* *Baron:* See s. v. *Gran Dizionario*, § 1: "Il titolo di Barone venne dato in antico anche ai Santi ed a Gesù Cristo." Compare Boccaccio, *Decam.* Giorn. vi, nov. 10: "Vostra usanza è di mandare ogni anno a' poveri del baron messer santo Antonio del vostro grano e delle vostre biade." And *Vita di S. Antonio:* "Sforzatevi di mantenervi sempre fedeli drudi del Barone Messere Jesù Cristo." See also in the next Canto, *Par.* xxv, 16, 17, where St. James is called:—

"il Barone
Per cui laggiù si visita Galizia."

† *donnea*: According to Donkin, *Etym. Dict. of the Romance Languages*, s. v. *donno*, this word is derived from the Provençal verb *domneiar*, Old French *donoier*, to court women, whence Italian *donneare*. Compare *Par.* xxvii, 88, 89:—

"La mente innamorata, che donnea
Con la mia Donna sempre," etc.

Compare also Dante, *Rime Antiche*, Vinegia, 1532, lib. 4, p. 44:—

"Per donneare a guisa di leggiadro."

And Lapo degli Uberti (in the *Poeti del Primo Secolo della Lingua Italiana*, vol. ii, p. 244):—

"E se la troverai per te rimota
Lontan da gente, ossia in donneando,
Ella t' accetterà ciò che dimando."

‡ *onde . . . s' offerse* = whence it was presented to the mind. Compare Dante's own words in the lines following (127-129):—

". . . tu vuoi ch' io manifesti
La forma qui del pronto creder mio,
Ed anco la cagion di lui chiedesti."

On this see the *Ottimo;* "In questa parte san Piero approva ciò che l' Autore circa la fede ha detto; e falli la settima domanda, nella quale inchiede, che dica quello che Dante crede, ed onde li venne. E questa domanda ha due membri; l' uno è quello, che elli crede; l' altro, *perchè* elli il crede." The *Postillatore Cassinese* comments in the same sense.

> And that Lord, who from bough to bough (*i.e.* from point to point) in his examining had already led me so far that we were drawing near to the topmost branches, began again: "The Grace that holds dalliance with thy soul has thus far opened thy mouth as it ought to be opened; so that I approve of that which issued from it (*i.e.* I commend thy replies); but now it is needful for thee to put into words what it is that thou believest, and for what reason it came to be presented to thy belief."

Dante, rejoicing exceedingly at the commendation he has received, before beginning to recite his creed, turns once more, as it were for inspiration, to St. Peter, who as an aged Apostle showed greater faith than his younger brethren, in that on the Resurrection morning he not only drew near to the Sepulchre of Our Lord, but entered boldly in, where the others at first feared to tread.

— "O santo patre, spirito che vedi
Ciò che credesti sì che tu vincesti 125
Vêr lo sepolcro i più giovani piedi," *—

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* *vincesti . . . i più giovani piedi:* Pompeo Venturi, in his Commentary, insists that Dante has here made a slip; for St. John came first to the sepulchre, though St. Peter was the first to enter it. The whole question is admirably summed up by Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, p. 72), who says: "There is some interest attaching to this reference to *St. John* xx, 3-6, since in fact 'the other disciple (with *più giovani piedi*) did *outrun* Peter,' and Dante has again in this case been charged by some Commentators with having forgotten the original, and in fact contradicted it. But it all depends on the meaning contained in *vincesti*. Dante evidently, I think, does not refer to the *outrunning*, but to the fact that, in spite of the advantage thus gained by St. John, St. Peter's strong faith (*che vedi ciò che credesti sì*) caused him to anticipate St. John in entering the sepulchre, and so being the first to assure himself of the great truth. *Vincesti* thus acquires a more appropriate, instead of a merely superficial (even if not false) meaning. This is illustrated by another reference to the same incident in *De Mon.* iii, ix, l. 111: 'Dicit

Comincia' io,—" tu vuoi ch' io manifesti
La forma * qui del pronto creder † mio,
Ed anco la cagion di lui chiedesti.

" O holy Father, spirit that dost discern that which thou didst so believe that (in running) towards the Sepulchre thou didst prevail over the more youthful (and swifter) feet," began I, " thou wouldest here have me declare the form of my ready faith, and likewise didst thou ask the cause of it.

Dante now, in reply to St. Peter's last and two-fold question (by Benvenuto termed *petitioni bimembri Petri*), commences the recitation of his creed.

Ed io rispondo: Io credo ‡ in uno Iddio 130

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etiam Johannes, ipsum [Petrum] introivisse subito, quum venit in monumentum, videns alium discipulum *cunctantem ad ostium.*' This shows what Dante regarded as the central feature of the incident."

**forma:* This is a scholastic term, meaning the essence, the substance.

†*pronto creder:* Casini remarks that he is not able to agree with some Commentators, who wish to give to the adjective *pronto* the sense of " complete, entire; " for though he thinks it is an ingenious interpretation, but in his opinion erroneous, he prefers to take the word in its literal sense, meaning that such is the disposition of Dante's mind towards the Faith, that he is prepared to accept all revealed truths instantaneously, without either doubt or hesitation.

‡ *Io credo*, et seq.: Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, pp. 115, 116) takes this passage in conjunction with *Par.* xxvi, 38, 39:—

" Colui che mi dimostra il primo amore
Di tutte le sustanzie sempiterne."

He says that the reference cannot be considered certain, as not only Aristotle, but Plato, Pythagoras, and Dionysius the Areopagite have been suggested by Commentators as the author intended. The preponderance of opinion, however, is, Dr. Moore thinks, in favour of Aristotle, and very probably *Metaphysics* Λ, chapters vii and viii, was the passage chiefly in Dante's mind. " For here Aristotle asserts that the first cause of all is eternal and unmovable, and yet is the source of all motion, and he adduces in particular the motions of the heavenly bodies as being thus caused. . . . And in the previous chapter

Solo ed eterno, che tutto il ciel move,
Non moto, con amore e con disio ; *
Ed a tal creder † non ho io pur prove
Fisice e metafisice, ma dàlmi
Anco la verità che quinci piove
Per Moisè, per profeti, e per salmi,‡
Per l' Evangelio, e per voi che scriveste,
Poichè l' ardente Spirto vi fece almi ; §

Aristotle explains that this first cause originates all the motions of the universe as their final, rather than efficient cause, and adds κινεῖ δὲ ὡς ἐρώμενον (1072, b. 3) ; with which compare the expression *primo amore* (*Par.* xxvi, 38) ; and also *Par.* xxiv, 130-132. . . . This at any rate shows Dante to have been familiar with those passages in Aristotle to which we assume him to be indirectly referring in the passage before us."

* *con disio :* The desire that every part of the *Primum Mobile* has of being conjoined to the Empyrean. Compare *Conv.* ii, 4, ll. 19-27 : "Questo è cagione al Primo Mobile per avere velocissimo movimento ; chè per lo ferventissimo appetito che ha ciascuna parte di quello nono cielo, ch' è immediato a quello, d' esser congiunta con ciascuna parte di quello decimo cielo divinissimo e quieto, in quello si rivolve contanto desiderio, che la sua velocità è quasi incomprensibile."

† *Ed a tal creder*, et seq. : "The material object of his [Dante's] Faith is God Himself, and what refers to God, and the cause or formal reason is His Sovereign Truth, revealed through inspired writers. And he adds an explicit mention of the mystery of the Blessed Trinity, for the knowledge of which he has the same formal reason. These *prove fisice e metafisice* are philosophical proofs of the existence of God, apart from theology or revelation." (Gardner, *op. cit.* p. 176.) St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. ii, art. 3) says that the existence of God can be proved in five ways, physical and metaphysical ; namely, (1) Ex parte motus ; (2) Ex ratione causae efficientis ; (3) Ex possibili et necessario ; (4) Ex gradibus qui in rebus inveniuntur ; (5) Ex gubernatione rerum.

‡ *Per Moisè, per profeti, e per salmi :* Compare *St. Luke* xxiv, 44 : "And He said unto them, These are the words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled, which were written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the psalms, concerning Me."

§ *almi :* All the old Commentators explain this to mean

E credo in tre persone eterne, e queste
Credo una essenza sì una e sì trina,* 140
Che soffera † congiunto *sono* ed *este.*

And I reply: I believe in one God, Sole and Eternal, Who moveth all the Heavens—Himself unmoved—with love and with desire; and for this Faith I not only have proofs physical and metaphysical, but the truth (*i.e.* written Revelation) gives it me also which from this place is rained down through Moses, through the Prophets, and through the Psalms, through the Gospel, and through you (Apostles) who wrote, after that the Holy Spirit made you holy; and I believe in Three Persons Eternal, and these I believe (to be) one Essence, so one, and so trine, that they equally admit of *sunt* and *est.*

This means that the name of the Holy Trinity can be spoken of as much in the plural as in the singular. Dante goes on to say that the Gospel teaching suffices to explain the mystery of the Trinity, in so far as we mortals are allowed to understand it.

Della profonda condizion divina
Ch' io tocco mo, la mente ‡ mi sigilla

"Divine, blessed, holy, worthy of reverence," as in Petrarch, Part ii, *Canz.* i, st. 4:—

"Quand' alma e bella farsi
Tanto più la vedrem, quanto più vale
Sempiterna bellezza che mortale."

Casini renders *almi* as *santi, divini*, and adds: "erroneamente lo Scartazzini intende alimentatori della fede per mezzo degli scritti." The *Gran Dizionario* writes: "Che dà e mantiene la vita. Dal Lat. *Alo* onde *Alimonia.* Non vive solo nel verso, ma in certe locuzioni, dov' è quasi traslato [*i.e.* a metaphor], e denota la vita del bene e del bello."

* *trina:* Compare *Par.* xv, 47:—

"Benedetto sie tu . . . Trino ed Uno."

† *soffera* for *soffre* is found also in *Conv.* ii, 9, l. 118; and *ibid.* ii, 15, l. 167. See also *Par.* xvi, 10:—

"Dal *Voi*, che prima Roma sofferie," etc.

‡ *Ch' io tocco mo, la mente*, etc. Others read: *Ch' io tocco,*

Più volte l' evangelica dottrina.*
Quest' è il principio †; quest' è la favilla
Che si dilata in fiamma poi vivace,
E come stella in cielo in me scintilla."—

As regards the mysterious divine nature (of the Trinity) on which I touch now, in full many a passage does the teaching of the Gospel imprint it on my mind. This is the fundamental source; this is the spark which afterwards dilates into a vivid flame, and, like a star in heaven, sparkles in me."

Dante's profession of Faith, expressed in his replies to the questions put to him so fills St. Peter with gladness that he encircles Dante three times with his radiance as though he were embracing him, and in his holy chant pronounces a blessing upon him.

Come il signor ‡ ch' ascolta quel che i piace,

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nella mente, but the previous reading has far greater authority, besides greater emphasis.

* *mi sigilla . . . l' evangelica dottrina:* Compare *St. Matt.* xxviii, 19: "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." And *John* xiv, 16, 17: "And I will pray the Father, and He shall give you another Comforter, that He may abide with you for ever; even the Spirit of truth; whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth Him not, neither knoweth Him: but ye know Him; for He dwelleth with you, and shall be in you." Here Jesus Christ, the Second Person, promises to ask the Father, the First Person, to send the Comforter, the Third Person. And 1 *John* v, 7 (which Dante, at any rate, would hold genuine): "For there are three that bear record in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one."

† *Quest' è il principio:* Scartazzini remarks that Dante, having made his profession of Faith, in this *terzina* goes on practically to say: "This point of Faith is the foundation and the source from which emanate the other articles of the Christian Faith, which is in me like a bright star which disperses the darkness." In other words, it lights up in my mind all the teachings of Faith as it were with the sparkling glory of a star.

‡ *Come il signor:* "Dante paragona sè a servo. Anche nell' In-

Da indi abbraccia il servo, gratulando
Per la novella, tosto ch' ei si tace ; 150
Così, benedicendomi cantando,
Tre volte * cinse me, sì com' io tacqui,
L' apostolico lume, al cui comando
Io avea detto ; sì nel dir gli piacqui.†

Even as a lord who hears tidings that please him, (and) thereupon embraces his servant, rejoicing at the news, so soon as he ceases his tale; thus, pouring benedictions upon me in his song, three times circled round me, so soon as I ceased from speaking, that Apostolic radiance, at whose command I had spoken ; so greatly did I please him in my words.

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ferno, preso da timore e rimproverato da Virgilio, usò la stessa immagine, (*Inf.* xvii, 89, 90) :—

' Ma vergogna mi fêr le sue minacce,
Che innanzi a buon signor fa servo forte.'

Là servo dignitosamente vergognoso in faccia alla scienza umana che lo corregge: qui, in cielo, servo umilmente lieto rimpetto alla divina che lo benedice." (L. Venturi, *Simil. Dant.* pp. 148, 149, sim. 250.)

* *Tre volte :* "Again a sign of the Trinity," observes Longfellow. This action of St. Peter's is cited in the next Canto (xxv, 10-12) :—

"Perocchè nella Fede, che fa conte
L' anime a Dio, quivi entra' io, e poi
Pietro per lei sì mi girò la fronte."

† *gli piacqui :* Scartazzini remarks that in matters concerning one's Faith, self-praise is permissible. Compare *Jerem.* ix, 24: "But let him that glorieth glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth Me, that I am the Lord which exercise loving-kindness, judgment, and righteousness, in the earth : for in these things I delight, saith the Lord."

END OF CANTO XXIV.

CANTO XXV.

SPHERE OF THE FIXED STARS (CONTINUED)—ST. JAMES EXAMINES DANTE ON HOPE—THE DAZZLING RADIANCE OF ST. JOHN.

In the last Canto we read what was practically a treatise on Faith on the part of Dante. In this Canto he similarly treats of Hope.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

In the First Division, from ver. 1 to ver. 27, St. James comes forward to examine Dante on Hope.

In the Second Division, from ver. 28 to ver. 63, St. James, at the request of Beatrice, puts three questions to Dante, and to one of these Beatrice herself makes reply.

In the Third Divison, from ver. 64 to ver. 96, Dante answers the other two questions.

In the Fourth Division, from ver. 97 to ver. 139, Dante sees St. John preparing to examine him on Charity.

Division I.—The Canto opens with lines of infinite pathos and beauty. Dante, about to be examined on Hope, breaks forth, in the very centre of Heaven, into the expression of what is his supreme hope and desire on earth, namely, that the recognition of his great poem may earn for him a recall from banishment ; in order that, returning home, and humbly kneeling in the beautiful place of his baptism, *il mio bel San*

Giovanni (*Inf.* xix) he may perchance there, and there only, receive the laurel crown. In comparison with the joy of being re-admitted into his native city—but, re-admitted without dishonour—all distinctions in his eyes are valueless. At the Font of San Giovanni Dante acquired his faith as a Christian; and that faith he has so exalted (in the last Canto) with his song, that St. Peter in gladness and exultation has just encircled his brow thrice in token of benediction.

Se mai continga che il poema sacro,*
Al quale ha posto mano e cielo e terra,†
Sì che m' ha fatto per più anni ‡ macro,

---

* *poema sacro:* Compare *Par.* xxiii, 62:—
"Convien saltar lo sacrato poema."

† *cielo e terra:* Both Heaven and Earth have furnished materials and aid for the Poem: Heaven through the sanctity of its dogmas and the gift of Grace; Earth by its beauty, by the deeds of men, and by the training of Dante's faculties. "Per coelum autor intelligit gratiam Dei per quam influentia coeli fecit autorem habilem adhabitum scientiae. . . . Per terram vero intelligit humanum studium et exercitium, vigiliam et laborem tam animi quam corporis." (Benvenuto.)

‡ *più anni*: This is the reading adopted in the Oxford Dante, and by the *Ottimo*, Buti, Vellutello, and Daniello. The other reading *per molt' anni* is followed by Benvenuto, Landino, and Serravalle. Dr. Moore (*Textual Criticism*, p. 478) writes: "This passage is recorded because of the distinct separation of the two readings in form, though they are identical in meaning, so that the one or the other must have risen from a deliberate alteration of the text. The MSS. are as nearly as possible evenly divided, so far as my collations go, but as this passage was added comparatively lately to my list, a smaller number of MSS. than usual has been examined here. It is difficult to decide between these alternative readings, but perhaps on the whole *più* is more likely to have been altered into *molti* than *vice-versâ*. The same variants *più anni* and *molti anni* occur also at *Inf.* xxxiii, 137. Benvenuto quaintly justifies the sentiment of the text thus: 'Nec mireris, lector si auctor diu laboravit, et si labore macruit in hoc opere altissimo componendo, *quia mihi simile accidit in ipso exponendo*,'"

Vinca la crudeltà che fuor mi serra *
Del bello ovil,† dov' io dormii agnello
Nimico ai lupi che gli danno guerra ;
Con altra voce ‡ omai, con altro vello
Ritornerò poeta, ed in sul fonte
Del mio battesmo prenderò il cappello ; §
Perocchè nella Fede che fa conte

---

* *serra :* Compare *Canzone* xi, st. 6 (p. 163 of Oxford Dante) :—

" O montanina mia canzon, tu vai ;
Forse vedrai Fiorenza la mia terra,
Che fuor di sè mi serra,
Vota d' amore, e nuda di pietate :
Se dentro v' entri, va dicendo : Omai
Non vi può fare il mio signor più güerra."

† *ovil :* Compare *Par.* xvi, 25, 26 :—

" Ditemi dell' ovil di San Giovanni
Quanto era allora."

In *Eclogue* i, written by Dante from Ravenna, most probably in the summer of 1319, and addressed to Giovanni del Virgilio, who in his *Carmen* (see Oxford Dante, p. 185) had invited him to come to Bologna, there to receive the laurel crown of a poet, Dante (*Eclog.* i, ll. 42-44) replies :—

" Nonne triumphales melius pexare capillos,
Et, patrio redeam si quando, absconderes canos
Fronde sub inserta solitum flavescere, Sarno ? "

This, Longfellow observes, would seem to show that Dante's hair had been light [or ? grey], and not black, as Boccaccio describes it. And ll. 48-50 :—

" . . . Quum mundi circumflua corpora cantu
Astricolaeque meo, velut infera regna, patebunt,
Devincire caput hedera, lauroque juvabit."

‡ *Con altra voce . . . con altro vello :* No longer would Dante write mere earthly love songs, but a poem on the exalted mysteries of Heaven, *con altro vello*, no longer as a youth but as an old man.

§ *cappello :* See this word in the *Gran Dizionario*, § 32 : " *Cappello* anticamente significava *Corona*, o altro segno d' onore, Fr. ant. *Chapeau de roses.* Perchè cinge il capo e a qualche modo lo copre." This passage is quoted. Compare Boccaccio, *Decam.* Giorn. i, nov. 1 : " Non sappiendo li Franceschi che si volesse dire Cepparello, credendo che Cappello, *cioè ghirlanda*, secondo il loro volgare, a dir venisse, perciocchè piccolo era, non Cappello, ma Ciappelletto il chiamavano."

L' anime a Dio, quivi entra' io, e poi
Pietro per lei sì mi girò la fronte.*

If e'er it happen that the sacred poem, whereunto both Heaven and Earth have set their hand, so that it has made me lean for many years, should overcome the cruelty that bars me out from the fair sheep-fold (Florence), where as a lamb I slept, an enemy to the wolves that make war upon it (*i.e.* upon its peace and its laws); then with other voice and other fleece (than that of youth) will I return a poet, and at the font of my baptism will I take the chaplet (*i.e.* the laurel crown of a poet); because there (at that font) I entered into the Faith, that maketh known the souls to God, and afterward for its sake did Peter thus encircle my brow.

The approach of St. James is now described, who, as another bright radiance, issues forth from the same sphere of blessed ones from which St. Peter had issued before. Beatrice designates him to Dante by the same title of Baron, or Lord of the Church, as had served to designate St. Peter in the last Canto (l. 115).

Indi si mosse un lume verso noi
Di quella spera † ond' uscì la primizia
Che lasciò Cristo dei vicari suoi. 15
E la mia Donna piena di letizia
Mi disse:—"Mira, mira, ecco il Barone,
Per cui laggiù si visita Galizia." ‡—

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* *mi girò la fronte:* Compare *Par.* xxiv, 151-153:—
"Così, benedicendomi cantando,
Tre volte cinse me, sì com' io tacqui,
L' apostolico lume."

† *spera:* Others read *schiera* = "company, host," but all the old Commentators read *spera.*

‡ *si visita Galizia;* St. James is said to have preached the Gospel in Spain, and his supposed sepulchre at Santiago di Compostella in Galicia was much frequented by pilgrims in the Middle Ages. Casini says that the Florentines used first to make the pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and then to Compostella, and

Then towards us there moved an Effulgence out of that sphere whence issued the first-fruits of His Vicars whom Christ left (*i.e.* St. Peter). And my Lady, filled with joyfulness, said to me: "Look, look, there is the Baron, for whom on Earth (*lit.* down there) Galicia is visited."

The two Apostolic spirits greet one another lovingly, and sing praises unto God.

Sì come quando il colombo * si pone
Presso al compagno, e l' uno all' altro pande,
Girando e mormorando, l' affezione,
Così vid' io l' un dall' altro grande
Principe glorïoso essere accolto,
Laudando il cibo che lassù li prande.†
Ma poi che il gratular si fu assolto,‡

Guido Cavalcanti once actually set out with that intention, but does not seem to have completed his self-imposed task. Dante appears to have followed the erroneous idea of the St. James alluded to here being the author of the *Epistle General of James* in Holy Scripture, who, as we know, was St. James the Less, "the brother of the Lord;" whereas the constant companion of St. Peter and St. John, was St. James the Great, brother of St. John.

**colombo . . . pande:* Perhaps, says Casini, Dante recollected the following line of Horace (*Epist.* i, x, 5): "Annuimus pariter vetuli notique columbi." Compare also Ovid, *Amor.* lib. ii, Eleg. vi, 56:—

"Oscula dat cupido blanda columba mari;"

and Tasso, *Aminta*, Act i, Sc. 1:—

"Mira là quel colombo
Con che dolce susurro lusingando
Bacia la sua compagna."

† *li prande:* The more common, but less authenticated, reading is *si prande.* On this point Dr. Moore writes to me: "I did not collate this, for *li* and *si* are so like that one can hardly depend on the difference in MSS." Dante uses *prandere* in the sense of to satiate in *Purg.* xxvii, 76-78:—

"Quali si fanno ruminando manse
Le capre, state rapide e proterve
Sopra le cime, avanti che sien pranse."

‡ *fu assolto* = Latin *absolutum fuit,*

Tacito *coram me** ciascun s' affisse,
Ignito sì che vinceva il mio volto.†

As when the dove alights near his mate, and each wheeling and cooing, displays its affection for the other, so beheld I the one great and glorious prince being welcomed by the other, lauding the food that satisfies them there on high. But when their gratulations were ended, before me each of them stood still, so burning bright that it overcame (*i.e.* caused me to lower) my countenance.

Division II.—Beatrice now, by way of giving encouragement to Dante, herself addresses the first words to St. James, and entreats him to examine Dante on that Hope, which on Earth he had kindled by means of his Epistle; but which it is rare to hear of in Heaven, where all Hope‡ has already been fulfilled.

Ridendo allora Beatrice disse:
—"Inclita vita, per cui la larghezza§
Della nostra basilica si scrisse, 30

**coram me:* Compare *Par.* xi, 61, 62:—
"Ed innanzi alla sua spirital corte,
Et coram patre le si fece unito."

†*vinceva il mio volto:* Though some, including Longfellow, have rendered *volto* as "vision," I follow Scartazzini, Casini, Poletto, and Cesari, who are much opposed to taking it in that sense, and it is pointed out that the words "Leva la *testa*," in l. 34, conclusively prove that Dante *had* lowered his head, and that therefore *vinceva il mio volto* means that the excess of the spirits' radiance had forced Dante to bend down his head.

‡Note the contrast to the condition of the souls of the blameless Heathen, in *Limbo*, who (*Inf.* iv, 41, 42) say of themselves:—
"Semo perduti, e sol di tanto offesi,
Che senza speme vivemo in disio."

§*la larghezza:* Some, including Witte, read *l' allegrezza*, but Scartazzini observes that *larghezza* is the reading of the great majority of MSS., and of all the Commentaries before that of *La Crusca;* and he sees no difficulty in deciding which reading

Fa risonar la speme in questa altezza;
Tu sai che tante fiate la figuri,
Quante Jesù ai tre fe' più chiarezza." *—

is the right one. All agree in understanding *basilica* in the next line to mean Heaven. One may ask, therefore, where in the Epistle of St. James do we find any description of the *allegrezza* [gladness] of Heaven? It is true that in chapter i, verse 2, St. James says: "My brethren, count it all joy when ye fall into divers temptations," but that can hardly be interpreted as the gladness of the Church Triumphant. But while there is in the Epistle no allusion to the *gladness* of Heaven, there is a very distinct reference to its bounteousness in i, 5: "If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not; and it shall be given him." And v, 17: "Every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights, with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning." Dr. Moore (*Textual Criticism*, p. 480) agrees with Scartazzini in preferring *larghezza*, observing: "The interesting point is the general recognition on various grounds of the appropriateness of *larghezza* in reference to the writings of St. James. There is not a single passage in the Epistle that refers to the *joys* of heaven (*allegrezza*). It ought not to be forgotten that at the beginning of the *De Mon.* (i, 1, *ad fin.*) Dante himself quotes *St. James* i, 5: 'Arduum opus et ultra vires aggredior non tam de propria virtute confidens, quam de lumine *Largitoris* illius, qui dat omnibus affluenter, et non improperat.' We might perhaps quote *Conv.* ii, 11, ll. 58-63, as an illustration of the association of *larghezza* with *basilica* ('the courts of heaven,' comp. ll. 42, 43) here. Dante, protesting against the vulgar notion that *larghezza* and *cortesia* are identical, whereas 'larghezza è una speziale e non generale *cortesia*,' notes that the latter is appropriately derived from *Corte*, 'perocchè nelle Corti anticamente le virtudi e li belli costumi s' usavano;' adding, with characteristic bitterness, 'siccome oggi s' usa il contrario.'"

* *Quante Jesù ai tre fe' più chiarezza:* Many read *quanto* and *carezza*. On this see Dr. Moore (*op. cit.* pp. 481, 482): "The reading *Quante* is certainly to be preferred here, being almost necessitated by the preceding *tante* (as Scartazzini points out). . . . We may compare the confusion of *Quante* and *Quanto* in *Inf.* xxvi, 25, where a somewhat longer construction occasioned the same alteration. . . . The two readings enjoy . . . a nearly equal degree of MS. authority, numerically considered. The large majority of modern editors [except Witte] read *Quante*." As regards *carezza* v. *chiarezza*, Dr. Moore says that the two

Then did Beatrice smiling say: "Illustrious life (*i.e.* Blessed Spirit) by whom the bounteousness of our High Court has been written, do thou make Hope to sound forth in this exalted region; thou knowest that thou dost represent it as many times as Jesus on the three did shed the greatest light (*i.e.* made the most clear manifestations of His Divinity)."

Dante had bent down his head before the dazzling radiance of the blessed spirits. St. James tells him that he must accustom himself to it, for it will be to him a source of strength, not of weakness. In like manner, we may remember, the purifying fire in the last Cornice of Purgatory, refined, but did not consume.

—"Leva la testa, e fa che t' assicuri;
Che ciò che vien quassù dal mortal mondo,
Convien ch' ai nostri raggi si maturi."—
Questo conforto dal foco secondo
Mi venne; ond' io levai gli occhi ai monti,*
Che gl' incurvaron pria col troppo pondo.†

---

words are so similar, and so easily confused, that he has not thought it worth while to argue closely about them.

* *ai monti:* Dante has here adopted the words of the Psalmist in *Ps.* cxxi, 1: "I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills, whence cometh my help." Compare also *Ps.* lxxxvii, 1: "His foundation is in the holy mountains." Buti, after quoting *Ps.* cxxi, adds: "E questi sono li monti, cioè li santi Apostoli, che sono posti in alto per eccellenza di dottrina come i monti."

† *col troppo pondo:* Understand *di luce, i.e.* "excess of light." Compare *Purg.* viii, 35, 36:—

"Ma nelle faccie l' occhio si smarria,
Come virtù che al troppo si confonda."

See also the Ode, "*Say what shall be our sport to-day*," in Moore's *Irish Melodies*, st. 2:—

"Ay, those were days when life had wings,
And flew, oh flew so wild a height,
That like the lark that sunward springs,
'Twas giddy with too much light."

Cornoldi remarks that the word *pondo* is evidently used as according with the metaphor of the mountains, but indicates moreover that Dante's eyes were weighed down by the great light.

"Lift up thy head, and be thou of good cheer, for that which comes up hither from the mortal world must needs be matured in our rays." This encouragement came to me from the second radiance (St. James); whereupon I lifted mine eyes unto the hills (*i.e.* to the Apostles St. Peter and St. James), which before had bent them down with too great a burden (of light).

St. James now examines Dante as to the nature and contents of Hope; as to whether he (Dante) possesses it; and as to whence he has derived it. St. Peter had asked the same three points concerning Faith; but while *he* had begun by addressing himself to Beatrice (Theology) and had spoken to Dante only for examination, St. James addresses his first recorded words at once to Dante himself, prefacing his discourse with the reminder that, since God has vouchsafed Dante the Grace of beholding heavenly things before his death in order that he may strengthen (*conforte*) his fellow-men by his witness when he returns to Earth, it is fitting that he shall discourse upon Hope now.

—"Poichè per grazia vuol che tu t' affronti* 40
Lo nostro Imperadore,† anzi la morte,

**t' affronti . . . co' suoi Conti:* The *Gran Dizionario*, s. v. *affrontare*, § 2, says that the extended use of the word in this passage, "Del presentarsi in faccia a persona," is not common, except when it conveys the idea "d' assalto o d' importunità, o offesa o vergogna." Compare *Dittamondo*, lib. i, Canto xii, Terz. 10:—

"Ma perchè d' ogni dubbio ti delibri,
E sappi ragionar, se mai t' affronti
Con gente a cui diletti legger libri," etc.

† *Imperadore . . . aula . . . Conti:* Casini remarks how well the metaphor is kept up in this sentence, God being styled *il nostro Imperadore*, His abode *aula*, and the Saints about Him *Conti*, in the same way that Conti (Lat. *comites*) surround the greatest princes of the Earth. We might also add *basilica* His High Court, in l. 30.

Nell' aula più segreta co' suoi Conti ;
Sì che veduto il ver di questa corte,
La speme * che laggiù bene innamora
In te ed in altrui di ciò conforte :
Di' quel che ell' è, e come se ne infiora
La mente tua, e di' onde a te venne : "—
Così seguì 'l secondo lume ancora.

" Since our Sovereign Lord wills of His Grace that thou should'st before thy death be confronted with His Counts (*i.e.* Saints) in the most secret council-chamber; so that, having seen the truth of this Court, thou mayest therewith encourage in thyself and others the Hope which on Earth awakens the right love, say then what it is, and how thy mind is flowering with it, and say whence it came to thee." Thus spoke afresh the Second Light.

St. James has thus asked Dante three questions, namely, (1) What is Hope? (2) How does thy mind abound with it? (3) Whence came it unto thee? Beatrice feels that Dante cannot answer the second

* *La speme*, et seq.: Hope, being one of the three Theological Virtues, leads by the Hope of Eternal Life to the Love of God in mankind. Compare St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, 2^{dæ}, qu. xl, art. 7): " Spes duo respicere potest: respicit enim sicut objectum *bonum* speratum ; sed quia bonum speratum est arduum possibile, aliquando autem fit aliquod arduum possibile nobis, non per nos, sed per alios ; ideo spes etiam respicit illud per quod fit nobis aliquid possibile. Inquantum igitur spes respicit bonum speratum, spes ex amore causatur ; non enim est spes nisi de bono desiderato et amato. Inquantum vero spes respicit illum per quem fit aliquid nobis possibile, sic amor causatur ex spe, et non e converso. Ex hoc enim quod per aliquem speramus nobis posse provenire bona, movetur in ipsum sicut in bonum nostrum ; et sic incipimus ipsum amare. Ex hoc autem quod amamus aliquem, non speramus de eo nisi per accidens, inquantum scilicet credimus nos redamari ab ipso ; unde amari ab aliquo facit nos sperare de eo ; sed amor ejus causatur ex spe quam de eo habemus." And *ibid.* pars ii, 2^{dæ}, qu. xxvii, art. 3: " Spes et timor ducunt ad charitatem per modum dispositionis cujusdam."

question satisfactorily without boasting of his own merits; she therefore answers it for him, to prevent vain-glory, telling St. James that no child of God's Church Militant possesses this Hope more than Dante, and that therefore he has been allowed to come up out of Egypt to visit the Heavenly Jerusalem. The first and third questions she leaves Dante to answer for himself.

E quella pia, che guidò le penne *
Delle mie ali a così alto volo,
Alla risposta così mi prevenne:
—"La Chiesa militante alcun figliuolo
Non ha con più speranza, com' è scritto
Nel sol † che raggia tutto nostro stuolo;
Però gli è conceduto che d' Egitto ‡
Venga in Jerusalemme per vedere,

**guidò le penne:* Compare *Par.* xv, 53, 54:—
"mercè di colei
Ch' all' alto volo ti vestì le piume."

†*com' è scritto Nel sol:* Compare *Par.* xxiv, 41, 42:—
"Non t' è occulto, perchè il viso hai quivi,
Dov' ogni cosa dipinta si vede;"
and *Par.* xxvi, 106-108:—
"Perch' io la veggio nel verace speglio
Che fa di sè pareglio all' altre cose,
E nulla face lui di sè pareglio."

‡*che d' Egitto Venga in Jerusalemme:* Egypt in Holy Writ is usually symbolical of life on Earth; Jerusalem of Eternal Life in Heaven. The sentence means that it has been permitted to Dante to come from the world to gaze upon Paradise before having accomplished his appointed time on Earth. Compare *Heb.* xii, 22: "But ye are come unto mount Sion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels." Compare also *Purg.* ii, 46-48, where the souls coming from the world to Purgatory, in the Pilot Angel's bark, are represented as singing the words of *Psalm* cxiv, *When Israel came out of Egypt*:—
"*In exitu Isräel de Ægypto*
Cantavan tutti insieme ad una voce,
Con quanto di quel salmo è poscia scritto."

Anzi che il militar gli sia prescritto.*
Gli altri due punti,† che non per sapere
Son domandati,‡ ma perchè rapporti
Quanto questa virtù t' è in piacere,
A lui lasc' io ; chè non gli saran forti,
Nè di iattanza,§ ed egli a ciò risponda,
E la grazia di Dio ciò gli comporti."—

And that tender one (Beatrice), who directed the feathers of my wings to so lofty a flight, did in reply thus anticipate me: "The Church Militant has no son with more Hope (than has Dante), as it is written in that Sun (*i.e.* God) whose rays illumine all our host; therefore it is granted to him that from Egypt (*i.e.* the world) he should come into Jerusalem (*i.e.* Paradise) to see before that his warfare is yet accomplished. The two remaining points, which are not asked for information, but that he may report (on Earth) how much this virtue is pleasing to thee, I leave to him; as they will not be difficult to him, nor an occasion for boasting, and let him answer this, and may the Grace of God vouchsafe this to Him."

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* *prescritto:* Compare *Job* vii, 1: "Is there not an appointed time to man upon earth? Are not his days also like the days of an hireling?" Compare *Par.* xxi, 103:—

"Sì mi prescrisser le parole sue," etc.;

and *Par.* xxiv, 6:—

"Prima che morte tempo gli prescriba."

† *Gli altri due punti:* The first question was to ask Dante to say what Hope is; the third question, whence it came unto him, as we have already noticed on the preceding page.

‡ *non per sapere son domandati:* Compare *Par.* xvii, 10-12:—

"Non perchè nostra conoscenza cresca
Per tuo parlare, ma perchè t' ausi
A dir la sete, sì che l' uom ti mesca."

§ *Nè di iattanza:* "The answer to these two questions involves no self-praise, as the answer to the other would have done, if it had come from Dante's own lips." (Longfellow.)

Division III.—Dante, left to himself, proceeds to answer the first and third questions, bracing up his wits as a scholar who has well prepared himself. He begins by answering the first question, "What is Hope?" and in his reply translates the words of Peter Lombard (*Liber Sententiarum III*, Distinctio 26, *De Spe, quid sit*): "Spes est certa expectatio futurae beatitudinis, veniens ex Dei gratia, et ex meritis praecedentibus," *i.e.* the hope that the merit of our good deeds, emanating from Divine Grace, will obtain eternal reward in Heaven.*

Come discente † ch' a dottor seconda,‡
Pronto e libente, in quel ch' egli è esperto,
Perchè la sua bontà si disasconda:
—"Speme,"—diss' io,—"è uno attender § certo
Della gloria futura, il qual produce
Grazia divina e precedente merto.||

Like a scholar who, ready and willing, replies to his teacher, as to that in which he is expert, in order that his proficiency may be made manifest: "Hope," said I, "is the assured expectation of glory that is to come, which is the effect of divine grace and preceding merit.

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* See also St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars ii, 2dæ, qu. xvii, art. 1 and 2).

† *Come discente*, et seq.: Compare *Par.* xxiv, 46 et seq., where Dante, when about to reply to St. Peter's interrogations as to his Faith, compares himself to a *baccelliere* in a mediæval school.

‡ *a dottor seconda*: "segondare è rispondere." (Buti.)

§ *attender*: Compare *Rom.* viii, 25: "But if we hope for that we see not, then do we with patience wait for it."

|| *precedente merto*: Compare Peter Lombard (*loc. cit.*):—
"Spem naturâ praeit charitas."

Having thus given an answer to the first of the two questions, Dante next proceeds to reply to the third, namely, "Whence came this Hope to thee?" and says that this glorious virtue came to him from the words of many sacred writers (*molte stelle*), and principally from those of the Psalmist, and those of St. James in his Epistle, and, Scartazzini also thinks, the Fathers of the Church.

Da molte stelle* mi vien questa luce;
Ma quei la distillò† nel mio cor pria,
Che fu sommo cantor del sommo duce.
'Sperino in te' nella sua teodia‡
Dice, 'color che sanno il nome tuo:'
E chi nol sa, s' egli ha la fede mia?
Tu mi stillasti§ con lo stillar suo

**molte stelle:* Compare *Dan.* xii, 3: "They that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever."

†*quei la distillò:* Dante means that David in the Psalms was the Sacred Writer who first (*pria*, l. 71) transfused Hope into his soul. St. James did so afterwards (*poi*, l. 77) in his Epistle. It is believed that Dante says this to give the lie to those who would exclude the Epistle of St. James from the Canonical books.

‡ '*Sperino in te' nella sua teodia Dice:* On this see Dr. Moore, *Studies in Dante*, p. 66: "The point to explain here is the curious word *teodia*, applied to the *Psalms* of David; for the passage quoted being undoubtedly 'Sperent in te qui noverunt nomen tuum' (*Ps.* ix, 11), it settles the question that this is the application of the word. The Commentators, not recognizing the quotation, or being puzzled by the singular word *teodia*, imagined it to refer either to the Epistle of St. James (to whom Dante is speaking), or to God (who is referred to in the word *te*). The words '*sua* teodia' have consequently been commonly altered to '*tua* teodia.' Hence follow some very curious vagaries of interpretation." *Teodia* = song of God.

§ *mi stillasti*, et seq.: It is noticeable that there are not any passages in the Epistle of St. James that speak directly of Hope, though there are not wanting comforting words, calcu-

Nell' epistola poi, sì ch' io son pieno,
Ed in altrui vostra pioggia repluo."—

From many a star doth this light beam upon me; but he first instilled it into my heart who was the supreme singer of the Supreme Leader. 'Let those hope in thee,' says he in his lofty Psalmody, 'who know Thy name:' and who knows it not if he has my Faith? Thou didst afterwards bedew me with his (David's) bedewing in thine Epistle (*i.e.* the *Epistle* of St. James confirmed to Dante the Hope inspired into him in the *Psalms* of David), so that I am brimming over with it, and upon others I shed again your rain."

The spirit of St. James, by vivid flashes of light within his radiant sphere, displays his gladness at Dante's replies, which were a proof of the good fruit produced by his Epistle.

Mentr' io diceva, dentro al vivo seno
Di quello incendio * tremolava un lampo
Subito e spesso,† a guisa di baleno.

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lated to inspire believers with it, *e.g.* i, 12; ii, 5; iv, 8; and especially v, 7. "*Tu mi stillasti*, bagnasti la mente con la tua epistola, accrescendo la virtù appresa per la parola di David, sicch' io ne sono pieno di questa virtù, e infondola [*repluo*] nelli altri." (*Ottimo.*)

* *incendio:* Compare *Par.* xix, 100, 101, where the blessed spirits are so styled:—

"Poi si quetaron quei lucenti incendi
Dello Spirito Santo."

† *spesso:* I do not take this here to mean "dense, thick," a signification it undoubtedly sometimes has, but rather "frequent, repeated," giving to *lampo* a plural sense, as does *qualche; e.g. qualche soldo*, "a few pence," is the same as *alcuni soldi.* This seems to be Casini's view: "*dentro*, etc.: per entro alla fiamma di Jacopo apparivano improvisi e frequenti guizzi; segno esteriore della gioia provata da quel santo spirito per le risposte di Dante."

While I was speaking, within the living bosom of that fire there gleamed a flash of light, sudden and reiterated, after the fashion of lightning.

St. James continues his examination by asking Dante, "What promise does thy Hope hold out to thee?"

Indi spirò: *—"L' amore ond' io avvampo †
Ancor ‡ vêr la virtù, che mi seguette
Infin la palma ed all' uscir del campo,
Vuol ch' io respiri § a te, che ti dilette
Di lei; ed emmi || a grato che tu diche ¶
Quello che la speranza ti promette."—

Then it breathed forth: "The love with which I still burn for the virtue (Hope), which followed me

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* *spirò*: We find *spirare* used in the sense of *parlare*, *dire* in several passages; *e.g. Par.* iv, 18; xxiv, 54:—

"In quella luce onde spirava questo;"

and *ibid.* 82:—

"Così spirò da quell' amore acceso."

See also an even closer parallel in *Par.* xxvi, 103: "Indi spirò."

† *avvampo*: Compare *Purg.* viii, 82-84:—

"Così dicea, segnato della stampa
Nel suo aspetto di quel dritto zelo,
Che misuratamente in core avvampa."

‡ *Ancor*: There is a deep meaning in this word. The blessed spirits in Paradise no longer require Faith, for they need not to *believe* when they already *see*; neither have they Hope, for they already are in possession of that for which in life they hoped for. But love endures to all eternity, so that St. James says he *still* (*ancor*) burns with it. Compare 1 *Cor.* xiii, 8: "Charity never faileth."

§ *vuol ch' io respiri*: The word *spirò* has just been used to express "speaking." Now *Re-spirare* is used to signify "speaking again," "*riparlare*."

|| *emmi* = *mi è*.

¶ *diche*: Compare *Inf.* xxv, 6:—

"Come dicesse: 'Io non vo' che più diche.'"

Of the verb *dire*, and all its archaic forms, Nannucci (*Anal. Crit.* pp. 567-583) treats at great length, and speaks of *diche* or *dichi* for *dica* at p. 577. Also *ibid.* p. 284 et seq.

even to the palm (of martyrdom) and to my issuing from the battlefield (*i.e.* when my warfare was accomplished at my death), (that love, I say) wills that I speak again to thee, who takest delight in it (Hope); and it pleases me that thou tell what it is that Hope promises thee."

Dante replies: "It gives me the promise of perfect bliss both of mind and body." We shall see in the next Division that the whole choir of Saints, on hearing this, chant the Hymn of Hope.

Ed io:—"Le nuove e le scritture antiche
Pongono il segno, ed esso lo mi addita.
Dell' anime che Dio s' ha fatte amiche * 90
Dice Isaia, che ciascuna vestita
Nella sua terra fia di doppia vesta;
E la sua terra è questa dolce vita.
E il tuo fratello † assai vie più digesta,

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* *Dell' anime che Dio s' ha fatte amiche:* Compare *Inf.* v, 91, 92:—

"Se fosse amico il re dell' universo,
Noi pregheremmo lui della tua pace."

See also Epistle of *St. James* ii, 23: "And he was called the Friend of God." Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, pp. 66, 67) refers to the great variation there is among the authorities as to the punctuation and interpretation of the context in ll. 91-93, and he specially refers to its being "a sort of 'conflate' quotation of two verses not connected in the original. In *Isaiah* lxi, 7, we read: 'propter hoc in terra sua duplicia possidebunt, laetitia sempiterna erit eis;' and in verse 10, 'induit me vestimentis salutis, et indumento justitiae circumdedit me.'"

† *E il tuo fratello*, et seq.; Dante means St. James's brother, St. John, who still more distinctly makes manifest this revelation where (in *Rev.* vii, 9-14) he thus treats of the white robes: "After this I beheld, and, lo, a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, stood before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands; . . . And one of the elders answered, saying unto me, What are these which are arrayed in white robes? and whence came they? . . . These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb."

Là dove tratta delle bianche stole, 95
Questa rivelazion ci manifesta."—

And I: "The New and the Old Scriptures set up the mark (*i.e.* define the object), and that (mark) points it out to me (*i.e.* indicates that heavenly bliss which Hope promises me). Of the souls whom God hath made his friends, Isaiah saith, that every one shall in his own land be enrobed in a two-fold vesture; and his own land is this life of blessedness. And very much more distinctly does thy brother (St. John, in the Apocalypse) make manifest this revelation to us, in that passage where he treats of the white robes."

Division IV.*—The Saints do not interrupt Dante, but commence their chant at the conclusion of his words. St. John then comes forward to examine Dante concerning Charity, and so bright does he appear, that Dante exclaims that, were there in the constellation of Cancer one star as brilliant, then the winter would have a whole month of continuous light, and from the middle of December to the middle of January there would be perpetual daylight.

E prima,† appresso al fin d' este parole,
Sperent in te ‡ di sopra noi s' udì,
A che risposer tutte le carole;
Poscia tra esse un lume si schiarì, 100

*I have preferred to make the division begin here, instead of following Benvenuto, who makes it three lines lower down.

†*E prima*, et seq.: This *terzina* must be taken as in contrast to the one following. When Dante has finished speaking, there is first heard (*prima s' udì*) the chanting of the blessed spirits; and after that (*poscia*) the Effulgence of St. John came forward.

‡*Sperent in te:* In l. 73, Dante has quoted this verse in Italian, but the Saints chant it in the language of the Church, which is also supposed to be that of Paradise. We are not told whose voice (or voices) it was that Dante heard up above him on high. Some think it was that of the Psalmist.

Sì che, se il Cancro* avesse un tal cristallo,†
L'inverno avrebbe un mese d'un sol dì.

And at first, after the conclusion of these words, *Sperent in te* was heard above us, and to this all the choirs responded. Then afterwards among them there beamed forth a light, so brilliant, that if Cancer had (but) one such gem, winter would have one month of one sole day.

The approach of St. John to the other two Apostles is likened to the delight of a maiden joining in an innocent dance at a bridal festival. Casini says that among all the numerous similes of dancing used

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* *Cancro:* "The sun being in Capricorn for a month at the Winter Solstice, the opposite sign Cancer is then always above the horizon when the sun is below it; and if there was in Cancer, as it were, a second sun, there would be a whole month of daylight." (Pollock.) "During the middle month of winter, when the sun is in Capricorn, Cancer, being then exactly opposite the sun, is up throughout the night, which, in the case Dante supposes, would thus be turned into day, so that daylight would be continuous throughout the month. Dante's meaning is that the spirit of St. John shone with a brilliancy equal to that of the sun." (Paget Toynbee, *A Dictionary of Proper Names* and *Notable Matters in the Works of Dante*, Oxford, 1898.) [It is a matter of great regret to me that only at this late stage of my work (19th Nov. 1898), am I able for the first time to avail myself of Dr. Paget Toynbee's book. The gratitude of all readers of Dante, whether advanced students or beginners, is alike due to him.]

† *cristallo:* Compare *Par.* xxi, 25:—

"Dentro al cristallo che il vocabol porta . . ."

and *Par.* xxix, 25, 26:—

"E come in vetro, in ambra od in cristallo
Raggio risplende . . ."

Compare also *Matt.* xiii, 43: "Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father." Venturi (sim. 41) says that *cristallo* must be taken to be "corpo lucido," *lucido* probably meaning in its regular sense "a bright, light-giving surface," *not* "transparent" or "translucent." Compare *traluce* in *Par.* xxi, 28; in *Purg.* xv, 69; and *corpo lucido* in *Conv.* iii, 7, ll. 118, 119.

by Dante, there is perhaps none in which the combination of joyousness and modesty is made so evident as in this one, beautiful in its simplicity. St. John is represented joining St. Peter and St. James in their song and in their dance.

E come surge e va ed entra in ballo
Vergine lieta, sol per fare onore
Alla novizia,* e non per alcun fallo; †
Così vid' io lo schiarato splendore
Venire ai due, che si volgeano a rota,
Qual conveniasi al loro ardente amore.
Misesi lì nel canto e nella nota;
E la mia Donna in lor tenne l' aspetto,
Pur come sposa tacita ed immota. ‡

And as a gladsome maiden arises, and goes, and enters into the dance, only to do honour to the bride, and not from any faulty motive, so saw I the brightened splendour (of St. John) come to the two (St. Peter and St. James), who were circling in a wheel, (as rapidly) as was befitting their ardent love. There he entered into their measure and their song; and my Lady kept her look fixed on them, even as a bride silent and motionless.

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* *novizia:* The *Gran Dizionario* says this word, rarely used, is equivalent to the Latin *nova nupta.* It occurs in Forteguerri, *Il Ricciardetto,* vi, 52:—

"Ma pur con facce tutte da novizie."

† *non per alcun fallo:* "non amore luxuriae vel vano; et notanter hoc dixit, quia aliter comparatio non fuisset propria, quae tamen est propriissima. Comparat enim Johannem Virgini, qui et ipse virgo fuit, unde Dominus noster Jesus matrem suam Virginem Virgini commendavit, idest, Mariam Johanni, sicut statim dicetur; et sicut virgo formosa laete et honeste intrat tripudium, ita anima luminosa Evangelistae intravit circulationem apostolorum." (Benvenuto.)

‡ *sposa tacita ed immota:* Compare *Purg.* xxix, 58-60:—

"Indi rendei l' aspetto all' alte cose,
Che si moveano incontro a noi sì tardi
Che fôran vinte da novelle spose."

Beatrice, representative of Divine Theology, now fixes her eyes upon the three Theological Virtues, and then tells Dante that the newcomer is St. John, mentioning his two great distinctions, having lain upon our Lord's breast, and having been elected by Him when on the Cross, to take charge of our Lord's Mother.

— "Questi è colui che giacque sopra il petto *
Del nostro Pellicano,† e questi fue

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* *colui che giacque sopra il petto*, etc. : Compare *John* xiii, 23 ; "Now there was leaning on Jesus' bosom one of His disciples, whom Jesus loved."

† *nostro Pellicano ;* I extract the following from Dr. Toynbee's *Dante Dictionary*, who says that the pelican, according to the popular belief, nourished its young with its own blood, and hence in the Middle Ages was a favourite symbol of parental love, and especially of Christ. After citing several illustrations of the allegory, Dr. Toynbee quotes the following from Brunetto Latini, *Trésor*, i, 168 : "Pellicans est uns oisiaus en Egypte, de cui li ancien dient que li faon fierent des eles lor pere et lor mere emmi le visaige, por quoi il s' en corrocent en tel maniere que il les ocient. Et quant la mere les voit tuez, ele fait grandisme duel, et plore. iii. jors, tant que à la fin ele navre ses costés à son bec, et fait le sanc espendre sor ses filz, tant que par l' achoison dou sanc resordent et torment en vie ; mais aucune gent dient que il naissent pasmés aussi comme sanz vie, et si pairon les garissent de lor sanc. Mais comment que il soit, sainte Eglise le tesmoigne bien, là où Nostres Sires dit : Je sui venuz de pellican par semblance." In Sylvester's "Du Bartas" (says Longfellow), *Fifth Day of the Week*, the pelican is referred to as :—

"A type of Christ, who sin-thralled man to free
Became a captive, on the shameful tree,
Self-guiltless shed His blood."

And in the

Armonye of Byrdes.

"Then sayd the pellycane,
Whan my byrdes be slayne,
With my bloude I them revyve ;
Scrypture doth record
The same dyd our Lord
And rose from deth to lyve."

D' in sulla croce al grande offizio eletto."*—
La Donna mia così; nè però piùe 115
Mosser la vista sua di stare attenta
Poscia che prima le parole sue.

"This is he who lay upon the breast of our Pelican (*i.e.* Christ), and this one was (by our Lord) from the Cross elected to the great office (of being Mary's son and guardian)." Thus my Lady; but yet none the more did her words move her sight from her state of attention after (her speech) than before.

Dante recollecting our Lord's words about St. John: "If I will that he tarry until I come, what is that to thee?" and well aware, moreover, of the mediæval belief which interpreted these words of our Lord in the sense that St. John would not die, is curious to know for certain whether St. John is not present in body as well as in spirit. He therefore fixes his eyes so intently on the Effulgence before him, that he is completely dazzled. St. John dissuades him from seeking up in Heaven what is but dust down on Earth, and tells him that Christ and Mary alone are in Heaven as well in body as in spirit, and enjoins him to make this fact known when he returns to the World.

See Butler's note on the passage: "In the well-known Eucharistic hymn of St. Thomas, *Adoro te devote*, we find the expression, 'Pie Pelicane, Jesu Domine.'"

* *eletto:* See *John* xix, 25-27: "Now there stood by the cross of Jesus His mother, and His mother's sister, Mary the wife of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalene. When Jesus therefore saw His mother, and the disciple standing by, whom He loved, He said unto His mother, Woman, behold thy Son! Then saith He to the disciple, Behold thy mother! And from that hour that disciple took her unto his own home."

Quale è colui * ch' adocchia, e s' argomenta
Di vedere eclissar lo sole un poco,
Che per veder non vedente diventa;
Tal mi fec' io a quell' ultimo foco,
Mentrechè detto fu:—"Perchè t' abbagli
Per veder cosa che qui non ha loco?
In terra è terra il mio corpo,† e saragli
Tanto con gli altri che il numero nostro
Con l' eterno proposito s' agguagli.
Con le due stole nel beato chiostro
Son le due luci sole che saliro;
E questo apporterai nel mondo vostro."—

As is he who strains his eyes, and endeavours to see

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* *Quale è colui*, et seq.: "The spirit of St. John in dazzling splendour joins the other two apostolic examiners, and on learning from Beatrice who it is, Dante, in his anxiety to see his glorified body (if the legend of his assumption were true), gazes so fixedly into this last splendid light as to be blinded. The Apostle bids him repeat on earth the falsity of the belief that he had not died as other men, for Christ and Mary alone have body and soul already united in glory. The legend ran that St. John, like Mary, had been assumed into Heaven after death, his tomb having been found full of manna, as the Blessed Virgin's of lilies." (Gardner, *op. cit.* pp. 181, 182.)

† *In terra è terra il mio corpo:* "After all, what he sees is not the glory of the body that shall be, but only that of the provisional tabernacle of the soul in its intermediate state. The body waits in its grave for the resurrection day, and that will not come till God has 'accomplished the number of His elect.' The dogma employed in the words just used which I have purposely quoted from the Burial Service of the Prayer Book, was received as an axiom by Augustine (*De Corrept.* et *Grat.* c. 13), and by Aquinas (i, 23, 7), and was connected with the belief that the elect were exactly to fill up the gap caused by the fall of the rebel angels, the number of which, though not known to us (Canto xxix, 134 note), is known to God." (Plumptre.) Dante expressly says this about the elect in *Conv.* ii, 6, l. 98, though Dr. Moore tells me that he cannot conceive where Dante obtained his curious guess "forse in numero della decima parte." Compare too *Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. lxiii, art. 9.

the Sun partially eclipsed, and who from (much) seeing becomes unable to see (at all); so did I become before that latest fire, while this was uttered (by St. John): "Wherefore dazzlest thou thyself to see a thing which has no place here? On earth my body is earth, and there will it be with all the rest, until our number is made equal with the Eternal decree (*i.e.* until the predestined number of the Elect is completed). With the two garments (*i.e.* with both soul and body) within the Blessed Cloister (*i.e.* Heaven) are those two lights alone which ascended (namely, Christ and Mary); and this thou shalt report in your world (below)."

The conclusion of St. John's speech is marked by a cessation of the dancing and singing of himself and the other two Apostles, so abrupt, that Dante likens it to the suddenness with which all the rowers in a galley cease rowing at the shrill whistle of the boatswain's pipe.

A questa voce l' infiammato giro
Si quïetò con esso il dolce mischio,*
Che si facea del suon del trino spiro,

**con esso il dolce mischio* is precisely the same as *col dolce mischio.* See *Gran Dizionario,* s. v. *Esso,* § 8: "Congiungesi talora colla preposizione *Con,* e sta avverbialmente, e non ha riguardo nè a genere, nè a numero; e vale *Insieme,* e *In un medesimo* tempo." Compare G. Villani, *lib.* ix, cap. 329: "La disavventura era tanta de' Fiorentini, e *con esso la discordia,* che non l' ardirono a soccorrere." And Boccaccio, *Decam.* Giorn. vii, Proem.: "Cominciarono a cantare, e la valle insieme *con esso loro.*" Compare also *Purg.* iv, 26, 27:—

"Montasi su Bismantova in cacume
Con esso i piè."

Sì come,* per cessar † fatica o rischio,
Li remi pria nell' acqua ripercossi
Tutti si posan al sonar d' un fischio. 135

At this utterance the effulgent dance (*lit.* flaming circle) was stilled, together with the sweet mingling (of dance and of song) which was made by the sound of the trinal breath (*i.e.* the voices of the three Apostles), just as when, to avoid fatigue or danger, the oars that erewhile were dashed into the water, are all brought to rest at the sound of a whistle.

Dante concludes by relating how disconcerted he felt, when, on turning round, he found himself unable

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* *Sì come . . . Li remi . . . si posan al sonar d' un fischio:* Scartazzini points out that this striking simile is borrowed from Statius in two passages. See *Theb.* iv, 805-807:—

"Sic Ambracii per litora ponti
Nauticus in remis juvenum monstrante magistro
Fit sonus;"

and *ibid.* vi, 799-801:—

"Sic ubi longa vagos lassarunt aequora nautas,
Et signo de puppe dato posuere parumper
Brachia."

Compare also Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* xviii, st. 143; and *Pulci, Morgante Maggiore,* xx, st. 35:—

"E non s' osserva del nocchier più il fischio,
Come avvien sempre in un estremo rischio."

† *cessar:* Used here in the active sense of "to avoid," as in *Inf.* xvii, 33:—

"Per ben cessar la rena e la fiammella."

In *Inf.* xix, 51, *cessare* is again used actively to signify "to retard, to delay." Dante says he was standing above the hot furnace in which was being tormented one of the simoniacal popes, head downwards, and he likens himself to a friar confessing an assassin buried head downwards, who "recalls him (the monk) because he (thereby) delays his death:"—

"Richiama lui, per che la morte cessa."

I have explained, in *Readings on the Inferno,* the error of translating *perchè la morte cessa* as "in order that death may be delayed," because *per che* in the sense of "in order that" governs the subjunctive, and *cessa* would then have to be *cessi.*

to see Beatrice, though she was close beside him, so completely had the burning glory of the three Saints deprived him of sight.

Ahi quanto nella mente mi commossi,
Quando mi volsi per veder Beatrice,
Per non poter vedere,* ben ch' io fossi
Presso di lei, e nel mondo felice! 139

Ah! how much was I disturbed in my mind, when I turned me round to look on Beatrice, at not being able to see her, although I was near her, and (yet) in the Land of Bliss!

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* *Per non poter vedere:* "In St. John, in his character of *Theologus* ('St. John the Divine' in A.V.), Dante finds a splendour which outshines even that of Beatrice as representing Theology. That which was glorious loses its glory in the presence of the glory that excelleth (2 *Cor.* iii, 10)." (Plumptre.) We see at the beginning of the next Canto (xxvi, 5), that Dante still remained without his full powers of vision.

END OF CANTO XXV.

CANTO XXVI.

SPHERE OF THE FIXED STARS (CONTINUED)—ST. JOHN EXAMINES DANTE ON CHRISTIAN LOVE—ADAM—THE FIRST SIN—THE FIRST TIME—THE FIRST LANGUAGE—THE FIRST ABODE.

AT the close of the last Canto, St. John, in his first address to Dante, showed the fallacy of the misconception handed down by tradition that he had never died, but that his living body was in Heaven. Dante would seem to have had some doubts on this point.

Benvenuto divides this Canto into four parts.

In the First Division, from ver. 1 to ver. 45, Dante is examined by St. John on Love or Charity.

In the Second Division, from ver. 46 to ver. 69,* St. John commends Dante's reply and puts another question to him.

In the Third Division, from ver. 70 to ver. 114, Dante's sight being restored, he sees the spirit of Adam, from whom he asks for the solution of certain doubts that have perplexed him.

In the Fourth Division, from ver. 115 to ver. 142, Adam answers Dante's questions, beginning with the

* I have not followed Benvenuto in his division here, as his breaking off after a semicolon at l. 78 seems awkward.

third, then answers the first, then the fourth, and lastly the second.

Division I.—The Canto opens by St. John addressing himself to Dante, and expressing some sympathy for the bewilderment which Dante naturally feels after being so completely dazzled by St. John's excessive radiance, as it has, for the time, deprived him of all sight. Meanwhile the Apostle converses with Dante as one does with a blind man.

Mentr' io dubbiava * per lo viso spento,
Della fulgida fiamma che lo spense
Uscì un spiro che mi fece attento,
Dicendo :—" Intanto che tu ti risense †

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* *dubbiava :* " Non d' incertezza, ma di timore." (Casini.) Dante's fear was lest his temporary loss of sight might be a permanent one. See the *Gran Dizionario*, s. v. *dubbiare*, § 2: " Nel senso *affermativo di temere* o *dottare*," and the present passage is quoted as an instance of that signification of *dubbiare.* Compare *Purg.* xx, 135 :—

" Non dubbiar, mentr' io ti guido."

† *tu ti risense Della vista : Risensarsi* means to regain one of the senses which one has lost. Casini asks why Dante should have been blinded by gazing at the radiance of St. John. Certainly not, he thinks, because it was more brilliant than that of the other Saints, but because Dante had persistently gazed at it longer, to see if it were body as well as spirit. See *Par.* xxv, 118-123 :—

" Quale è colui ch' adocchia, e s' argomenta
Di veder eclissar lo sole un poco,
Che per veder non vedente diventa ;
Tal mi fec' io a quell' ultimo foco,
Mentrechè detto fu : 'Perchè t' abbagli
Per veder cosa che qui non ha loco ? ' "

Benvenuto disagrees with many Commentators who have attempted to see mysterious and allegorical meanings for this passage, and adds : " Sed certe ego credo quod autor non habuit primum nec secundum intellectum, sed simpliciter respectum ad id quod dixerat supra, scilicet, quod volens videre corpus Johannis gravatus est in visu prae nimio fulgore."

Della vista che hai in me consunta,
Ben è che ragionando la compense.*
Comincia dunque, e di' ove s' appunta †
L' anima tua, e fa ragion ‡ che sia
La vista in te smarrita e non defunta;
Perchè la Donna che per questa dia §
Regïon ti conduce, ha nello sguardo
La virtù ch' ebbe la man d' Anania." ||—

While I remained in perplexity by reason of my loss of sight, out of the flaming radiance that had extinguished it there issued forth a voice (*lit.* breath) which arrested my attention saying: "While thou art recovering thy sense of sight which thou hast exhausted ¶ on me, it is well that thou make up for

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* *ragionando la compense:* Compare *Inf.* xi, 13-15:—
"Così il Maestro; ed io: 'Alcun compenso,'
Dissi lui, 'trova, che il tempo non passi
Perduto;' ed egli: 'Vedi che a ciò penso.'"

† *s' appunta:* Compare *Purg.* xv, 49, 50:—
"Perchè s' appuntan li vostri disiri
Dove per compagnia parte si scema."
Compare also *Par.* vi, 28, 29:—
"Or qui alla question prima s' appunta
La mia risposta."
Vellutello paraphrases this: "Dove tende ed aspira l' anima tua, come a suo ultimo fine?" Casini observes that *appuntarsi*, in the sense in which it is used here, always contains the idea of some final object, or *punto*, on which is concentrated the tendency of the mind.

‡ *fa ragion:* Compare *Inf.* xxx, 145:—
"E fa ragion ch' io ti sia sempre allato."

§ *per questa dia Regïon:* Compare *Par.* xiv, 34, 35:—
"Ed io udi' nella luce più dia
Del minor cerchio una voce modesta."

|| *Anania:* See *Acts* ix, 17: "And Ananias went his way, and entered into the house; and putting his hands on him said, Brother Saul, the Lord, even Jesus, that appeared unto thee in the way as thou camest, hath sent me, that thou mightest receive thy sight, and be filled with the Holy Ghost."

¶ On Dante's loss of sight, Mr. Gardner (p. 182) says: "It is doubtful as to the allegorical significance of this temporary blindness. Benvenuto thinks that there is no meaning intended

it by converse. Begin then, and say at what object does thy soul aim, and rest assured that the (sense of) sight in thee is (only) overpowered and not dead; inasmuch as the Lady (Beatrice) who is guiding thee through this blest region, has in her glance the same potency as had the hand of Ananias."

This means that, as Ananias had power given him from Heaven to restore sight to St. Paul, who had been blinded by the great light that shone from Heaven, so Beatrice has in her eyes the same virtue, which will soon restore sight to Dante.

Replying to St. John, Dante expresses his perfect resignation to await the moment when Beatrice will re-open his eyes. He adds that God is the beginning and end of his affection, whether it be little or great.

Io dissi:—"Al suo piacere e tosto e tardo
Vegna rimedio * agli occhi, che fûr porte,

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beyond the literal one, but mentions that many strive to explain the passage allegorically, as that the poet was troubled by some doubt, or that, in endeavouring to penetrate more deeply into the mysterious revelations of this Eagle of Christ, his intellectual sight was dazzled, and it needed the teaching of theology to restore him from the blindness of error. Others suppose that he cannot see Beatrice because the glorious depths of Charity surpass and eclipse the teachings of theology; or that the meaning is that the grace of God sometimes deprives a man for a time of spiritual sight, to then give it him again in fuller measure. It may perhaps be intended as a warning against independent and unauthorised interpretation of the Apocalypse, with a possible reference to some of the errors of the later followers of Joachim; but if, as is more probable, it is an allegory of a period of gloom and want of spiritual consolation, there would be a most beautiful fitness in the utter trustfulness of Dante's discourse on the Divine Love as long as the blindness lasts."

* *tosto e tardo Vegna rimedio:* Compare *Conv.* iii, 2, ll. 18-23: "*Amore,* . . . non è altro che unimento spirituale dell' anima e della cosa amata: nel quale unimento di propria sua natura l' anima corre tosto o tardi, secondochè è libera o impedita."

Quand' ella entrò col foco * ond' io sempr' ardo. 15
Lo ben † che fa contenta questa corte,
Alfa ed O ‡ è di quanta scrittura
Mi legge amore, o lievemente o forte." §—

I said: "According to her pleasure, whether soon or late, let healing come to the eyes which were portals,

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* *foco ond' io sempr' ardo:* Compare *Purg.* xxx, 48:—
"Conosco i segni dell' antica fiamma."

† *Lo ben*, et seq.: On this intensely difficult passage Scartazzini (whose interpretation meets with the warm approval of Casini), after quoting all the Commentators' opinions, gives his own: "First of all it seems evident that this *terzina* contains the answer to the question, 'What is it that thou lovest?' And no less evidently the answer implied is: 'God is the beginning and end of my Love.' Dante speaks of a *scrittura* che *Amore mi legge. Scrittura* reminds one of 'libro della mia memoria' in the first line of the *Vita Nuova*, and of *Par.* xxiii, 54:—
'Del libro che il preterito rassegna.'
L' Amore che legge recalls *Purg.* ii, 112:—
'Amor che nella mente mi ragiona;'
and *Purg.* xxiv, 52-54:—
'. . . Io mi son un che, quando
Amor mi spira, noto, ed a quel modo
Che ditta dentro, vo significando.'
In those passages 'Amore *ragiona* nella mente e *ditta* [*i.e.* detta] dentro;' in the passage we are now discussing we see that Love 'legge nell' interna *scrittura*, trattandosi di ciò che è già scritto nel libro dell' interno,' namely, of the Love which Dante possesses." Therefore Scartazzini interprets *Quanta scrittura mi legge Amore:* "Everything in me that is attributable to Love, or, All my Love, and we must understand this Love as a *scrittura* or a chapter in one's *innermost volume*, so that [Dante would practically say] God is the object of all my Love."

‡ *Alfa ed O:* In the Epistle to Can Grande della Scala (Ep. x, § 33, ll. 623-626), Dante uses the same expression: "Invento principio, seu primo, videlicet Deo, nihil est quod ulterius quaeratur, quum sit A et O, idest principium et finis, ut visio Johannis designat." This refers to *Rev.* i, 8: "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty."

§ *lievemente o forte:* Dante's Love of all kinds is devoted to God. He loves Him with all his heart, with all his mind, and with all his strength.

when she entered in with the fire wherewith I ever burn. The Good which renders this court content is the Alpha and Omega of every teaching, whether gentle or forcible, that Love reveals to me."

St. John does not appear to be altogether satisfied with this reply, and questions Dante further, making his questions pass, as he says, through a finer sieve, so as to sift the truth out more closely. The first truth he seeks to know from Dante is, What was it that first led him to aim at the attainment of Divine Love. Dante replies that two things, namely, philosophy and revealed authority, have awakened in him the Love of God; and he adds that the good that is learned from philosophers as well as from God enkindles Love, and the greater that goodness is, the more does the Love increase.

Quella medesma voce, che paura *
Tolta m' avea del subito abbarbaglio,† 20
Di ragionare ancor mi mise in cura;

**paura:* Dr. Moore tells me that *paura* here seems to gloss *dubbiava*, in l. 1, and to support my interpretation of that line.

†*abbarbaglio:* A substantive derived from *abbarbagliare*, of which verb the *Gran Dizionario* says that, though the same as *abbagliare* [to dazzle], "it has rather a more forcible signification, either of the cause or of the effect; and that it should be noted that the sound '*bar*' in many words adds greater intensity. '*Bar*' probably is derived from the root '*ar*,' which in many other languages denotes loftiness and power." Compare Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* xxii, st. 86:—

"Lo scudo non pur lor gli occhi abbarbaglia,
Ma fa che ogni altro senso attonito erra."

In Donkin's *Etymological Dictionary of the Romance Languages*, s. v. *bagliore*, I find: "A sudden and blinding splendour, a dazzling, *abbagliare* to dazzle, *abbaglio abbagliore*, illusion, error, also *sbaglio*, *sbagliare*, *barbaglio abbarbagliare*, where the *bar* is the same as that in *barlume*. Menage derives it from *balluca*, gold-sand, so of anything glimmering and dazzling, but this word was scarcely known in Italian; perhaps it is of the

E disse:—" Certo a più angusto vaglio *
Ti conviene schiarar; dicer convienti
Chi drizzò l' arco tuo a tal bersaglio." †—
Ed io:—" Per filosofici argomenti,‡ 25

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same origin as the French *berlue* (*gold-sand*), so for *bargliare* = *bar lucolare* (*cf. diluculum, ante-luculus*); in *barbagliare* there is a reduplication. The Genoese *abbarlugà* has the same meaning, and comes nearer the original form."

**a più angusto vaglio:* Casini observes that the generally accepted interpretation is: "Now must thou manifest thy thoughts with greater precision, and that from thy mind thy concepts may issue more minutely defined, in the same way that from the finest sieve the purest flour is extracted." But Casini thinks we should not too summarily reject Buti's interpretation, which some other Commentators have adopted, namely, "thou must pass through a closer and more severe examination."

†*bersaglio:* "*Berzaglio* si è quel luogo dove si esercitan quelli che imparano a balestrare." (Lana.) "*Berzaglio* nome è viniziano; luogo è dove si pruovano a saettare gli uomini." (*Ottimo.*) In one of the sermons (*Pred.* xix) of the Jesuit Padre Segneri (circa 1670) the following words occur: "Ma sebbene la parola sia assomigliata a saetta, il far della lingua un arco e il proporle un bersaglio, non so se convenga."

‡*filosofici argomenti:* "Per argomenti, che fanno li Filosofi che diceno che ogni omo desidera lo sommo bene: imperò che lo bene è quello che ogni cosa desidera; e conviene che sia sommo, altramente seguiterebbe che ne fusse uno altro che si potesse desiderare; e così, se quel non fusse sommo, anco converrebbe che ne fusso uno altro che si potesse desiderare, e così sarebbe processo infinito che essere non si può. E questo così fatto bene è universale bene, tutti li beni continente dentro da sè, e questo non può essere altro che Iddio, adunqua l' argomento filosofico dirizza l' amore dell' omo in Dio." (Buti.) Dante has seen demonstrated by Philosophy that every created thing has an inclination to good. Compare *Purg.* xvi, 85-90:—

" Esce di mano a Lui, che la vagheggia
Prima che sia, a guisa di fanciulla,
Che piangendo e ridendo pargoleggia,
L' anima semplicetta, che sa nulla,
Salvo che, mossa da lieto fattore,
Volentier torna a ciò che la trastulla."

In *De Mon.* ii, 1, ll. 60-63, he speaks of the ray of God's authority: "Veritas autem quaestionis patere potest non solum lumine rationis humanae, sed etiam radio divinae auctoritatis."

E per autorità che quinci scende,
Cotale amor convien che in me s' imprenti;
Chè il bene,* in quanto ben, come s' intende,
Così accende amore, e tanto maggio †
Quanto più di bontate in sè comprende. 30

That self-same voice, which had taken away from me the fear of (*i.e.* caused by) the sudden dazzling (by promising me recovery of sight), turned my care to further converse; and said: "Thou must assuredly sift this matter in a finer sieve; thou must declare who directed thy bow to such a target (*i.e.* who taught thee to love God)." And I: "By philosophic arguments, and by authority, which descends from here (meaning that revelation proceeds from Heaven), such Love must needs be impressed upon me; for good, inasmuch as (it is) good, as soon as it is apprehended (by the intellect), straightway enkindles Love (for itself), and so much the greater as more of goodness it contains in itself.

The six lines that follow are well summed up by Mr. Haselfoot: "Inasmuch as the more of good there is in anything the more it kindles love, God being the chief Good, must be the highest object of love."

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* *Chè il bene*, et seq.: Scartazzini (supported by Casini) says that this passage represents the philosophic argument, but may be reduced to the four following points:—

(1) Good, in so far as it is understood and learnt of itself, enkindles Love.
(2) This Love is so much the greater in proportion as is more perfect the Good that has been understood and learnt.
(3) God is the Supreme Good, and all other forms of Good are but so many rays, as it were, of Him.
(4) Therefore, it is needful that whoever recognises God as the Supreme Good must love Him above everything else.

† *maggio* for *maggiore* is often used by Dante and his contemporaries. The street at Florence that runs from Ponte Santa Trinita to the Palazzo Pitti is called Via Maggio (*i.e. Maggiore*).

Dunque all' essenza,* ov' è tanto avvantaggio
Che ciascun ben che fuor di lei si trova
Altro non è ch' un lume di suo raggio,
Più che in altra convien che si mova
La mente, amando, di ciascun che cerne
Lo vero in che si fonda questa prova.

Therefore to that Essence,—in which there is such supreme excellence, that every good which is outside of it is but a light (emanating) from his rays —more than to any other must incline in love the mind of everyone who discerns the truth on which this evidence is based.

"This truth, that God is the Supreme Good, even philosophy shows, as by proofs physical and metaphysical, such as Dante has already cited, but still more emphatically do revelation and authority: the voice of God Himself to Moses, and the testimony of St. John, the Eagle of Christ. Therefore both human intellect and revealed authority lead man to love God, for His own sake, and above all things." (Gardner.)

Tal vero allo intelletto mio sterne †

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* *Dunque all' essenza*, etc.: Compare with this *Par.* xiii, 52-54:—

"Ciò che non more, e ciò che può morire,
Non è se non splendor di quella idea
Che partorisce, amando, il nostro Sire."

Which means that every creature, whether incorruptible or corruptible, is but a ray (as *un lume di suo raggio*) of that idea which our Lord and Father brings into being, loving as He does that others shall have their share in His infinite goodness.

† *sterne*: The primary meaning of *sternere* is to spread over the ground, to level; hence it comes figuratively to have the signification of "to explain," "to make clear." Compare *Par.* xi, 22-24:—

"Tu dubbi, ed hai voler che si ricerna
In sì aperta e in sì distesa lingua
Lo dicer mio, ch' al suo sentir si sterna."

Colui * che mi dimostra il primo amore
Di tutte le sustanzie sempiterne.†
Sternel la voce del verace autore,
Che dice a Moisè, di sè parlando:
'Io ti farò vedere ogni valore.'‡
Sternilmi tu ancora, cominciando
L' alto preconio,§ che grida l' arcano
Di qui laggiù sopra ogni altro bando."—

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* *Colui*, et seq.: In reference to this and the following line, Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, p. 115) writes: "The reference here cannot be considered certain, and besides Aristotle, Plato, Pythagoras, and Dionysius the Areopagite have been suggested by Commentators as the author intended (see Scartazzini, *n.* 1). The preponderance of opinion is in favour of Aristotle, and with this I am disposed to agree, and in particular to accept Mr. Butler's reference to the *Metaphysics* Λ, chapters vii and viii, as the passage chiefly in Dante's mind." Compare above, pp. 274, 275.

† *sustanzie sempiterne:* Compare *Par.* xv, 7, 8:—

"Come saranno ai giusti preghi sorde
Quelle sustanzie."

‡ *valore:* Compare *Exod.* xxxiii, 19: "And he said, I will make all my goodness pass before thee, and I will proclaim the name of the Lord before thee."

§ *L' alto preconio:* Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, pp. 87, 88) says that the question before us is to determine the particular passage in St. John to which Dante's language refers in the lines quoted above. Dr. Moore thinks it would seem to be (1) near the beginning of the work referred to (*cominciando*), and (2) in that work of St. John which the language of ll. 44, 45, most aptly describes. Dr. Moore adds: "I am inclined on the whole . . . to suggest that the reference is chiefly to *John* iii, 16, 'God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son,' etc. The context in which this occurs —the conversation with Nicodemus—though not actually in the first few verses of the Gospel, can certainly in another sense be considered as 'the beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ'—'cominciamento dell' alto preconio.' It is a striking and novel announcement; it is our Lord's first declaration of the central truth of the Gospel; it is the embodiment of 'the heavenly things' (*l' arcano di qui*, l. 44) for which our Lord has solemnly prepared Nicodemus in v. 12, by describing the coming declaration as consisting of ἐπουράνια, 'coelestia.' This appears to me in fact to fulfil all the various conditions which the language of Dante in the three lines under consideration leads us to look for, or at any rate to do so far more

> This truth he (Aristotle) makes plain to my intellect, who demonstrates the primal Love of all the sempiternal substances. The voice of that true Author (God) makes it plain, Who, speaking of Himself, said to Moses: 'I will make thee to behold all Goodness.' Thou also thyself makest it plain to me, at the opening of the sublime announcement which down on Earth proclaims the mystery of this place (Heaven) more than every other proclamation."

Division II.—St. John, after hearing the above confession of faith from Dante, puts to him another question respecting Love, first however commending Dante's previous reply.

> Ed io udi' :—" Per intelletto umano,
> E per autoritadi a lui concorde,
> De' tuoi amori a Dio guarda il soprano.*

satisfactorily than any of the other references that have been suggested." A friend has suggested to me that the reference is rather to *Revelation* i, 5: "Unto Him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in His own blood," etc., adding that this reference satisfies, more completely than any other, all the requirements of the text and context. Another friend, Signorina de' Castelvecchio, believes that *l' arcano di qui* must mean the central mystery of the Nature of God; and that therefore the first eighteen verses of St. John's Gospel are the passage here referred to by Dante. They teach that God is the supreme and unique reality, eternal and transcendent, and yet, in relation to the World, immanent and loving. Thus Dante would say that, as taught through the sublime herald-cry (Gospel) of St. John, but chiefly in the beginning (*cominciando*) the perfection and love of our God "constrain us."

**guarda il soprano:* Scartazzini and Casini point out the absurdity of most of the modern translations taking *guarda* as the imperative mood, and translating it as "do thou keep, do thou reserve." See all the old Commentators, especially the *Ottimo*, Landino, Buti, Vellutello, etc., who understand *guarda* as the 3rd person singular of the present tense, and signifying "looks, is turned to, is directed to." Dante had already (ll. 16-18) said that the Love of God was the Alpha and Omega of all his impulses. St. John merely sums up his previous process of reasoning by way of signifying his approval, and with a view to encouraging Dante to give an equally satisfactory reply to the next question he is about to put to him.

Ma di' ancor, se tu senti altre corde
Tirarti verso lui, sì che tu suone
Con quanti denti questo amor ti morde."—

And I heard: "(Then) by reason of human intellect (*i.e.* philosophical arguments) and of authority concordant therewith (*i.e.* Holy Scripture), the chiefest of thy loves is directed to God. But say farther if thou feelest any other cords draw thee towards Him, so that thou mayest make manifest with how many teeth this Love is biting thee (*i.e.* from what reasons and by how many incentives this Love doth hold thee)."

Dante fully understands what St. John, the Eagle of the Apocalypse, is tacitly demanding of him; and he at once begins to recite to St. John his profession of Love, in the same way that to St. Peter he had recited his profession of Faith, and to St. James he had recited his reasons for Hope. He describes the motives that induced him to abandon the love of the world, and give himself up wholly to the love of God.

Non fu latente la santa intenzione
Dell' aquila di CRISTO,* anzi m' accorsi
Dove volea menar mia professione.

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* *aquila di Cristo: Philalethes* observes that beyond a doubt this refers to Ezekiel's vision of the Four Beasts, wherein the Eagle was the symbol of St. John, as the Bull was that of St. Luke, the Lion that of St. Mark, and the Man that of St. Matthew. In Christian art the eagle is the symbol of St. John, indicating his more fervid imagination and deeper insight into Divine mysteries. Compare the reference to Ezekiel's vision in *Purg.* xxix, 88-105. St. John was sometimes represented with the head and feet of an eagle, and the hands and body of a man. St. Augustine (*Tract.* 36 *in Johan.*) writes: "Aquila ipse est Johannes sublimium praedicator." See ancient hymn in honour of St. John in Daniel's *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, vol. ii, p. 166, Hymn CXLI, 9:—

"Volat avis sine meta
Quo nec vates nec propheta
Evolavit altius.

Però ricominciai:—"Tutti quei morsi,* 55
Che posson far lo cor volger a Dio,
Alla mia caritate son concorsi;†
Chè l' essere del mondo,‡ e l' esser mio,
La morte ch' ei sostenne § perch' io viva,
E quel che spera ogni fedel, com' io, 60

Tam implenda quam impleta
Numquam vidit tot secreta
Purus homo purius."

See also in the Hymn of Adam de St. Victor, *De SS. Evangelistis*, in Trench's *Sacred Latin Poetry*, London, 1874, p. 66:—

"Sed Joannes, alâ binâ
Caritatis, aquilina
Forma, fertur in divina
Puriori lumine."

**morsi:* In l. 51, St. John had asked Dante to say:—

"Con quanti denti questo amor ti morde."

Dante in the present passage continues the metaphor. St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars ii, 2dæ, qu. xxvii, art. 3—too long a passage to quote here) says that man does not love God out of a sentiment of Charity, "Propter seipsum," but "propter aliud, quia scilicet ex aliquibus aliis disponimur ad hoc quod in Dei dilectione proficiamus, puta per *beneficia ab eo suscepta*, vel *per premia sperata*." *Philalethes*, followed by Scartazzini and Casini, points out that among the *beneficia suscepta* are *l' essere del mondo, e l' esser mio* (see l. 58); *la morte ch' ei sostenne perch' io viva* (l. 59); while the *beneficia sperata* are *quel che spera ogni fedel, com' io* (*i.e.* Dante l. 60). Mr. Butler denies the appropriateness of this illustration.

†*concorsi:* Compare *Conv.* i, 3, ll. 68-71: "E così si vede essere a queste amistà concorse tutte le cagioni generative e accrescitive dell' amistà."

‡*l' essere del mondo:* The comment of the *Ottimo* seems the best here: "Qui risponde l' Autore allo Evangelista; e dice, che tutte *cagioni* che possono concorrere per fare amare Iddio, in lui sono concorse. Ciò sono l' essere del mondo che fu prodotto da Dio per propria bontade di Dio: l' essere suo, che l' ha fatto animale razionale, intellettivo (*Gloria et honore coronasti eum, et constituisti eum super opera manuum tuarum*, etc., dice il Salmista dell' uomo): [*Psalm* viii, 5-6]: la morte di Cristo, la quale elli sostenne per la vita d' esso Autore e delli altri Cristiani: *Morte sua mortem moriendo destruxit et vitam resurgendo reparavit.*" This seems to correspond with the Proper Preface for Easter Sunday.

§*La morte ch' ei sostenne:* Compare 1 *John* iv, 9: "In this

Con la predetta * conoscenza viva,
Tratto m' hanno del mar dell' amor tôrto,
E del diritto m' han posto alla riva.
Le fronde onde s' infronda tutto l' orto
Dell' ortolano eterno, am' io cotanto, 65
Quanto da lui a lor di bene è pôrto."—

The sacred purpose of the Eagle of Christ was not hidden from me, nay, rather I perceived to what point he wished to lead my profession. Therefore, I resumed: "All those incentives (*lit.* bites), that can make the heart turn to God, have been concurrent unto my Love; because the World's existence, and my own existence; the death which He endured that I may live, and that which all the faithful hope, as I do, with the afore-mentioned lively recognition (namely, that God is the Chiefest Good), have withdrawn me from the sea of perverted Love, and have landed me upon the shore of the right (Love). The leaves (*i.e.* created beings) with which the garden of the Eternal Gardener is

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was manifested the love of God toward us, because that God sent His only begotten Son into the world, that we might live through Him."

* *Con la predetta conoscenza*, et seq.: The following paraphrase of these two *terzine* will perhaps explain their meaning: "All the above-mentioned benefits, of which part have been already conferred upon me, and part are in preparation, together with the lively recognition, supplied to me by Reason and the authority of Holy Writ, that God is the Fountain of all Goodness, have made me flee from the tempestuous sea of the foolish misleading love of earthly things, and have guided me to the safe shore of a right love for God. The created things (*fronde*) that adorn the whole of that world which has been builded by the Eternal Architect, Preserver, and Provider of all, these I love in proportion to the perfection that has been imparted to them by God Himself." Compare St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars ii, 2^{dæ}, qu. xxvi, art. 6): "Non omnes proximi aequaliter se habent ad Deum; sed quidam sunt ei propinquiores per majorem bonitatem, qui sunt magis diligendi ex charitate, quam alii qui sunt ei minus propinqui." See also Peter Lombard, *Sentent.* iii, 27: "Charitas est dilectio, qua diligitur Deus propter se, et proximus propter Deum, vel in Deo."

decked, love I in the same proportion as there is good from Him granted to them."

As soon as Dante has concluded his profession of Charity, all the company of the Blessed, and Beatrice with them, give glory to God for the successful issue of Dante's examination in the three Theological Virtues. They break forth into the very words of St. John's hymn of praise in the Apocalypse, Holy, Holy, Holy.

Sì com' io tacqui, un dolcissimo canto
Risonò per lo cielo, e la mia Donna
Dicea con gli altri :—" Santo, Santo, Santo." *—

As soon as I was silent, a song most sweet resounded through the Heaven, and my Lady said with the others : " Holy, Holy, Holy."

Division III.—Beatrice now turns her eyes upon Dante. The effect is immediate ; he is at once reendowed with his complete sense of sight, of which the overpowering radiance had deprived him. He finds his eyes have acquired greater power than before, and he thus becomes aware that a fourth effulgent spirit has joined those of St. Peter, St. James, and St. John.

E come a lume acuto † si dissonna 70

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* *Santo, Santo, Santo :* The hymn that is being sung by the Saints is either that of the Seraphim in *Isaiah* vi, 3 : " Holy, holy, holy, is the LORD of hosts ; the whole earth is full of His glory ; " or, the chant of the Four Living Beings in *Rev.* iv, 8 : " And the four beasts had each of them six wings about him, and they were full of eyes within : and they rest not day and night, saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come."

† *come a lume acuto :* L. Venturi (*Simil. Dant.* p. 138, sim. 232) says that, although this simile is not as terse as is usual

Per lo spirto visivo* che ricorre
Allo splendor che va di gonna † in gonna,
E lo svegliato ciò che vede abborre,‡
Sì nescia è la sua subita vigilia,
Fin che l' estimativa § nol soccorre;
Così degli occhi miei ogni quisquilia ||
Fugò Beatrice col raggio de' suoi,

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with Dante, at the same time there is not a word in it that one would wish suppressed. A mere incident in Optics under Dante's pen is transformed into living poetry. Compare *Purg.* xvii, 40-42:—

"Come si frange il sonno, ove di butto
Nuova luce percote il viso chiuso,
Che fratto guizza pria che moia tutto," etc.

* *spirto visivo:* Compare *Vita Nuova,* § 2, ll. 30, 31: "parlando spezialmente agli spiriti del viso."

† *gonna:* The successive layers of membrane over the eyes were by the ancients called *tunicae.* Dante, by analogy, calls them *di gonna in gonna.*

‡ *abborre:* Compare Guido Cavalcanti in *Poeti del Primo Secolo,* Firenze, 1816, vol. ii, p. 306:—

"Molti com' animal notturno offeso
Dallo splendor che prima il sol ne spande
Per natural costume
Fuggon contrarj al suo lucente lume."

§ *l' estimativa:* Mr. Butler explains this as the faculty by which the mind interprets the evidence given by the senses. Compare *Inf.* xxiv, 25, 26:—

"E come quei che adopera ed estima,
Che sempre par che innanzi si proveggia."

Compare also *Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. lxxviii, art 4: "Ad apprehendendum intentiones quae per sensum non accipiuntur, ordinatur *vis aestimativa.* . . . Alia animalia percipiunt hujusmodi intentiones solum naturali quodam instinctu, homo autem per quamdam collationem. Et ideo quae in aliis animalibus dicitur *aestimativa naturalis,* in homine dicitur *cogitativa.*" Mr. Butler says that Aristotle does not appear to name it as a distinct "potentia" of the soul; this was first done by Avicenna.

|| *quisquilia:* From the Latin *quisquiliae,* "waste, rubbish, dust," hence it comes to mean minute particles of anything, which getting into the eye obscure the vision. Some translate it "impurities," and some, as I have done, "motes."

Che rifulgean da più di mille milia;
Onde me' che dinanzi vidi poi,
E quasi stupefatto* domandai
D' un quarto lume, ch' io vidi con noi.

And as at a brilliant light one awakes, by reason of the visual spirit which rushes towards the brightness that spreads from membrane to membrane, and the awakened one shrinks back from that which he sees —so unconscious is his sudden re-awakening—until the faculty of discernment comes to his aid; so did Beatrice chase away every mote from my eyes with the radiance of her own, which cast their brightness more than a thousand miles; whence after this I saw better than before, and, well nigh astounded, I made question concerning a fourth light, that I saw (was) with us.

Beatrice tells Dante that the radiance which he has remarked enwraps Adam, the first of God's human creations.

E la mia Donna:—"Dentro da que' rai
Vagheggia il suo fattor l' anima prima,†
Che la prima virtù ‡ creasse mai."—

And my Lady: "Within those beams the first living soul (Adam) which the Primal Power ever created, is gazing with delight upon his Maker."

On learning from Beatrice in whose presence he is, Dante would seem to have been struck with a two-

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* *stupefatto:* At the time that Dante lost his power of sight, he had been gazing at the Effulgences of the three Apostles, St. Peter, St. James, and St. John. On recovering his sight he marvels greatly to see that a fourth Effulgence, that of Adam, has joined them.

† *l' anima prima:* Compare *Purg.* xxxiii, 62, 63:—
"Cinquemili' anni e più l' anima prima
Bramò Colui che il morso in sè punio."

‡ *la prima virtù:* Compare *Conv.* iii, 7, ll. 62-64: "Alla prima semplicissima e nobilissima Virtù, che solo è intellettuale, cioè Iddio."

fold emotion, namely, first, with a feeling of deep reverence, which makes him bend low before Adam as a bough bends before a sudden gust of wind; and, secondly, with so intense a desire to converse with our first Father, that he straightens himself up again as rapidly as does the bough, when the wind that bent it has passed away. He addresses Adam with veneration, and implores him to speak.

Come la fronda,* che fiette la cima † 85
Nel transito del vento, e poi si leva
Per la propria virtù che la sublima,
Fec' io in tanto, in quanto ella diceva,
Stupendo; e poi mi rifece sicuro
Un disio di parlare, ond' io ardeva; 90
E cominciai:—"O pomo, che maturo ‡

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* *Come la fronda*, et seq.: On this Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, p. 249) remarks: "This is another interesting case of a borrowed simile, which is pointed out by Scartazzini as being derived from *Theb.* vi, 854 seqq.:—

'Ille autem, Alpini veluti regina cupressus
Verticis urgentes cervicem inclinat in Austros,
Vix sese radice tenens, terraeque propinquat,
Jamdudum aetherias eadem reditura sub auras.
Non secus,' etc.

The simile certainly loses nothing by its greater simplicity in Dante."

† *fiette la cima:* Compare Pucciarello di Fiorenza in *Poeti del Primo Secolo*, vol. ii, p. 218:—

"Per sempio [*i.e. esempio*] mostro l' arboscella bassa,
Quando la piena incontra le vene,
Ch' ella si fiette [*i.e. piega*, from Lat. *flectere*] e così si mantene
Per fin che piena dura aspera passa;"

and Tasso, *Ger. Liber.* xix, st. 19:—

"Ma come all' euro la frondosa cima
Piega e in un tempo la solleva il pino;
Così lui sua virtute alza e sublima," etc.

‡ *O pomo, che maturo*, etc.: The race of men are all born like immature fruit. Adam alone was from the first produced mature. Compare Peter Lombard, *Sentent.* lib. ii, dist. 17;

Solo prodotto fosti, o padre antico,
A cui ciascuna sposa è figlia e nuro;*
Devoto quanto posso a te supplico †
Perchè mi parli; tu vedi mia voglia,
E per udirti tosto non la dico." ‡—

Even as the bough that bends down its top at the passing of the wind, and then springs up again by its own innate power which raises it, so did I likewise (bend myself down) the while she spoke, awe-stricken; and then a desire to speak, with which I was inflamed, restored me to confidence; and I began: "O fruit, that alone wast produced mature, O Ancient Sire, to whom every bride is both daughter and daughter-in-law; with all the devotion of which I am capable I beseech thee that thou wouldest speak with me; thou seest my wish, and that I may the sooner hear thee, I speak it not."

Dante has told Adam in so many words: "Thou

"Adam in virili aetate continuo factus est; et hoc . . . secundum voluntatem et potentiam Dei." It must be remembered that *pomo* means "fruit," not "an apple," for which the Italian is "*mela*."

* Every woman is a daughter of Adam, and, if she marries, she necessarily weds a son of Adam. Consequently she is both Adam's daughter and his daughter-in-law.

† *a te supplico:* Compare *Par.* xv, 85, where Dante invokes his ancestor Cacciaguida :—

"Ben supplico io a te, vivo topazio," etc.

‡ *non la dico:* Others read *la ti dico*, on which Dr. Moore (*Text. Crit.* pp. 482, 483) writes: "*Non la dico* is certainly the correct reading here. *La ti dico* is not only less suitable to the line itself, since when a person's wants are known (note *tu vedi mia voglia*) it is obviously not speaking (*la ti dico*), but refraining from speaking (*non la dico*) which secures their speediest satisfaction (*per udirli tosto*)." Dr. Moore adds that *la ti dico* is absolutely inconsistent with the context in ll. 109-114, for Adam tells Dante that he can read his *unexpressed* desires, and then only enumerates some of them, which he satisfies successively (ll. 115-142). "But as no hint has been given of any one of them by Dante, *la ti dico* would be altogether untrue, and *non la dico* precisely accurate. There seems to be no trace of *la ti dico* in any of the early Commentators."

canst read in my heart the desire which it is not requisite for me to put into words." He now compares certain movements of joy displayed by Adam within his radiance to the movements of an animal within some covering.

Tal volta un animal coperto broglia *
Sì che l' affetto † convien che si paia
Per lo seguir che face a lui l' invoglia ; ‡
E similmente l' anima primaia
Mi facea trasparer per la coperta
Quant' ella a compiacermi venia gaia.

Sometimes an animal, when covered up, so moves about that its impulse must needs be manifested by the corresponding movement of its wrappings; and in like manner the primal soul made clear to

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* *broglia :* On this very interesting word see the note on *brolo*, in *Readings on the Purgatorio*, vol. ii, pp. 513, 514, in which the following is quoted from Donkin's *Etymological Dictionary of the Romance Languages*, s. v. *broglio :* ". . . It. *brogliare*, O. Sp. *brollar*, Pg. Pr. *brolhar*, Fr. *brouiller* . . . to sprout, break out, rebel, raise a disturbance." For its special signification here of "to move about," see *Gran Dizionario*, s. v. *brogliare*, § 3 : "Agitarsi in senso corporeo". The present is quoted in illustration, and Buti's comment on it, "ardentemente desidera" is censured. Casini interprets the word, "che si dimena."

† *Sì che l' affetto*, et seq.: The emotion shown by the animal entangled in its wrappings is usually due to the desire it has to get itself out; and Adam's emotion, shown by the increased flashing of his environment of radiance, is meant to imply his urgent desire to satisfy the desire of Dante to hear him speak.

‡ *l' invoglia :* This is a substantive feminine, derived from the verb *involgere*, and signifying a thick cloth or something similar used to wrap up bales or bundles. See *Gran Dizionario.* Compare Buonarroti il Giovane, *La Fiera*, giorn. i, act iv, sc. 8 :—

"Non pur di telerie, non pur di quoja,
Ma d' ogni lavorío, d' ogni materia
Si fanno invoglia, [which the note explains :
'ci si involgono.']"

me through his integument (of heavenly radiance),
how gladly he came to give me pleasure.*

Adam tells Dante that he is able to contemplate all things in the Divine mirror, and, therefore, he knows Dante's wish better than Dante knows it himself. He anticipates Dante's questions by telling him what are the four things that he desires to know:—

(1) How many years have passed from his creation until now?

(2) How long did he abide in the Earthly Paradise between his creation and his fall?

(3) What was the chief reason for God's wrath against him? the precise nature of his sin?

(4) What was the language which Adam spoke and was the first to create?

Indi spirò:—"Senz' essermi profferta
Da te,† la voglia tua discerno meglio
Che tu qualunque cosa t' è più certa, 105

* I am indebted to Signor A. Valgimigli of Manchester for an interesting interpretation (which Dr. Moore thinks is both "ingenious and reasonable") referring the *animal coperto* of l. 97 to the silk-worm, and comparing the present simile with that in *Par.* viii, 52-54, where Carlo Martello says:—

"La mia letizia mi ti tien celato,
Che mi raggia dintorno, e mi nasconde
Quasi animal di sua seta fasciato."

In the above quotation *animal* is directly used to describe the silk-worm.

† *Da te:* This is the reading generally adopted in all modern editions, but the most authoritative MSS. and early editions are divided between *Da te* and *Dante*. On this Dr. Moore (*Text. Crit.* pp. 483-486) remarks: "There are few passages where we can pronounce with greater confidence as to the true reading than we can here, in adopting *Da te*, and rejecting *Dante*. Dante has himself . . . determined this for us by the express statement in *Purg.* xxx, 63, where alone elsewhere his name occurs in the poem, that it is there mentioned *di necessità*, from which the natural inference is that it should not and would not otherwise occur. There is no pretence of any such necessity

Perch' io la veggio nel verace speglio *
Che fa di sè pareglio † all' altre cose,

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here, and the attempts to suggest at least some *propriety* for the concurrence of the name . . . seem altogether unsatisfactory. . . . Benvenuto reads and explains *Da te*, and then notices the variant *Dante*, rejecting it ('forte prima litere est melior') on the grounds of the statement in *Purg.* xxx, 63, above referred to. . . . Unfortunately, though the question at issue between the two readings is so marked, the actual difference in their form is very slight, and in some MSS. almost undistinguishable. In any case the interchange may have been in some instances accidental, since it reduces itself sometimes to the difference between *Date* and *Dãte*."

* *verace speglio*: "I beati guardando in Dio, veggono gli umani pensieri e le cose contingenti." (Poletto.) *Lo speglio* (*i.e. lo specchio*) is merely a periphrasis to signify God. Compare *Par.* xv, 61-63, where we learn that the Divine Mind is the mirror of the blessed life:—

". . . chè minori e grandi
Di questa vita miran nello speglio,
In che, prima che pensi, il pensier pandi."

† *pareglio*: This is a passage in which there is much difference of opinion as to the reading and interpretation. I follow Moore (*Oxford Text*), Casini, Fraticelli, Lubin, and Biagioli, in reading *pareglio all' altre cose*, which reading I also find in the early editions of Foligno, Jesi, and Naples, while that of Mantua reads *pareglie all' altre cose*, a reading adopted by Benvenuto, Lana, and a host of others. Where such excellent authorities differ, decision is very difficult, but my ever-lamented friend Sir James Lacaita once told me that when in doubt as to the Italian interpretation, or as to Dante's meaning, I should not go very far wrong if I followed Fraticelli. From Fraticelli, therefore, I quote: "*Pareglio* ha due significati; significa, o l' imagine che il Sole fa di sè nelle nuvole, e che meglio dicesi *parelio* dal gr. παρήλιος; o anche significa *pari*, eguale, dal provenzale *pareilh*. Onde posson essere due le interpretazioni di questo combattuto passo. . . . Io interpreterei così: 'Perciocchè io la veggio nel verace specchio, cioè in Dio, il quale fa di sè lume reflesso a tutte le cose, mentre nessuna cosa fa di sè lume reflesso a lui.' Alcuni poi de' moderni, attenendosi all' altro significato della voce *pareglio*, e leggendo, *che fa di sè pareglie l' altre cose*, interpretano: 'Il quale fa le altre cose pari, uguali a sè stesse (cioè le rende quali sono), e niuna può rappresentare Dio uguale a sè, cioè nella sua vera essenza.' Ma oltrechè questa interpretazione è al di sotto delle antiche nella chiarezza e nell' evidenza, parmi

E nulla face* lui di sè pareglio.
Tu vuoi udir† quant' è che Dio mi pose
Nell' eccelso giardino, ove costei
A così lunga scala ti dispose,‡
E quanto fu diletto agli occhi miei,
E la propria cagion del gran disdegno,
E l' idïoma § ch' usai e ch' io fei.

Then he breathed forth: "Without its being uttered to me by thee, I can better discern thy wish than canst thou (discern) whatever thing is to thee most sure, because I can see it in the truthful Mirror (*i.e.* in God) which makes of Itself a reflector of all things, and nothing makes It a reflection of itself (*i.e.* God Himself cannot be reflected by anything in Creation). Thou fain wouldst hear how long it is since God placed me in the sublime garden (of Eden), where that Lady (Beatrice) rendered thee

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che sforzi la grammatica; poichè il *di sè* non è il termine di confronto con *pareglio*, dovendo allora dirsi *a sè;* [this I quite understand—*Pareglie a sè*, not *di sè*, would certainly seem to be the form required], ma è il punto donde si muove per venire al confronto:" and Fraticelli concludes by saying that *di sè* in the sense of the words follows after the verb *fare*, not after *pareglio, far di sè pareglio ad altri*, not *far altri pareglio a sè.*

* *nulla face*, et seq.: On this Benvenuto: "Et nil comprendit vel continet eum, quia nulla res est in qua appareat totus Deus tanquam in speculo, sed bene in omnia speculo Dei."

† *Tu vuoi udir;* Others read *Tu vuoi saper*, which has but little authority. Besides which Dante had said (l. 96) *per udirti tosto non la dico.*

‡ *ti dispose: i.e.* "ti rese abile, e capace, a salir." Although the whole of Dante's penitential journey was a preparation for Paradise, yet it was not till after his sincere contrition in the Terrestrial Paradise that (*Purg.* xxxiii, 145) he felt himself:—

"Puro e *disposto* a salire alle stelle."

§ *l' idïoma:* "Dicimus, certam formam locutionis a Deo cum Anima prima concreatam fuisse; dico autem formam, et quantum ad rerum vocabula, et quantum ad vocabulorum constructionem, et quantum ad constructionis prolationem, qua quidem forma omnis lingua loquentium uteretur, nisi culpa praesumptionis humanae dissipata fuisset." (*De Vulg. Eloq.* i, 6, ll. 39-48.)

fit to ascend so long a stairway, and how long it (the garden) was a delight to my eyes, and the true reason of the mighty wrath, and what was the language which I used and which I formed.

Scartazzini thinks that God revealed to Adam certain root-words that contained all necessary expressions of Divine Truth; and by analogy Adam made the rest, giving names to every created thing.

Division IV.—Adam begins by answering the third of the four questions he has told Dante that he could read in his thoughts, namely, what was the precise nature of the first sin? The sin, Adam explains, was not so much the tasting the forbidden fruit, but rather that in tasting it our first parents were seeking "to be as gods, with knowledge of good and evil," as the Serpent had persuaded Eve; and this was pride and disobedience.

Or, figliuol mio, non il gustar * del legno 115
Fu per sè la cagion di tanto esilio,
Ma solamente il trapassar del segno.†

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* *non il gustar:* Cornoldi says that Adam "non fu esiliato per aver mangiato un frutto, ma perchè mangiandolo ha disubbedito. Vi sono delle azioni intrinsecamente male, per esempio la menzogna, la bestemmia, lo spergiuro, e perchè tali sono proibite; altre, per sè, non sono male, ma sono male perchè proibite da Dio o da chi è da Dio delegato. Così è il cibarsi di un frutto." Dr. Moore writes to me: "The distinction here is exactly Bishop Butler's between 'moral' and 'positive' commands—the former commanded because they are right; the latter because they are commanded."

† *trapassar del segno:* Casini remarks that Dante is here following the theological teaching of his time, and in particular that of St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars ii, 2^{dæ}, qu. clxiii, art. 1): "Primum peccatum hominis fuit in hoc quod appetiit quoddam spirituale bonum *supra suam mensuram;* quod pertinet ad superbiam. Unde manifestum est quod primum peccatum primi hominis fuit superbia." And *ibid.* art. 2: "appetere,

Now, my Son, not the tasting of the tree was by itself the cause of so great a banishment, but only the going beyond the mark (*i.e.* beyond the limit assigned by God to human knowledge).

Having thus disposed of Dante's supposed third question, Adam next turns to the first question—as to how many years have passed from his creation until now. He tells Dante that he had remained in *Limbo* 4302 years, and had previously lived 930 years on earth, calculating, therefore, 5232 years from his own creation to the death of Christ, and from the death of Christ to the date of Dante's vision 1266 years. In all 6498 years. Eusebius makes out that the Nativity was in the year of the world 5200 years.

Quindi * onde mosse tua Donna Virgilio,
Quattromila trecento e due volumi †
Di sol desiderai questo concilio; ‡ 120
E vidi lui tornare a tutti i lumi
Della sua strada novecento trenta
Fïate,§ mentre ch' io in terra fu' mi.

In that place (*Limbo*) from which thy Lady caused Virgil to depart, four thousand three hundred and two revolutions of the Sun (*i.e.* years) did I long for

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similitudinem Dei *absolute* quantum ad scientiam, non est peccatum; sed appetere hujusmodi similitudinem *inordinate*, id est supra mensuram suam, peccatum est."

* *Quindi:* Benvenuto translates: "quindi, scilicet in limbo."

† *volumi:* Revolutions of the Sun, *i.e.* years. Dante probably remembered Ovid, *Metam.* ii, 70, 71:—

"Adde, quod assidua rapitur vertigine coelum;
Sideraque alta trahit, celerique volumine torquet."

‡ *questo concilio:* Compare *Purg.* xxi, 16-18:—

". . . nel beato concilio
Ti ponga in pace la verace corte,
Che me rilega nell' eterno esilio."

§ *novecento trenta Fïate:* "And all the days that Adam lived were nine hundred and thirty years, and he died." (*Gen.* v, 5.)

this assembly (of the Blessed); and I saw him (the Sun) return to all the lights on his pathway (*i.e.* signs of the Zodiac) nine hundred and thirty times during the time I was on earth.

The next of Dante's supposed questions that Adam answers is the fourth, namely, what was the language that he spoke and was the first to create on Earth. He tells Dante that that tongue had been entirely lost before the confusion of tongues that ensued upon the commencement of the tower of Babel by Nimrod.

La lingua* ch' io parlai fu tutta spenta
Innanzi assai ch' all' opra inconsumabile
Fosse la gente di Nembrot attenta;† 125

**La lingua*, et seq.: In the *De Vulg. Eloq.* i, 4, ll. 26-43, Dante expresses a strong opinion that the first word Adam would have pronounced in his primitive tongue was the name of God. "Quod autem prius vox primi loquentis sonaverit, viro sanae mentis in promptu esse non titubo, ipsum fuisse quod Deus est, scilicet *El*, vel per modum interrogationis, vel per modum responsionis. Absurdum atque rationi videtur horrificum ante Deum ab homine quicquam nominatum fuisse, cum ab ipso et per ipsum factus fuisset homo. Nam sicut, post praevaricationem humani generis, quilibet exordium suae locutionis incipit ab *heu;* rationabile est quod ante qui fuit inciperet a gaudio et quod nullum gaudium sit extra Deum sed totum in Deo, et ipse Deus totus sit gaudium, consequens est quod primus loquens primo et ante omnia dixisset, *Deus*."

†*la gente di Nembrot attenta;* Compare *Gen.* xi, 6-9: "And the Lord said, Behold the people is one, and they have all one language; and this they begin to do; and now nothing will be restrained from them, which they have imagined to do. Go to, let us go down, and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech. So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth: and they left off to build the city." Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, pp. 73, 74, under the head *Nimrod in Dante as compared with Scripture*) writes: "Dante goes beyond the account of Nimrod in Scripture by making him (1) a giant, (2) the deviser of the tower of Babel. . . . In *De Vulg. Eloq.* i, vii, l. 26, the tower of Babel is described as erected 'sub persuasione gigantis.' But the above points are quite commonly found both in

Chè nullo effetto mai razïonabile,*
Per lo piacere uman, che rinnovella
Seguendo il cielo,† sempre fu durabile.

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patristic and mediæval authorities from several of which they may have found their way to Dante. St. Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, xvi, 3, quotes *Gen.* x, 8, 9, in this form: 'Hic coepit esse gigas super terram (Vulg. *potens in terra*). Hic erat *gigas* venator *contra* Dominum Deum' (Vulg. *Robustus venator* coram *Domino*). In ch. iv, St. Augustine insists on the reading *contra*, and declares that *ante Dominum* arises from the ambiguity of the Greek word *ἐναντίον*. . . . Among other authors familiar to Dante, Isidore, Orosius, Hugh of St. Victor, and Brunetto Latini recognize the same tradition as to Nimrod. The last-named, in *Tesoro*, i, 23, speaks of 'Nembrot lo gigante, che fu il primo re di Babilonia,' and in chap. xxiv, he states 'quel Nembrot edificò la torre di Babel in Babilonia . . . E Nembrot medesimo mutò la sua lingua di ebreo in caldeo.'"

* *razïonabile:* Observe in the note on l. 124, the words "rationabile est quod ante qui fuit," etc., occur in the passage quoted from *De Vulg. Eloq.* i, 4.

† *rinnovella Seguendo il cielo:* "Speech, a product of human reason, changes according to the pleasure of man, which alters from time to time under the influence of the heavens." (Norton.) In *Readings on the Inferno* numerous extracts were quoted from the Lectures of Giambattista Gelli, the old stocking-maker of Florence, who for love of Dante educated himself for the express purpose of lecturing on the poet, and did actually become public lecturer on Dante at the *Accademia* in the cultivated age of Leo X. He never lived to complete his lectures even on the *Inferno*, but he has left behind him one fragment on this passage: "E dice *Per lo piacere uman che rinnovella, Seguendo il cielo*, perchè l' uomo, inquanto al corpo, è composto di questa materia elementare, della quale son composte tutte l' altre cose sotto la Luna; la qual materia è obbligata e sottoposta alle alterazioni che inducono i moti celesti in lei; onde egli è disposto in un tempo, e altrimenti in un altro: perciò l' anima razionale (in quanto è fondata su questa nostra complessione corporea) altre voglie ha in un tempo, altre in un altro; perocchè è tanto unita al corpo, che le operazioni che anche totalmente dipendono da lei, mentre ch' ella è in esso corpo, si attribuiscono al tutto; e quindi le anime, come dicono Aristotile e Galeno, pigliano poi diversi costumi, secondo la complessione de' corpi, ne' quali sono incluse; e hanno diverse voglie, secondo che quelli si variano per i moti celesti. E mostra l' Autore che il parlare non è propriamente effetto che

Opera naturale * è ch' uom favella ; 130
Ma così o così, natura lascia
Poi fare a voi secondo che v' abbella.†

This language which I spoke was quite extinct long before the race of Nimrod had set about the unaccomplishable task ; because no production of the (human) intellect—which in accordance with human tastes changes in obedience to the heavens—was ever durable for all time. It is a natural thing that Man should speak ; but whether in this way or that, Nature then leaves it to you to do according as it pleases you.

He further tells Dante that, in the primeval tongue used in those days, God used to be called " I," which name was afterwards changed into " El." This passage is a distinct contradiction by Dante to what he had already written in the *De Vulg. Eloq.* i, 6, ll. 50-61, in which lines he maintains that Hebrew was the language originally spoken on Earth.

Pria ch' io scendessi all' infernale ambascia,
I s' appellava in terra il Sommo Bene,‡

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proceda semplicemente dall' uomo, ma è sua proprietade ; le quali proprietà non si separano mai dalla specie loro. E ciò riguarda il parlare in genere, di cui non parla qui Adamo, ma del parlare in ispecie, mutabile e vario secondo che pare agli uomini."

* *Opera naturale :* Scartazzini says that this *terzina* was taken by Max Müller as the epigraph for his Lectures on the Science of Language, and we must understand it to refer to man, when left to rely upon his natural powers.

† *secondo che v' abbella :* Common expression in Tuscany, in that region of pure Italian idiom that lies round Pistoja and Lucca. It means " as it pleases you, according to your pleasure," or " to choose according to your pleasure." See Caverni, *Voci e Modi della D. C.* p. 6.

‡ *I s' appellava in terra il Sommo Bene :* There are a great number of variants here, the principal ones being *El, L, Y*, and *Un*, but all, Casini thinks, derived from erroneous interpretations of the primitive text. *I* or *J* may be taken to be the

Onde vien la letizia che mi fascia; 135
*El** si chiamò da poi, e ciò conviene,
Chè l' uso de' mortali è come fronda
In ramo,† che sen va ed altra viene.

Before (the time when) I descended to the anguish of Hell, the Supreme Good was on earth named *I*

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initial letter of the Sacred name Jehovah. Lubin observes that God was originally known by the name *Adonai;* but He Himself revealed to Moses that His name was *Jehovah.* This name the Jews held in such profound veneration, that it was never to be uttered on pain of death, and only the initial letter *Jod* might be pronounced, except on the Day of Atonement when, on that one occasion only, the High Priest alone might once pronounce the awful name. The third name for God was *Elohim,* for which the term *El* was more commonly used. Dr. Moore (*Text. Crit.* pp. 486-492) and Scartazzini discuss these variants at too great length to permit of quotation here.

* *El:* Here again there is an immense variety of readings, the chief of which are *Eli, Hely,* and, the one I adopt, *El.* Dr. Moore (*l.c.*) says that "in spite of minor variations there is a general consensus for *El* or *Eli* or some form that has evidently arisen from a misunderstanding of these; *El* however actually having the almost overwhelming support of MSS." See also the following fragment from Gelli (*op. cit.*), vol. ii, p. 635: "Questo nome *El* fu ancora posto a Dio per una sua proprietà; perchè tanto è a dire *El,* quanto potente e conservatore. E per questa cagione una gran parte degli angeli, per essere stati da Dio ordinati e deputati a governare e mantenere questo universo, hanno incluso nel nome loro questo nome di Iddio *El;* . . . sì come è Gabriel, che vuol dire *grazia* o vero *virtù di Dio,* Raffael, *medicina di Dio,* e così va discorrendo degli altri."

† *come fronda In ramo:* Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante,* p. 197) says that the description of the changes in the use and fashion of words in this passage is evidently copied from Horace, *Ars Poetica,* 60, 61:—

"Ut silvae foliis pronos mutantur in annos,
Prima cadunt: ita verborum vetus interit aetas,"

combined with *ibid.* 70, 71:—

"Multa renascentur quae jam cecidere, cadentque
Quae nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus."

Dr. Moore subjoins that this latter passage is definitely cited in *Conv.* ii, 14, l. 87, as occurring in Horace, "nel principio della Poetria."

(*i.e.* Jah), from whom comes that gladness which enswathes me; *El* was He called afterwards, and that is meet, for the usages of men are like a leaf on a bough, which goeth and another cometh.

In conclusion Adam answers the second supposed question, as to how long a time he had dwelt in the Earthly Paradise. Notwithstanding many conflicting opinions of Dante's time on this subject, Dante makes Adam say that he sinned on the same day that he was created, and was only in the Garden of Paradise for six or seven hours.

Nel monte * che si leva più dall' onda,
Fu' io con vita pura e disonesta
Dalla prim' ora a quella che seconda,†
Come il sol muta quadra,‡ l' ora sesta."—

On the Mountain which rises highest from the waves, was I both in the innocent and in the guilty life, from the first hour to that which, as the Sun

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* *Nel monte*, et seq.: The mount of Purgatory, on whose summit Dante has represented the Terrestrial Paradise. Compare *Purg.* iii, 14, 15:—

"E diedi il viso incontro al poggio,
Che inverso il ciel più alto si dislaga."

† *Dalla prim' ora a quella che seconda:* The following is from *The Mabinogion*, with an English translation by Lady Charlotte Guest, London, 1849, 3 vols. 4to, vol. iii, p. 385, where in allusion to the common mediæval belief that Adam and Eve were only seven hours in Paradise, the bard Taliesin sings:—

"Seven hours they were
The orchard keeping
Till Satan brought strife
With wiles from hell.
Thence were they driven,
Cold and shivering,
To gain their living
Into this world."

‡ *Come il sol muta quadra:* Every six hours the Sun runs over the fourth part of a circle, *i.e.* ninety degrees.

shifts its quadrant, is next to the sixth (*i.e.* the seventh)."

Adam means that he was in Paradise from the first hour of the day until the beginning of the seventh hour, that is, from dawn till noon.

END OF CANTO XXVI.

CANTO XXVII.

SPHERE OF THE FIXED STARS (CONCLUDED)—THE SPIRITS TRIUMPHANT—ST. PETER'S DENUNCIATION OF HIS UNWORTHY SUCCESSORS—THE BLUSH OF HEAVEN THEREAT—ASCENT TO THE NINTH SPHERE, NAMELY, THE *PRIMUM MOBILE* OR CRYSTALLINE HEAVEN—BEATRICE CENSURES CUPIDITY.

THIS Canto, in which there is another change of scene, is justly considered one of the most beautiful in the *Commedia*.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

In the First Division, from ver. 1 to ver. 66, St. Peter rebukes the covetousness and evil-doings of those who have of late occupied the Papal Throne.

In the Second Division, from ver. 67 to ver. 87, Dante sees the holy group with whom he has been conversing wafted into Heaven, and he then casts a last look down upon earth.

In the Third Division, from ver. 88 to ver. 120, Dante and Beatrice ascend into the Ninth Sphere.

In the Fourth Division, from ver. 121 to ver. 148, Beatrice upbraids the cupidity of men for low and perishable things.

Division I.—Before quitting the Eighth Sphere and ascending to the Ninth, Dante's ears are enchanted

by the sound of a hymn of exquisite sweetness intoned by the Heavenly Host, and commencing with a *Gloria Patri.* Dante is intoxicated with delight, and breaks forth into an exclamation of devout rapture.

—"Al Padre, al Figlio, allo Spirito Santo"—
Cominciò—"Gloria"—tutto il Paradiso,
Sì che m' inebbriava * il dolce canto.
Ciò ch' io vedeva † mi sembrava un riso
Dell' universo; per che mia ebbrezza
Entrava per l' udire e per lo viso.
O gioia! o ineffabile allegrezza!
O vita intera d' amore e di pace!
O senza brama ‡ sicura ricchezza!

"To the Father, to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost be Glory," all Paradise began, so that the sweet strains intoxicated me. That which I beheld appeared to me one smile of the Universe; for my inebriation was entering (into me) through ears and eyes. O joy! O ineffable gladness! O life made perfect with love and peace! O riches made sure, which leave nothing to desire!

The four radiances (*le quattro face*) which clothe the

* *m' inebbriava*: "Inebriabuntur ab ubertate domus tuae; et torrente voluptatis tuae potabis eos." (*Psalm* xxxv, 9, in the *Vulgate,* but xxxvi, 8, in A.V.)

† *Ciò ch' io vedeva,* et seq.: Biagioli pictures this sublime scene: "Un infinito tripudio, mille splendori di vivi raggi sfavillanti, che s' abbellivano di mutua luce, accompagnavano in quegli immensi spazi il dolcissimo canto, e tal vista pareva proprio a Dante un riso dell' universo; immagine veramente degna del luogo e di chi lo descrive. Eschilo chiama *riso infinito* questo che il poeta nostro *riso dell' universo.*" Compare Frezzi, *Quadriregio,* lib. iv, cap. ii:—

"Un' allegrezza di giocondo riso."

‡ *senza brama:* Compare *Conv.* iii, 15, ll. 28-34: "senza questa rimarrebbe in lui desiderio, in quale esser non può colla beatitudine, acciocchè la beatitudine sia cosa perfetta e 'l desiderio sia cosa difettiva; chè nullo desidera quello che ha, ma quello che non ha, ch' è manifesto difetto."

three Apostles and Adam remain glowing before Dante; most of all that of St. Peter, which, we are told, becomes more and more brilliant, testifying thereby the desire of the Apostle to speak again. But he soon begins gradually to take a red tint, the cause of which he afterwards explains.

Dinanzi agli occhi miei le quattro face* 10
Stavano accese, e quella che pria venne
Incominciò a farsi più vivace;
E tal nella sembianza sua divenne,
Qual diverrebbe Giove,† s' egli e Marte
Fossero augelli, e cambiassersi penne. 15

Before my eyes the four torches remained flaming, and that one (St. Peter) which had come first, began to become more resplendent; and in his aspect became such as Jupiter might become, if he and Mars were birds, and interchanged their plumage.

We gather that a profound silence had succeeded to this hymn of the Saints. But this silence is now broken, when St. Peter, whose change to red is due to the indignation he feels against the corrupt occupiers of his former throne, proceeds to tell Dante

**face* instead of *faci*. On this see Nannucci, *Teorica dei Nomi*, p. 241 (which I translate): "The plural terminations of the feminine of every declension, both of nouns and adjectives, originally took their forms from the Latin, so that in the first declension, from *musae, ancillae, bonea*, etc., were derived *muse, ancelle, buone*, etc.: in the third declension from *matres faces, dulces*, etc., came *madre, face, dolce*, etc.: in the fifth declension, from *progenies, species*, etc., came *progenie, specie*, etc.: so that there was a uniform plural termination in E. In our modern usage, we only follow this in the first and fifth declensions, having dropped this use in the third." We may remember that *dape* is so used in *Par.* xxiii, 43, 44:—

"La mente mia così, tra quelle dape
Fatta più grande, di sè stessa uscio."

† *Qual diverrebbe Giove*, et seq.: That is, if the planet Jupiter were to exchange its white light for the red light of Mars.

that he will see the whole of Heaven blush for their misdeeds. His rebuke of them is tremendous.

La provvidenza, che quivi comparte
Vice ed offizio,* nel beato coro
Silenzio posto avea † da ogni parte,
Quand' io udi' :—"Se io mi trascoloro,
Non ti maravigliar ; chè, dicend' io
Vedrai trascolorar tutti costoro.
Quegli ch' usurpa ‡ in terra il loco mio,
Il loco mio, il loco mio,§ che vaca
Nella presenza del Figliuol di Dio,

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* *Vice ed offizio :* By this we are to understand that Divine Providence determines the proper time for speaking, for singing, or for silence, and allots to every one his particular duty. In this case it imposed silence upon all those Saints, and to St. Peter assigned the office of pronouncing an invective against the infamies of the recent Popes.

† *Silenzio posto avea :* Compare *Par.* xv, 4-6 :—

"Silenzio pose a quella dolce lira,
E fece quïetar le sante corde
Che la destra del ciel allenta e tira."

‡ *Quegli ch' usurpa ;* This is generally understood to refer to Boniface VIII, who, by very questionable means, intimidated Celestine V into resigning his post ; and the election of Boniface being therefore of doubtful legality, the Papal Throne is declared vacant, not according to the views of men perhaps, but certainly so in the eye of God. On this see the *Ottimo :* "Qui dirizza san Piero la sua indignazione, sì come vicario di Dio, contra Bonifazio, nato d' Anagna, detto prima Benedetto, il quale per inganno e per simonia fu eletto in papa nel 1294, sì come è scritto nel capitolo xix *Inferni. Quelli che usurpa,* cioè senza ragione ha tolto e occupato : e dice tre volte—*luogo mio,* per mostrare quanto è infiammato contra lui. E dice, che lo detto luogo, cioè papale sedia, vaca nel cospetto di Dio, nello quale nulla elezione si accetta senza ragionevole dispensazione : e però vaca ; chè la elezione non fu fatta giuridica, nè poi dispensazione intervenne legittima."

§ *il loco mio* (three times repeated) : See a somewhat similar emphasis in *Jer.* vii, 3, 4 : "Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, Amend your ways and your doings, and I will cause you to dwell in this place. Trust ye not in lying words, saying, The temple of the Lord, The temple of the Lord, The

Fatto ha del cimitero * mio cloaca 25
Del sangue e della puzza, onde il perverso,
Che cadde di quassù,† laggiù si placa."—

The Providence which in that place assigns (to all) their appointed time and office, had imposed silence on that blessed choir on every side when I heard: "If I change my colour, marvel thou not; for, while I speak, thou shalt see all these change colour (also). He that on earth usurps my place, my place, *my* place, which is vacant in the sight (*lit.* presence) of the Son of God, has of my sepulchre made a sewer of blood and foulness, whereat the Evil One, who fell from here, below there is appeased."

St. Peter's indignant words meet with speedy corroboration, for, at the mere mention of the corrupt Papal Court, the whole concourse of the Blessed Saints, and Beatrice with them, change colour, and redden with shame. The whole Heaven is darkened, perhaps in the same way (Scartazzini says) as it was at the moment of our Lord's death. This change of colour Dante pictures by a double simile.

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temple of the Lord, are these." Dean Plumptre remarks that the threefold iteration is after the manner of Dante's favourite prophet Jeremiah, as quoted above.

* *cimitero:* The tradition of the Church of Rome asserts that St. Peter suffered martyrdom at Rome, and was buried there. Compare *Par.* ix, 139-142:—

"Ma Vaticano e l' altre parti elette
Di Roma, che sono state cimiterio
Alla milizia che Pietro seguette,
Tosto libere fien dell' adulterio."

† *il perverso, Che cadde di quassù:* Compare *Isaiah* xiv, 12-15: "How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning! How art thou cut down to the ground, which didst weaken the nations! For thou hast said in thine heart, I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God. . . . I will be like the most High. Yet thou shalt be brought down to hell, to the sides of the pit." In *Inf.* xxiv, 121, Virgil, speaking of Lucifer, says to Dante:—

"Da questa parte cadde giù dal cielo."

Di quel color * che per lo sole avverso
Nube dipinge da sera e da mane,
Vid' io allora tutto il ciel cosperso.
E come donna onesta, che permane
Di sè sicura,† e per l' altrui fallanza,
Pure ascoltando, timida si fane,
Così Beatrice trasmutò sembianza ; ‡
E tal eclissi § credo che in ciel fue
Quando patì la suprema Possanza.

With that colour which, by reason of the Sun being opposite to it, paints a cloud at evening or at morn, beheld I then the whole heaven overspread. And as a modest lady, who abides, in full reliance on herself, and at another's failing, on merely hearing it, becomes timorous, so was Beatrice transformed in her

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* *Di quel color :* Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, p. 227) considers this passage was an imitation by Dante of Ovid, *Metam.* iii, 183, 184 :—

" Qui color infectis adversi solis ab ictu
Nubibus esse solet, aut purpureae Aurorae,"

and from the other passages in the *Commedia*, bearing similar resemblances, Dr. Moore thinks this book of the Metamorphoses was evidently familiar to Dante. Casini, comparing Dante's rendering with Ovid's original, says that Dante had certainly made it new again by endowing it with " efficace brevità."

† *permane Di sè sicura :* Compare the beautiful lines in *Inf.* xxviii, 113-117 :—

" E vidi cosa ch' io avrei paura,
Senza più prova, di contarla solo ;
Se non che coscienza mi assicura,
La buona compagnia che l' uom francheggia
Sotto l' osbergo del sentirsi pura."

Venturi (*Simil. Dant.*, sim. 266, p. 156) says : " La similitudine è appropriatissima, in quanto si riferisce a donna, in sua onestà, innocente ; nella quale il sentimento del pudore suol essere più vivo."

‡ *trasmutò sembianza :* Compare *Dan.* iii, 19 (in the *Vulgate*), where it says of Nebuchadnezzar : " Aspectus faciei illius immutatus est."

§ *tal eclissi :* Compare *St. Matt.* xxvii, 45 ; " Now from the sixth hour there was darkness over all the land unto the ninth hour."

semblance; and such eclipse, I deem, took place in Heaven when the Supreme Omnipotence suffered.

St. Peter continues his denunciation, waxing more and more inflamed with righteous anger against his degenerate successors. The Church, he says, was not nourished by the blood of himself and other holy martyrs in order that it should heap up worldly gains, but to inherit that heavenly beatitude which the martyrs only attained after shedding their blood through much suffering.

Poi procedetter le parole sue
Con voce tanto da sè trasmutata,
Che la sembianza non si mutò piùe:
—"Non fu la sposa di CRISTO* allevata
Del sangue mio, di Lin, di quel di Cleto,†
Per essere ad acquisto d' oro usata;
Ma per acquisto d' esto viver lieto

**la sposa di CRISTO:* Compare *Par.* xi, 32, 33:—

"La sposa di colui, ch' ad alte grida
Disposò lei col sangue benedetto."

†*Lin . . . Cleto:* Of these two Mr. Paget Toynbee speaks thus in his *Dante Dictionary:* "Linus, according to tradition, the immediate successor of St. Peter as Bishop of Rome; St. Jerome gives the year 67 as the year of his accession. . . . He was a native of Volterra, and was known to St. Paul and Timothy (2 *Tim.* iv, 21). He is said to have been beheaded by one Saturninus in 76 or 78. Irenaeus states that St. Peter and St. Paul, having founded the Church at Rome, gave the office of Bishop to Linus; but according to Tertullian St. Peter appointed Clement as his successor. . . . *Cleto* (or Anacletus), Bishop of Rome from 76 (or 78) to 88 (or 90), successor of Linus. . . . Cletus was martyred under Domitian." Brunetto Latini (*Trésor*, i, 86) says of the two: "Quant Pierres dut morir, il ordena i de ses disciples qui ot à non Clemens à tenir la chaiere après lui; mais il ne la vost onques tenir, ainz constitui Linum son compaignon, qui la tint tant comme il vesqui, et puis constitui il Cletum, qui autressi la tint toute sa vie; et quant il furent mort andui, Clemens meismes tint la chaiere et fu apostoiles de Rome."

E Sisto* e Pio e Calisto ed Urbano
Sparser lo sangue dopo molto fleto. 45

Then did his words proceed with voice so much transmuted from itself, that not more altered was his countenance: "The Spouse of Christ was never fostered with my blood, with that of Linus, (or) with that of Cletus for the purpose of being used for the gain of gold; but for gain of this blissful life did Sixtus and Pius and Calixtus and Urban shed their blood after much weeping.

The above-mentioned early Popes suffered martyrdom after a bitter life of long and terrible persecutions.

St. Peter further argues that it had never been the intention of the Early Church that the Christian people should be divided into Guelphs and Ghibellines, the former to sit on the right hand, and the latter on the left of the Papal throne, the Guelphs to be treated as friends, and the Ghibellines as enemies of the Church; nor that the keys of Heaven entrusted to him by God should become the insignia of war in the papal banner to be used in battle against Christians. Nor that St. Peter's own image should serve as the seal to stamp upon Bulls bought for money, and as a ratification of falsehoods.

Non fu nostra intenzion† ch' a destra mano

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* *Sisto:* Sixtus I, Bishop of Rome about 119-127; *Pio:* Pius I, A.D. 140, contemporary with the Emperor Antoninus Pius; *Calisto:* Calixtus I, Bishop of Rome (217-222) during the reigns of the Emperors Macrinus and Elagabalus; *Urbano:* Urban I succeeded Calixtus I as Bishop of Rome, 222-230; he was contemporary with the Emperor Alexander Severus. The above notices are extracted from Toynbee's *Dante Dictionary.*

†*Non fu nostra intenzion*, etc.: "When the Son of Man shall come in His glory, and all the holy angels with Him, then shall He sit upon the throne of His glory: And before Him shall

Dei nostri successor parte sedesse,
Parte dall' altra, del popol cristiano;
Nè che le chiavi, che mi fur concesse,*
Divenisser segnacolo in vessillo,
Che contra i battezzati combattesse; †
Nè ch' io fossi figura di sigillo
Ai privilegi venduti e mendaci,
Ond' io sovente arrosso e disfavillo.

It was not our purpose that at the right hand of our successors should sit one part of the Christian people, and part on the other (hand); nor that the keys, which were vouchsafed to me, should become the escutcheon on a standard, that should be borne forth to war against baptised (Christians); nor that I myself should be made the figure on a seal set to venal and mendacious privileges, whereat I often blush, and flash with ire.

As he looks down upon earth, he sees throughout the

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be gathered all nations; and He shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats: And He shall set the sheep on His right hand, but the goats on the left." (*St. Matt.* xxv, 31-33.) "Dice san Piero, che non fu la intenzione di lui, nè delli predetti papi, li quali sparsero il sangue per la Chiesa, che alla mano diritta, cioè dalla parte della grazia de' loro successori papi, sedessero una parte de' Cristiani per via di parte Guelfa, nè dalla sinistra, cioè della indignazione, sedesse l' altra parte, cioè i Ghibellini; nè che le chiavi che sono segno dell' apostolica autoritade, fossero dipinte, per via di parti, nelli gonfaloni de' mortali Cristiani andando incontro alli altri Cristiani, nè che la immagine di san Piero fosse imprenta nella bolla de' privilegj e de' beneficj acquistati per simonia, donde spesso si vergogna e adira." (*Ottimo.*)

* *le chiavi, che mi fur concesse:* Compare *Par.* xxiv, 34-46:—

". . . O luce eterna del gran viro,
A cui nostro Signor lasciò le chiavi,
Ch' ei portò giù."

† *combattesse:* Compare *Inf.* xxvii, 85-88:—

"Lo Principe de' nuovi Farisei,
Avendo guerra presso a Laterano,
E non con Saracin, nè con Giudei;
Chè ciascun suo nimico era Cristiano."

Church, in every diocese, greed of gain among those who ought to be faithful Pastors of their flocks. He sees a native of Cahors (John XXII), and a native of Gascony (Clement V), making ready to get fat upon the rich revenues bestowed on the Church by the faithful out of devotion to his (St. Peter's) blood.

In vesta di pastor* lupi rapaci
Si veggion di quassù per tutti i paschi:
O difesa di Dio,† perchè pur giaci?
Del sangue nostro Caorsini ‡ e Guaschi
S' apparecchian di bere; o buon principio,
A che vil fine convien che tu caschi!

In garb of shepherds rapacious wolves are seen from here on high throughout the pastures: O defending arm of God, why slumberest thou still? Of our blood they of Cahors and of Gascony are making ready to drink; O thou good beginning, to what a despicable end must thou needs fall!

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* *In vesta di pastor:* Compare *St. Matt.* vii, 15: "Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves." Buti says that the simile is appropriate, "perchè vanno colle grandi cappe," that is, in their sacerdotal vestments they look like the shepherds whose ample cloaks are so familiar an object to all who have travelled in Central and Southern Italy.

† *O difesa di Dio*, etc.: Trissino explains that this stands for *O Dio difensor della Chiesa!* "Plein de la lecture de la Bible, Dante a emprunté cette apostrophe au psaume 43 (A.V. xliv, 23): 'Exsurge; quare obdormis, Domine?'" (Lamennais.) Compare *difesa* here with *soccorso* in *Par.* xxii, 96. See also Moore, *Textual Criticism*, p. 492, on this reading, and the two variants, *giudizio* and *vendetta*.

‡ *Caorsini:* It is clearly shown by this passage that the *Paradiso*, or this part of it, was written during the last five years of Dante's life, for John XXII came to the Papacy in 1316. "Dice san Piero che quelli di Caorsa e di Guascognia s' apparecchiano di bere del sangue dei martiri, perchè s' apparecchiavano ad essere papa, cardinali, arcivescovi, e vescovi e prelati nella Chiesa d' Iddio, che è edificata col sangue de' martiri." (Buti.)

St. Peter answers his own question, and shows how, in the Church's hour of direst need, there is unexpected help at hand. Divine Providence saved Rome at the moment when, prostrate at the feet of Hannibal, she seemed at the very point of extinction, and God will even now come to the succour of His Church.

Ma l' alta provvidenza,* che con Scipio †
Difese a Roma la gloria del mondo,
Soccorrà tosto, sì com' io concipio.

But that high Providence, that with Scipio defended at Rome the glory of the world, will speedily bring aid, as I conceive.

He enjoins Dante to recount to the world all that he has seen and heard, and thus brings to an end his indignant utterances.

E tu, figliuol,‡ che per lo mortal pondo

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* *l' alta provvidenza:* Compare *Inf.* xxiii, 55. Scartazzini, in a note also quoted by Casini, says that we have here the same hope expressed in a more vague and general form than in the prophecy of the *Veltro* (*Inf.* i) and the *Cinque cento Dieci e cinque* (*Purg.* xxxiii). Dante never saw the fulfilment of it, although "ne aspettasse *tosto* l' adempimento."

† *Scipio:* In *Conv.* iv, 5, ll. 164-171, Dante also alludes to the intervention of the hand of God by Scipio to save the Roman Empire: "E non pose Iddio le mani, quando per la guerra d' Annibale, avendo perduti tanti cittadini che tre moggia d'anella in Affrica erano portate, li Romani vollero abbandonare la terra, se quello benedetto Scipione giovane non avesse impresa l' andata in Affrica per la sua franchezza." Compare also *De Mon.* ii, 11, ll. 59-61: "Scipione vero pro Italis, Hannibale pro Africanis in forma duelli bellum gerentibus, Italis Afri succubuerunt." Compare also *Inf.* xxviii, 10 et seq.

‡ *E tu, figliuol:* Observe that Dante, wishing to pronounce a heavy censure upon the prelates of the time, goes through the fiction of representing that he did so by the orders of St. Peter, who, while calling the Popes who have succeeded him, usurpers, and the prelates in general, rapacious wolves, addresses Dante by the endearing term of "My Son."

Ancor giù tornerai, apri la bocca, 65
E non asconder * quel ch' io non ascondo."—

And thou, my Son, who because of thy mortal weight wilt again return below, open thy mouth, and conceal not that which I do not conceal."

Division II.—St. Peter, having now terminated the denunciation of his degenerate successors, is, together with the whole company of the blessed spirits around him, caught up and swept away into the Empyrean; and Dante compares their appearance to snow-flakes in a storm-cloud, save that the spirits are going upwards, *i.e.* inversely to the flakes which are falling.† Dante follows them with his eyes, but they gradually fade away into the boundless realms of space.

Sì come di vapor gelati fiocca ‡

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* *E non asconder:* Casini remarks that it is hardly necessary to point out that nearly the whole *Commedia* is the putting into action of this counsel, for the ecclesiastical corruption of Dante's time being one of the greatest hindrances to that moral regeneration of the human race which was Dante's ideal, it was but natural that he should frequently and in various ways raise his voice against the Pontiffs, who were the primary causes of such great corruption.

† Compare with this a similar idea in the Canzone (*Vita Nuova*, § xxiii) beginning *Donna pietosa e di novella etade*, st. 5 :—

"Levava gli occhi miei bagnati in pianti,
E vedea (che parean pioggia di manna),
Gli angeli che tornavan suso in cielo."

‡ *fiocca:* Although *fioccare* in its primary sense means that snow is *falling* thickly, flake by flake, the sense, Casini observes, must not be sought wholly in the first line of the passage, but in the whole context. *L' aer fiocca di vapori in giuso . . . l'etere . . . fioccar di vapor in su*, so that one clearly sees that the contrast is drawn between the atmosphere sending flakes of snow in a downward direction and the heaven sending flakes (*i.e.* vast multitudes of Effulgences in an upward direction). These radiant spirits rose tranquilly up towards the Empyrean, with that calm regularity one sees in snow falling in large flakes towards the Earth.

In giuso l' aer * nostro, quando il corno
Della Capra † del ciel col sol si tocca ;
In su vid' io così l' etere adorno
Farsi, e fioccar di vapor trïonfanti,‡

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* *l' aer nostro . . . l' etere adorno.* For the distinction between *aere* and *etere*, compare Aristotle, *De Mundo*, iii (392 b. 35-393 a. 4) : "πέντε δὴ στοιχεῖα ταῦτα, ἐν πέντε χώραις σφαιρικῶς ἐγκείμενα, περιεχομένης ἀεὶ τῆς ἐλάττονος τῇ μείζονι (λέγω δὲ γῆς μὲν ἐν ὕδατι, ὕδατος δὲ ἐν ἀέρι, ἀέρος δὲ ἐν πυρί, πυρὸς δὲ ἐν αἰθέρι) τὸν ὅλον κόσμον συνεστήσατο." Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, p. 124) writes : "This passage seems evidently to have suggested *Quaestio de Aqua et Terra*, § 20, l. 52, where having argued that neither earth, water, air, or fire, can be the cause of the elevation of the different parts of the earth's surface, the author adds : 'quum non restet *ulterius* (so we should probably read for *alterius*) nisi cœlum, reducendus est hic effectus in ipsum, tanquam in causam propriam.' *Cœlum* is evidently here used as equivalent to αἰθήρ, as the fifth element. Indeed Aristotle more than once says that the two terms are interchangeable. See especially the chapter before that quoted above (392 a. 5): 'οὐρανοῦ δὲ καὶ ἄστρων οὐσίαν μὲν αἰθέρα καλουμεν.'" In a Supplementary note in the same work, p. 300, Dr. Moore adds : "This distinction between *aer* and *aether* is repeated by St. Augustine, *e.g. De Civ. Dei*, viii, xxi : 'quod scilicet deos *aetherios* humana curantes quid terrestres homines agerent utique lateret, nisi daemones aerii nuntiarent ; quoniam *aether* longe a terra est alteque suspensus, *aer* vero aetheri terraeque contiguus.' And again, *ibid.* iv, x : 'Quia Jovem, inquiunt, in aethere accipimus, in *aere* Junonem.' Another passage, more closely resembling that quoted *l.c.* from the *Quaestio*, occurs in the *Imperf. Lib. de Genesi*, § 14 : '*Aer* quidem mobilior est quam aqua ; *aether* autem mobilior ipso *aere* non absurde creditur.' Also in the curious *Book of the Secrets of Enoch* (lately published by Messrs. Morfill & Charles), p. 4, we read that Enoch in his ascent was first placed on the clouds, then going higher he saw the air, and going still higher he saw the aether, and so arrived at the first heaven.

† *quando il corno Della Capra*, et seq. : This means, the time that the Sun remains in Capricorn at the winter solstice, from the middle of December to the middle of January ; which is *popularly* true, if one takes no note of correction for precession.

‡ *vapor trïonfanti* are the Saints belonging to the Church Triumphant, the congregation of Heaven. These Saints had remained during the whole time of Dante's examination by the three Apostles,

Che fatto avean con noi quivi soggiorno.
Lo viso mio seguiva * i suoi sembianti,
E seguì in fin che il mezzo, per lo molto,
Gli tolse il trapassar del più avanti. 75

Even as our atmosphere sends downwards flakes of frozen vapours, when the horn of the celestial Goat is in contact with the Sun; in like manner did I behold the heaven adorn itself, and send upwards flakes of triumphant vapours (*i.e.* saints), who there with us had made some sojourning. My eyesight pursued and continued to follow their semblances, until the intervening space, from its immensity, took from it the power of penetrating further.

Beatrice, now perceiving that Dante is no longer able to discern more of the glories that have vanished in the distant expanse of heaven, invites him to turn his eyes once more down to earth, and to note how, since he last looked down, he has, with the heavens, revolved a quarter of the sphere.

Onde la Donna, che mi vide assolto †
Dell' attendere in su, mi disse :—" Adima ‡
Il viso, e guarda come tu sei volto."—

Whereupon my Lady, who saw me freed from gazing upward, said to me: "Cast thine eyes downward, and see how much thou hast come round."

In the next nine lines, which Dr. Moore has called

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* *Lo viso mio seguiva:* Compare *Par.* iii, 122-125, where Dante says of Beatrice that

" cantando vanío,
Come per acqua cupa cosa grave.
La vista mia, . . . tanto la seguío
Quanto possibil fu," etc.

† *assolto:* Compare *Par.* xxv, 25 :—
" Ma poi che il gratular si fu assolto," etc.

‡ *Adima:* Compare *Purg.* xix, 100, 101 :—
" Intra Sestri e Chiaveri si adima
Una fiumana bella."

"an enormously difficult passage," we read that Dante obeys Beatrice, and finds that he is now in the sign of Gemini, six hours having passed since he last looked to earth (*Par.* xxii, 133 et seq.), and that he can see from Cadiz to the coasts of Phœnicia.

I extract the following from Haselfoot, Butler, Norton, Plumptre, Gardner, Scartazzini, Moore's *Time References*, and from an erudite article in the *Quarterly Review* of April, 1898: We must in dealing with this passage assume the truth of Dante's views of Geography, though they are in many respects contrary to the facts. According to him, our hemisphere alone was inhabited: Jerusalem was the centre, and India and the extreme West of Spain were its Eastern and Western limits respectively. For present purposes, India may be called the Ganges, and the West of Spain, Cadiz; as Dante frequently styles them. The hemisphere, of course, extends through 180° of Longitude. Hence the Ganges is 90° East and Cadiz 90° West of Jerusalem. Further, Dante regarded Italy as being half-way between Cadiz and Jerusalem, *i.e.* 45° East of the one and West of the other. The old geographers divided the supposed habitable globe into seven *climata* or zones, by circles parallel to the Equator. The first climate, called also the climate of Meroë, extended twenty degrees to the North of the Equator. The sign of Gemini, within which Dante was revolving in the Heaven of the Fixed Stars, is supposed to be in the zone of the heavens corresponding to the first climate. As each climate extended on the habitable hemisphere for 180° of Longitude, the arc, from its middle to its end,

would be of 90°, comprised between Jerusalem and Cadiz, and the time required for passing through it would be six hours, *i.e.* one-fourth of the diurnal revolution of the heavens. Dante says that he almost saw Phœnicia, and would have seen further East than it, but for the Sun's position. This can only mean that his own position would have given him the more extensive view, but for the fact that the Sun was setting upon Phœnicia, and therefore all beyond it was in darkness. This condition would obviously be consistent with the supposition that Dante was in the Longitude of Italy or Rome, and some Commentators have supposed this to have been intended by Dante as appropriate to the denunciation by St. Peter just preceeding, so that "Roma guarda sì come suo speglio." (*Inf.* xiv, 105.)

Dall' ora ch' io avea guardato prima,
Io vidi mosso me per tutto l' arco
Che fa dal mezzo al fine il primo clima;
Sì ch' io vedea di là da Gade il varco
Folle d' Ulisse, e di qua presso il lito
Nel qual si fece Europa dolce carco.
E più mi fora discoperto il sito
Di questa aiuola; ma il sol procedea
Sotto i miei piedi un segno e più partito.

I saw that since the hour when I had first looked, I had moved through the whole arc which the first climate forms from its middle to its end; so that I could see on the far side of Cadiz the insensate course of Ulysses (*i.e.* the Atlantic Ocean), and near on this side the shore (of Phœnicia) whereupon Europa became so delightful a burden. And yet more of the site of this little-threshing-floor (our Earth) would have been disclosed to me; but that the Sun was proceeding beneath my feet, a sign and more removed.

Division III.—The ascent to the Ninth Sphere, or *Primum Mobile,* is now described; but Dante first uplifts his voice in an outburst of love for Beatrice. He feels far greater need now than ever before of Holy Theology, as he is about to enter into a more highly consecrated region, and requires the aid of the sacred doctrines.

La mente innamorata, che donnea *
Con la mia Donna sempre, di ridure †
Ad essa gli occhi più che mai ardea :
E se natura od arte ‡ fe' pasture §
Da pigliare occhi per aver la mente,
In carne umana o nelle sue pitture,
Tutte adunate || parrebber niente

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* *donnea :* Third person singular of the present tense of the verb *donneare, lit.* "to pay court to." Compare *Par.* xxiv, 118, 119 :—

"La grazia che donnea
Con la tua mente."

See note on that passage, and compare the word *sdonneare,* the contrary of *donneare,* which we find in the *Vita Nuova,* § xii, 115, in the fourth stanza of the First *Ballata* :—

"E di' a colui ch' è d' ogni pietà chiave,
Avanti che *sdonnei* [cioè si parta dall' amante].
Che le saprà contar mia ragion buona."

† *ridure* is regularly derived from the Latin *reducere,* but later on took the modern form *ridurre.*

‡ *natura od arte :* Compare *Purg,* xxxi, 49-51 :—

"Mai non t' appresentò natura o arte
Piacer, quanto le belle membra in ch' io
Rinchiusa fui."

§ *pasture :* This is a term in fowling signifying "bait." Compare *Par.* xxi, 19, 20 :—

"Chi sapesse qual era la pastura
Del viso mio." The sense being that Dante feasted his eyes, *i.e.* swallowed the bait.

|| *Tutte adunate :* Compare Petrarch, *Rime,* part i, canz. vii, st. 4 :—

"Quanta dolcezza unquanco
Fu in cor d' avventurosi amanti, accolta

Vêr lo piacer divin che mi rifulse, 95
Quando mi volsi al suo viso ridente.

My enamoured mind, which at all times takes delight in my Lady, was desiring more ardently than ever to bring back my eyes to her. And if nature by means of human flesh, or art by its portraitures has made baits to catch the eyes in order to lay hold on the mind, all these collected would appear nought compared with that divine joy which shone upon me when I turned me towards her smiling face.

In the above lines we have seen that Dante, having ascended to such an infinite height in the heavens, rejoices thereat, and, ever desirous of contemplating the beauty of Beatrice, he gazes once more upon her. Both in her glance and in her smile he sees her beauty so intensified, that he feels as though God had concentrated in her alone the beauties of all human beauty, whether of the real and living, or portrayed on canvas or in marble. And now, as Dante gazes at her, renewed virtue and power passes into him, and he insensibly finds himself being lifted into the Sphere above. He says that, as all parts of this Sphere (the *Primum Mobile*) are alike, he is not able to tell at which spot of it he entered.*

Tutta in un loco, a quel ch' i' sento, è nulla,
Quando voi alcuna volta
Soavemente tra 'l bel nero e 'l bianco
Volgete il lume in cui Amor si trastulla."

* On this Serravalle remarks that Dante is not able to say in what part of the Ninth Sphere he is, although in the Eighth Sphere he had that knowledge: "Nam auctor scit dicere in qua parte octave spere erat, propter signa que sunt in ipsa et propter stellas varias; sed dum est modo in nona spera, nescit dicere in qua parte ipsius sit, quia nona spera non habet stellas nec aliqua signa nec aliquam varietatem, sed habet omnimodam uniformitatem per totum; et ideo si Dantes interrogaretur: Quando

E la virtù che lo sguardo m' indulse,*
Del bel nido di Leda mi divelse,
E nel ciel velocissimo † m' impulse.
Le parti sue vivissime ‡ ed eccelse
Sì uniformi son, ch' io non so dire §
Qual Beatrice per loco mi scelse.

And the power which her glance vouchsafed me tore me forth from the fair nest of Leda (*i.e.* the constellation of Gemini), and impelled me up into

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intrasti nonam speram, in qua parte eius intrasti? ipse nesciret respondere propter omnimodam uniformitatem eius."

* *m' indulse:* From *indulgere*, "to grant, concede, vouchsafe." In *Par.* ix, 34, 35, Dante uses the word in the sense of "to use indulgence:"—

"Ma lietamente a me medesma indulgo
La cagion di mia sorte."

† *ciel velocissimo:* Compare *Conv.* ii, 4, ll. 14-27: "Lo cielo Empireo . . . è cagione al Primo Mobile per avere velocissimo movimento; chè per lo ferventissimo appetito che ha ciascuna parte di quello nono cielo, ch' è immediato a quello, d' esser congiunta con ciascuna parte di quello decimo cielo divinissimo e quieto, in quello si rivolve con tanto desiderio, che la sua velocità è quasi incomprensibile."

‡ *vivissime:* Some MSS. read *vicissime* which they explain as *vicinissime.* Compare *vivacissime* in *Conv.* ii, 5, l. 122; and *Conv.* ii, 4, ll. 72, 73: "perocchè [il cielo] ha più movimento e più attualitade e più vita e più forma."

§ *non so dire,* et seq.: Beatrice, noticing Dante's disappointment, tells him that all motion is originated in it, and that it is set in motion by God alone, Whose Throne in the centre of the Empyrean is set so fast that it cannot be moved. Scartazzini thinks it probable that, from the following passage in Aristotle, later philosophers took the idea of the *Primum Mobile* and the Empyrean. See *De Coelo* i, 9: "Ἅμα δὲ δῆλον, ὅτι οὐδὲ τόπος οὐδὲ κενὸν οὐδέ χρόνος ἔστιν ἔξω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἐν ἅπαντι γὰρ τόπῳ δυνατὸν ὑπάρξαι σῶμα· κενὸν δὲ εἶναί φάσιν ἔν ᾧ μὴ ὑπάρχει σῶμα, δυνατὸν δὲ γενέσθαι· Χρόνος δ' ἔστὶν ἀριθμὸς κίνήσεως . . . φανερὸν ἄρα, ὅτι οὔτε τόπος οὔτε κενὸν οὔτε χρόνος ἐστὶν ἔξωθεν· διοπερ οὔτ' ἐν τόπῳ τακεῖ πέφυκεν, οὔτε χρόνος ἀντὰ ποιεῖ γηράσκειν." Compare *Conv.* ii, 4, ll. 9-13: "Lo nono [cielo] è quello che non è sensibile, se non per questo movimento che è detto di sopra, lo quale chiamano molti Cielo Cristallino, cioè diafano, ovvero tutto trasparente." Compare also *Conv.* ii, 15, ll. 122-138.

the swiftest heaven (*i.e.* into the *Primum Mobile* or Crystalline Heaven). Its parts, most instinct with life and most exalted, are so uniform, that I am unable to tell which of them Beatrice selected for my place.

Dante next describes how Beatrice makes known to him the nature and the power of the Ninth Sphere; its excellence, in that it receives its influence from no other power than that of God Himself; whereas itself exercises its influence upon all the other Spheres; in it all movement takes it origin, and it is set in motion by God alone.

Ma ella che vedeva il mio disire,
Incominciò ridendo tanto lieta,*
Che Dio parea nel suo volto gioire:
—"La natura del mondo,† che quïeta
Il mezzo e tutto l' altro intorno move,
Quinci comincia come da sua meta.

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* *tanto lieta*, et seq.: Compare *Par.* iii, 68, 69:—

"Da indi mi rispose tanto lieta,
Ch' arder parea d'amor nel primo foco."

† *La natura del mondo:* Others read *moto*, of which Scartazzini says that it is absolutely devoid of authority, and that it is not a Dantesque expression to say *il moto muove e quieta*. The meaning of the passage is: "Here from this ninth heaven the nature of the world takes its beginning as from its boundary (*meta*), while nature keeps motionless its centre, *i.e.* our earth, and causes all the other bodies to move round it." Compare *Conv.* ii, 14, ll. 14-16: "Ciascuno cielo mobile si volge intorno al suo centro, il quale per suo movimento non si muove." And *Conv.* ii, 15, ll. 132-134: "Lo Cielo Cristallino . . . ordina col suo mòvimento la cotidiana revoluzione di tutti gli altri." Lamennais, after giving the two readings *mondo* and *moto*, adds: "Nous préférons la première, qui se lie mieux à ce qui suit, et nous semble offrir un sens plus élevé, et en même temps plus naturel; car parvenu dans la neuvième sphère, d' où il embrasse toute la création, Dante paraît avoir dû la montrer, pour ainsi dire, dans son ensemble et sa connexion générale. Selon cette pensée, par la *nature du monde* on doit entendre l' univers tout entier, la nature universelle, ce que les Scolastiques appellent *natura naturata*."

E questo cielo non ha altro dove *
Che la mente divina, in che s' accende † 110
L' amor che il volge e la virtù ch' ei piove.
Luce ed amor ‡ d' un cerchio lui comprende,
Sì come questo gli altri, e quel precinto
Colui che il cinge solamente intende.§

But she, who saw my desire, began, smiling the while with so much gladness that in her countenance God seemed to rejoice: "The nature of the

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* *altro dove:* Compare *Par.* iii, 88, 89:—
"Chiaro mi fu allor com' ogni dove
In cielo è Paradiso;"
and *Par.* xii, 29, 30:—
". . . l' ago alla stella
Parer mi fece in volgermi al suo dove;"
and *Par.* xxii, 146, 147:—
". . . e quindi mi fu chiaro
Il varïar che fanno di lor dove."

† *la mente divina*, et seq.: Compare *Conv.* ii, 4, ll. 21-25, where we gather that in that Divine Intelligence is enkindled "lo ferventissimo appetito che ha ciascuna parte di quel nono cielo d' esser congiunta con ciascuna parte di quello decimo Cielo divinissimo e quieto."

‡ *Luce ed amor:* The light and love of the sole Empyrean Heaven comprehend the Crystalline Heaven, in the same way that the Crystalline Heaven itself comprehends, *i.e.* contains within itself, all the Heavens that are below it; and the Empyrean is controlled by Him who encircles it, namely, by God.

§ *intende:* Some interpret this in its literal sense of "understands," but I follow the interpretation of *Philalethes*, who says: "Das wort *intende* habe ich durch *wirkt* übersetzt, denn ist von der Art der Wirkung der himmlischen Intelligenzen hergenommen, die eben, Gott betrachtend, auf die Himmelskreise einwirken." Compare *Conv.* ii, 6, ll. 151-161, which passage leaves no doubt as to Dante's meaning: "Questi movitori muovono, solo *intendendo*, la circolazione in quello suggetto proprio che ciascuno muove. La forma nobilissima del cielo, che ha in sè principio di questa natura passiva, gira toccata da virtù motrice che questo intende: e dico toccata, non corporalmente, per tatto di virtù, la quale si dirizza in quello. E questi movitori sono quelli, alli quali s' intende di parlare, ed a cui io fo la mia domanda." Compare also *Conv.* iv, 1, ll. 64, 65: "la prima materia degli elementi era da Dio intesa."

world, which keeps the centre motionless, and moves all the rest around it, commences from hence (*i.e.* from the Ninth Heaven) as from its boundary. And this heaven has no other 'Where' than the Divine Intelligence, in which is enkindled the Love which revolves it, and the Power which it sheds. Light and Love (the Empyrean) enclose it (the *Primum Mobile*) in one circle, in the same way that it encloses the other (circles), and this circumference He Who encircles it controls.

Beatrice next tells Dante that the motion of the Ninth Sphere is the first measurement of time, as well as of all other motions. The slower motions of the heavens below it are determined by it, the Crystalline Heaven, the *Primum Mobile*, the swiftest of them all; and by it they are measured and divided, even as five and two divide ten. The fixed unit of time is the day which is established by the revolution of the *Primum Mobile.* (Norton.)

Non è suo moto per altro distinto;* 115
Ma gli altri son misurati da questo,
Sì come dieci da mezzo e da quinto.†

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* *distinto:* Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*) explains it "diversificato." The *Gran Dizionario*, s. v. *distinto*, § 8: "*Del tempo*, Giorni, Ore, Tempi distinti, non solo non confusi, e che l' uomo discerne; ma destinati a operazioni distinte. E perchè il moto è misura del tempo, *non è suo moto*," etc. Venturi (p. 193) adds: "*misurato.* La distinzione suppone misura."

† *Sì come dieci da mezzo e da quinto:* "Il dieci è perfettamente misurato da *mezzo*, cioè dalla sua meta che è cinque, e da *quinto*, cioè dalla sua quinta parte che è due; moltiplicati l' uno per l' altro." (L. Venturi, *Simil. Dant.* p. 193, sim. 335.) In Similitudini 333 and 334, he compares the following: *Par.* xv, 55-57:—

"Tu credi che a me tuo pensier mei
Da quel ch' è primo, così come raia
Dall' un, se si conosce, il cinque e il sei;"

and *Par.* v, 58-60:—

E come il tempo tenga in cotal testo
Le sue radici e negli altri le fronde,
Omai a te puot' esser manifesto. 120

Its motion is in no wise marked out by any other, but the others are measured by it, just as ten is by its half (five) and by its fifth (two). And how time can have its roots within such a vase (*i.e.* in the *Primum Mobile*) and its foliage in the other (planetary Heavens), can henceforward be intelligible to you.

Lombardi observes that founding, as we do, our idea of time on the diurnal motion of the planets, which we see, and this motion having for its cause the invisible diurnal motion of the *Primum Mobile,* time would seem to have its roots hidden, that is, its origin concealed, in this *Primum Mobile,* almost as a plant in a vase (*testo*), and to have its leaves in the other celestial circles, and their motion, visible to us, is our measurement of time, which begins in the *Primum Mobile.*

Division IV.—Beatrice now utters a condemnation of covetousness, an evil prevailing everywhere, which so crushes down the affections of men towards perishable possessions, that they are unable to lift up their eyes to behold the wonderful order and arrangement of the Heavens, which God has made so per-

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"Ed ogni permutanza creda stolta,
Se la cosa dimessa in la sorpresa,
Come il quattro nel sei, non è raccolta."

On the three passages taken together Venturi (*l.c.*) remarks: "A chi paresse troppo umile la forma poetica di queste tre ultime similitudini, è da rispondere che come i cieli hanno per Dante una significazione filosofica, così anche i numeri; e perciò rammentando i nomi di questi egli non teme di apparir prosaico, perchè l' ingegno suo vede nella parola irraggiata dal concetto la nobiltà dell' immagine e la schiettezza del vero."

fect. That is why they are unable to comprehend this Ninth Heaven.* Scartazzini observes that there is a distinct link between the ideas expressed in these *terzine* and in describing St. Peter's wrath, although it is not apparent at first sight. St. Peter spoke of this Sphere of Heaven, in which Nature, Space, and Time, have their bounds which they cannot pass, and now Beatrice censures the race of men because they do not elevate themselves, although they begin well, above Nature, Space, and Time, but pursue instead the transitory goods of the world.

O cupidigia, che i mortali affonde
Sì sotto te, che nessuno ha potere
Di trarre gli occhi fuor delle tue onde!
Ben fiorisce negli uomini il volere;
Ma la pioggia continua converte
In bozzacchioni† le susine vere.

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*Compare *De Mon.* i, 13, ll. 47-53: "Quum Monarcha nullam cupiditatis occasionem habere possit, vel saltem minimam inter mortales, ut superius est ostensum, quod caeteris principibus non contingit, et cupiditas ipsa sola sit corruptiva judicii, et justitia praepeditiva." Compare also *Par.* xv, 1-3:—

"Benigna volontade, in cui si liqua
Sempre l' amor che drittamente spira,
Come cupidità fa nell' iniqua."

In the two above quotations we are shown how covetous rapacity stifles every sentiment of justice and right. In *Par.* xxx, 139, how it casts a spell over the soul:—

"La cieca cupidigia che vi ammalia," etc.;

and *Par.* v, 79-80:—

"Se mala cupidigia altro vi grida,
Uomini siate, e non pecore matte."

It casts, as we said, a spell over the soul, and hinders men from attaining unto Heaven.

†*bozzacchioni:* Casini says that this is a name given to the *susina* (plum) which gets spoilt while in formation from flower into fruit, especially when the damage is brought about through heavy rains. The Tuscan peasants have a proverb:—

> O Covetousness, that so overwhelmest mortal men beneath thee, that none hath the power to lift his eyes from out of thy waters! Full well doth the will blossom in men; but the long continued rain converts the true plums into withered prunes.

Men begin by having some noble sentiments towards heavenly things, but the continual incentives to evil by bad examples transform a virtuous soul into a corrupt and wicked one. The adolescent, caught by the flowing tide of pleasures and temptations, soon goes astray from the innocence of his tender years. It is the young child with stammering lips that observes the fasts prescribed by the Church; the adult man wholly disregards them; and, forgetting his early love for his mother, wishes her dead and out of the way.

Fede ed innocenza son reperte
Solo nei parvoletti; poi ciascuna
Pria fugge che le guance sien coperte.
Tale balbuziendo ancor digiuna,
Che poi divora con la lingua sciolta
Qualunque cibo per qualunque luna;*
E tal balbuziendo ama ed ascolta

"Quando piove la Domenica di Passione,
Ogni susina va in bozzacchione."

Lana says: "li susini o prugni adduceno nella primavera molti fiori, li quali produrrebbeno buono frutto, cioè buone susine o prugne se non fossono turbati da piova continua la quale piova converte le dette susine in bozzacchioni o caccole [*viscous matter—rottenness*] piene di vermicelli, li quali poscia non che le foglie ma tutte le novelle del brocco dannificano e rodeno."

**per qualunque luna:* "cioè, quando è quaresima e quando non è; d' ogni tempo, seguendo l' appetito de la gola; ma dice *luna:* imperò che la luna è segno onde si coglie la quaresima, acciò che '1 venardi' santo sia lo plenilunio, o presso come fu quando Cristo sostenne [*morte* or *passione* understood]." (Buti.)

La madre sua, che con loquela intera *
Disira poi di vederla sepolta. 135

Faith and Innocence are only to be found in little children; later on they both take flight before the cheeks be covered (with down). One, while he still prattles, observes the fasts, who afterwards, when his tongue is loosed (*i.e.* when he has attained to the free use of speech) will devour every sort of food throughout every month (whether it be Lent or holiday time); and another, while he still prattles loves and hearkens to his mother, who afterwards, when grown to full speech, desires to see her buried.

The next three lines are very obscure and of much disputed interpretation, though, according to the greater consensus of opinion, the reference is to Human Nature, the daughter of the Sun: and the meaning of the passage would seem to be that, in the same way that the cheek of the infant, tender and fair in childhood, becomes embrowned with advancing years, so man, virtuous in the days of his early youth, becomes sinful and wicked as he gets older.†

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* *loquela intera* in l. 134 is the same as *lingua sciolta* in l. 131, meaning the fulness of speech attained by the full-grown man.

† Compare *Par.* xxii, 85-87:—

"La carne dei mortali è tanto blanda,
Che giù non basta buon cominciamento
Dal nascer della quercia al far la ghianda."

In favour of the interpretation that *la bella figlia* signifies the Human Race, the daughter of the Sun, we may compare *Par.* xxii, 116, where it is said of the Sun:—

"Quegli ch' è padre d' ogni mortal vita."

And to this we may add Dante's words in the *De Mon.* i, 9 (or 11), ll. 4-7: "Humanum genus filius est coeli, quod est perfectissimum in omni opere suo; generat enim homo hominem et sol, juxta secundum [*alii:* juxta Philosophum in secundo] De Naturali auditu." Scartazzini, followed by Casini, understands *la bella figlia di quei*, etc., to be the Church, the daughter of God the Spiritual Sun, and that she, who in her earliest origin (*nel*

Così si fa la pelle bianca nera,
Nel primo aspetto, della bella figlia
Di quei ch' apporta mane e lascia sera.

In like manner becomes darkened the skin, fair in its first aspect, of the beauteous daughter of him (the Sun) who brings morning and leaves evening.

Trissino paraphrases this: "In like manner, as in the countenance of Human Nature, the fair daughter of the Sun, who brings the day at his coming, and leaves night when he departs, so the fair complexion of young children is changed into the bronzed hue of grown men; *i.e.* so is the soul of men changed from good

primo aspetto) was pure and holy, has now become impure and wicked in the sight of God. Against Scartazzini's interpretation Poletto says, both in his Commentary, as well as in his Dante Dictionary: "La spiegazione . . . mi arriderebbe, se non ci fosse l' ostacolo insormontabile, che fa contro di essa, e che sta nella perifrasi *quel che apporta mane e lascia sera;* vero, verissimo che da Dante ripetute volte Dio è chiamato *Sole, Sole spirituale e intelligibile;* ma resta sempre che qui ognun s' accorge che nella frase non è possibile intender altro che il Sole fisico; e perciò la spiegazione, bella e piena da cui lato, dall'altro non si regge." Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante,* pp. 140, 141) compares the present passage with the other (quoted above) from *Par.* xxii, 116, and says: "These passages are interesting, because though not direct quotations from Aristotle, they, and especially the former, are almost unintelligible unless familiarity with certain passages in Aristotle be presupposed. At least this is so, if we adopt the interpretation which appears to me to be fully established by the reference in question, viz.: that '*la bella figlia di quei ch' apporta mane e lascia sera*' is a paraphrastic description of 'human nature,' and not, as some Commentators say 'the moon.' *Quei* is in any case obviously 'the sun:' and if it be correct to say that Dante intended 'human nature' by the daughter of the Sun, we may suppose he had floating in his memory two passages of Aristotle (cited by Mr. Butler) where this idea occurs, viz.: *Phys.* II, ii (194 b. 13), '*ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπον γεννᾷ καὶ ἥλιος.*' This passage was, as we know, familiar to Dante, since he quotes it in *De Mon.* i, 9 (see above). Again Aristotle (*Meteora* λ, 5, 1071, a 13) says, '*ἀνθρώπου αἴτιον τὰ τε στοιχεῖα πῦρ καὶ γῆ, κ. τ. λ. . . . καὶ παρὰ ταῦτα ὁ ἥλιος.*'"

into evil, as complexion is from fair to swarthy; for the human race, when children, are fair and good, and when grown up, become swarthy and wicked."

But all this, Beatrice concludes, arises from the evil government of the world, the Empire being badly administered and the Church still worse; and she foresees that before January shall be entirely unwintered (alluding to the error in the calendar, which was gradually making January a spring month), the heavens will be agitated and will exult at the appearance of the long-awaited deliverer, who will overthrow all the present evils, will bring round the head of the ships oî the Human Race (*lit.* fleet) into its right course, and will cause the plant to bear good fruit in proportion to the hopes which the flower awakened, instead of the withered prunes mentioned in ll. 125, 126.

Tu, perchè non ti facci maraviglia,
Pensa che in terra non è chi governi;* 140
Onde sì svia l' umana famiglia.

**non è chi governi:* Compare this with Dante's splendid apostrophe to Italy in *Purg.* vi, 76 et seq., where the same sentiment is repeatedly expressed:—

"Nave senza nocchiere in gran tempesta;" (l. 77).
"Che val, perchè ti racconciasse il freno
Giustinïano, se la sella è vota?" (ll. 88, 89).
"Ahi gente, che dovresti esser devota,
E lasciar seder Cesare in la sella." (ll. 91, 92).
"O Alberto Tedesco, che . . .
. . . dovresti inforcar li suoi arcioni." (ll. 97, 98).

And several passages besides these. Compare also *Conv.* iv, 9, ll. 100-108: "Quasi dire si può dello Imperadore, volendo il suo ufficio figurare con una immagine, che egli sia il cavalcatore della umana volontà. Lo qual cavallo come vada senza il cavalcatore per lo campo assai è manifesto, e spezialmento nella misera Italia che senza mezzo alcuno alla sua governazione è rimasa."

Ma prima che * gennaio tutto si sverni,
Per la centesma † ch' è laggiù negletta,
Ruggiran ‡ sì questi cerchi superni,
Che la fortuna, § che tanto s' aspetta, 145

* *prima che,* etc.: By this figurative expression Dante means that the events he is foreshadowing will occur in a very short time.

† *prima che gennaio . . . si sverni, Per la centesma,* etc.: *Svernare* = uscire dall' inverno, abbandonare l' inverno. "The allusion is (says Dr. Paget Toynbee, *Dante Dictionary*, s. v. *Gennaio*) to the error in the Julian Calendar, which put the length of the year at 365¼ days, and made every fourth year a leap-year. This was, however, too long by somewhat less than the hundredth part of a day (*la centesma negletta*), so that in Dante's time the error was above eight days, and January had been advanced by this amount nearer to the end of winter. This error was not corrected until 1582, by which time it amounted to ten days, when Gregory XIII introduced the reformed or Gregorian Calendar (not adopted in England till 1752), which provided that ten days should be dropped, and that three out of every four hundred years should be ordinary years, instead of every hundredth year being a leap-year as under the old calendar. In this way began the new style (N.S.) as opposed to the old style (O.S.). The Greek Church testifies its independence of Rome by keeping to the latter, which now differs twelve days from the new."

‡ *Ruggiran*: The allusion to the roaring as symbolizing the great commotions of the Kingdom of Heaven is thoroughly biblical, says Casini. Compare *Jer.* xxv, 30: "Therefore prophesy thou against them all these words, and say unto them, The Lord shall roar from on high, and utter His voice from His holy habitation; He shall mightily roar upon His habitation." And *Hosea* xi, 10: "They shall walk after the Lord; He shall roar like a lion: when He shall roar, then the children shall tremble from the west." And *Joel* iii, 16: "The Lord also shall roar out of Zion, and utter His voice from Jerusalem."

§ *la fortuna* [tempest] *che tanto s' aspetta:* Many interpreters think Dante is referring to the expected descent of Henry VII into Italy. But l. 58 shows that this passage was not written till after 1316, and Henry had died in 1313. There can be little doubt that the allusion is to the mysterious liberator spoken of as the *Veltro*, and the DXV. Benvenuto says of *fortuna:* "Adventus veltri, qui debet extirpare cupiditatem de mundo, qui multum expectatur et desideratur."

Le poppe volgerà u' son le prore,
Sì che la classe correrà diretta ;
E vero frutto verrà dopo il fiore."

Do thou, that thou mayest not marvel at it, reflect that on earth there is none to govern ; for which reason the human family goes astray. But before that January is wholly out of winter, by reason of the centesimal that is neglected down there on earth, these exalted Spheres shall roar so loud, that the storm-blast that has been thus long expected shall turn the poops to where are the prows, so that the fleet shall run in a direct course ; and true fruit shall come after the flower."

Mr. Gardner remarks that "thus Beatrice in the heaven of the Seraphim repeats the prophecy which St. Peter had uttered in the sphere of the Cherubim, as though Love and Knowledge had this same message to announce to the world."

END OF CANTO XXVII.

CANTO XXVIII.

THE NINTH SPHERE—DANTE IS IN THE *PRIMUM MOBILE* OR CRYSTALLINE HEAVEN—THE DIVINE ESSENCE—THE HIERARCHIES OF HEAVEN.

In this Canto Dante enters into the true Paradise. The Nine Choirs of Angels stand round about God, the Divine Essence.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into three parts.

In the First Division, from ver. 1 to ver. 39, Dante discerns an infinitesimal and exceedingly brilliant point of light, and around this are revolving nine concentric circles of fire. Dante learns that the point is God, and the nine circles the nine Angelic Hierarchies.

In the Second Division, from ver. 40 to ver. 87, Beatrice explains to Dante why these circles have a swifter revolution the nearer they are to the centre, instead of *vice versâ*, as was the case with the revolving Spheres.

In the Third Division, from ver. 88 to ver. 139, Dante describes in detail the whole series of the different Orders of Angels.

Division I.—As soon as Beatrice has opened Dante's vision to the truth, by reproving the deceitfulness of this present life, Dante gazes into her beautiful eyes, and sees mirrored in them a point of the most dazzling brightness, and turning to Heaven

to see what is reflected in Beatrice's eyes, observes that point itself. This is God Himself, the Divine Essence, "decked with light as with a garment." (*Psalm* civ, 2.)

The One God is mirrored in Beatrice, as the Unity of God is mirrored in the Unity of His Church.

Poscia che contro alla vita presente
Dei miseri mortali * aperse il vero
Quella che imparadisa † la mia mente;
Come in lo specchio fiamma di doppiero ‡
Vede colui che se n' alluma § retro,
Prima che l' abbia in vista o in pensiero,||
E sè rivolge per veder se il vetro
Gli dice il vero, e vede ch' el s' accorda ¶

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* *miseri mortali:* Compare Virgil, *Æn.* xi, 182, 183:—

"Aurora interea miseris mortalibus almam
Extulerat lucem"

and *Georg.;* III, 66, 67:—

"Optima quæque dies miseris mortalibus ævi
Prima fugit."

† *imparadisa:* Milton has imitated this in *Par. Lost,* iv, 505-508:—

"Thus these two,
Imparadis'd in one another's arms,
The happier Eden, shall enjoy their fill
Of bliss on bliss."

‡ *doppiero:* A waxen torch, of which Trissino writes: "Così detto dai raddoppiati stoppini (*i.e.* wicks, tapers) dei quali è composto." *Doppieri* are waxen torches in Italy made up of long tapers, either laid horizontally together to form one long thick torch, or else twisted spirally into that form. Casini says that these *doppieri* were much used in the Middle Ages to light great halls in palaces. They were placed in candelabra.

§ *se n' alluma:* "s' illumina d' esso di rieto dalle spalle, cioè che l' à acceso di rieto da sè." (Buti.)

|| *in vista o in pensiero:* Before the sight of the flame had caught his eye, or before he had even given the matter a thought.

¶ *e vede ch' el s' accorda Con esso:* "scilicet, quod vitrum concordat cum vero, quia scilicet idolum apparens in speculum conformatur et convenit cum re vera extra existenti . . . sicut

Con esso, come nota con suo metro; *
Così la mia memoria si ricorda
Ch' io feci, riguardando nei begli occhi †
Onde a pigliarmi fece Amor la corda.

After that she who doth imparadise my soul (*i.e.* blesses it with the holy bliss of Paradise) had unfolded the truth against (*i.e.* had spoken in just reprehension of) the present life of miserable mortals; (it so fell out that) as a man sees in a mirror the flame of a waxen torch which has been lighted behind him, before he has it in his sight or thought, and turns him round to see if the glass is telling him the truth, and perceives that the reality accords with the reflection as a note (of music) with its metre (*i.e.* with the words of the poem); even so does my memory recall to mind that I did so, gazing into the beauteous eyes, of which Love made the springe to ensnare me.

Benvenuto observes that thus far Dante has described what he saw reflected in the eyes of Beatrice; he will now relate how he turned round and looked upon the Holy Reality.

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chorda in cithara, vel alio instrumento musico, concordat cum cantu sibi correspondente. Et nota quod comparatio recte ostendit propositum, quia homo non potest immediate videre Deum, nisi sub imagine respiciens oculos Beatricis, idest per speculationem et contemplationem sacræ theologiæ tamquam per speculum." (Benvenuto.)

* *nota con suo metro:* Casini contends that *nota* is the words that are sung (as in *Inf.* xvi, 127; and *Purg.* xxxii, 33), while *metro* is the harmony with which the words are clothed, the music to which they are set; and this is also the view of some other Commentators; but the translation I have adopted is borne out by Buti, who says: "*come nota con suo metro;* cioè come s' accorda la nota del canto colla sua parola che ella segna, o colla sua misura: la nota è lo segno, e lo metro è la cosa segnata, come nelli occhi di Beatrice era lo segno, e di rieto a Dante era la cosa segnata."

† *riguardando nei begli occhi*, et seq.: Compare *Purg.* xxxi, 118-126, where Dante describes how he saw the Gryphon reflected in the eyes of Beatrice, and see thereon *Readings on the Purgatorio*, Third Edition, London, 1907, vol. ii, pp. 556-560.

E com' io mi rivolsi, e furon tocchi
Li miei da ciò che pare in quel volume,*
Quandunque nel suo giro ben s' adocchi,
Un punto† vidi che raggiava lume
Acuto sì, che il viso ‡ ch' egli affoca §
Chiuder conviensi per lo forte acume: ||

**furon tocchi Li miei* [occhi] *da ciò che pare in quel volume:* "Cioè da ciò che si vede in quella Deità, che è immensa, quando *nel suo giro*, cioè del detto lume, *ben s' adocchi* cioè ben si ragguardi, cioè quando li miei occhi ebbono veduto ciò che si può vedere de la Deità, che è lume infinito e bene senza misura, non viddi se non uno punto, perchè non fui capace di più, nè nessuno intelletto può essere capace se non di poghissima parte." (Buti.)

† *Un punto:* This luminous Point, which Dante is allowed to see, is God Himself. "Per qual ragione il poeta abbia imaginato che in questa prima apparizione Dio gli si manifesti si come un punto luminoso, non è determinato con sicurezza dagli interpreti: tra gli antichi prevale la sposizione del Lana, che il punto significhi essere difficile e prodonda la cognizione di Dio; tra i moderni quella del Biagioli che il punto esprima l'idea dell' individualità divina." (Casini.) Aristotle, in the Metaphysics vii (1073 a. 5-7) speaks of the indivisibility of the Godhead: "*μέγεθος οὐδὲν ἐνδέχεται ἔχειν ταύτην τὴν οὐσίαν, ἀλλ' ἀμερὴς καὶ ἀδιαίρετος ἐστιν.*"

‡ *viso:* Used here to signify the eyes, in the same sense as in *Inf.* iv, 11, 12:—

"Tanto che, per ficcar lo viso al fondo,
Io non vi discerneva alcuna cosa."

§ *affoca:* The usual signification of this verb is "to enkindle, to set on fire;" but here we are to take it in the sense of "darting light upon anything, illuminating with flame."

|| *acume*, derived from *acuto*, signifies "intensity." Compare *Par.* i, 82-84:—

"La novità del suono e il gran lume
Di lor cagion m' accesero un disio
Mai non sentito di cotanto acume;"

and in *Par.* xxxii, 74, 75, it is said of the spirits of infants in Heaven:—

"Locati son per gradi differenti,
Sol differendo nel primiero acume;"

and *Par.* xxxiii, 76-78:—

"Io credo, per l' acume ch' io soffersi
Del vivo raggio, ch' io sarei smarrito,
Se gli occhi miei da lui fossero aversi."

E quale stella par quinci più poca,*
Parrebbe luna locata con esso,
Come stella con stella si colloca.

And as I turned me round, and as my eyes were touched by that which is discernible in that volume (the Ninth Heaven), whenever one rightly scrutinizes its gyration, I beheld a point that was radiating light so piercing, that the eyes on which it darts its fire perforce must close by reason of its greater intensity: and what star soever seems smallest from down here, would seem to be a moon if placed beside it in the same way as a star is placed beside another star.

Mr. Gardner (*op. cit.* p. 198) says that this indivisible atomic point radiating light and symbolizing the unity of the Divinity, is "a fitting prelude to the more intimate vision of the Blessed Trinity which will be vouchsafed in the Empyrean. It is a point of most surpassing brilliancy but of most minute size, as a symbol of unity and immateriality. . . . The One is here seen mirrored in the eyes of Beatrice in reference to the theological demonstrations of the Church as to the Unity of God, for in the *Convivio* [iii, 15, ll. 13, 14] Dante declares that the eyes of his allegorical Lady are the demonstrations of philosophy."

Dante now describes a circle of fire, which seems as far off as the halo formed by vapours is from the Moon. This circle is the innermost of nine circles of flame symbolizing the nine angelic Orders, corresponding to the nine heavens. The whole are re-

* *più poca* "least, small est in dimensions." *Poco* is used in *Inf.* xx, 115, 116, with the signification of "lean, attenuated:"—

"Quell' altro che ne' fianchi è così poco,
Michele Scotto fu."

volving round the Luminous Point (which is God) with such extraordinary velocity, as to surpass that of the *Primum Mobile.* This circle of flame is surrounded by a second, the second by a third, and so on up to the ninth. These are the nine Hierarchies of Angels. Be it understood that they are moving under conditions precisely opposite to those of a wheel, the tyre of which moves at a much greater speed than the parts near the centre. Here the orbit nearest to the Sacred Point is the most rapid in its revolutions, while that farthest off is the slowest.

Forse cotanto quanto pare appresso
Alc * cinger la luce che il dipigne,
Quando il vapor che il porta più è spesso,

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* *Alo* [or *Halo*] *cinger:* There are a great number of variants here, the principal of which are: *Allo cinger* and *Al cinger.* On this Moore (*Text. Crit.* pp. 493, 494) observes: "The form *Alo*, being somewhat unusual for *Alone* [like *polve* for *polvere*, *Par.* ii, 133], will account for the existence of almost all the variants found here, as having arisen from either misunderstanding or deliberate emendation. Indeed it is almost the only reading which gives any sense at all, and it gives one which is perfectly distinct and appropriate. Moreover, in *Par.* x, 67, Dante again draws a comparison from the same phenomenon. As Scartazzini observes *Alo* and *Allo* are mere differences of orthography, the same might be said of *A lo*, remembering the constant irregularity of MSS. in respect of divisions of words. Thence would naturally arise, from misunderstanding, the readings, *Ad lo* and *Al.* Next would follow deliberate emendations to improve the sense, such as *A, Il*, or *Lo*, or the change of the verb, and so on." In his more recent work, *Studies in Dante*, p. 134, Dr. Moore, writing on "Solar and lunar halos, rainbows," etc., compares both this passage and that at ll. 32, 33, on the *messo di Juno*, the rainbow, with Aristotle's *Meteora*, iii, c. ii and iii. "We note (1) (says Moore) that Dante follows Aristotle in attributing solar and lunar halos to the density of the air; see *Meteor.* iii, iii *sub. init.* (372 b. 15-18, and 23, 24). (2) That as Aristotle discusses together the phenomena of halos and rainbows, their causes

Distante intorno al punto un cerchio d' igne * 25
Si girava sì ratto, ch' avria vinto
Quel moto che più tosto il mondo cigne ;
E questo era d' un altro circuncinto,
E quel dal terzo, e il terzo poi dal quarto,
Dal quinto il quarto, e poi dal sesto il quinto. 30
Sopra seguiva † il settimo sì sparto
Già di larghezza, che il messo di Juno ‡
Intero § a contenerlo sarebbe arto.
Così l' ottavo e il nono ; e ciascheduno

---

being mainly identical, C. ii *init.* (371 b. 18-20) so Dante here draws comparisons from both in the same context. (3) Aristotle contrasts these phenomena in that the former [the halo] often exhibits a complete circle, while the latter [the rainbow] is never seen complete (371 b. 23 and 26). Dante incidentally refers to the incomplete circle of the latter in l. 32 :—

'Che il messo di Juno
Intero a contenerlo sarebbe arto ;'

and the complete circle of the former, in the words :—

'Alo *cinger* la luce che il dipigne (l. 23).'"

* *un cerchio d' igne*, et seq. : This is the first of the nine circles revolving round the central point, which are the nine Orders of Angels. This, the first, is the sphere of the Seraphim ; the second (*d' un altro circuncinto*) is the sphere of the Cherubim ; the third is that of the Thrones ; the fourth is that of the Dominations ; the fifth that of the Virtues ; the sixth that of the Powers ; the seventh that of the Principalities ; the eighth that of the Archangels ; and the ninth that of the Angels.

† *Sopra seguiva :* Others read *Sovra sè giva ; Sovra sen giva ; Sovra giungeva ;* etc.

‡ *messo di Juno :* Iris, or the Rainbow, was said to be the messenger of Juno. Compare Ovid, *Metam.* i, 270, 271 :—

"Nuntia Junonis, varios induta colores,
Concipit Iris aquas, alimentaque nubibus adfert ;"

and Virgil, *Æn.* iv, 693, 694 :—

"Tum Juno omnipotens, longum miserata dolorem,
Difficilesque obitus, Irim demisit Olympo."

§ *Intero :* In our World we can only see the Rainbow as a half circle, but could we see the whole of it (*intero*) it would be a complete circle of immense extent, girding the whole of our globe. Mr. Butler quotes Aristotle as saying : "*τῆς ἴριδος οὐδέποτε γίγνεται κύκλος, οὐδὲ μεῖζον ἡμικυκλίου τμῆμα.*"

Più tardo si movea,* secondo ch' era
In numero distante più dall' uno:
E quello avea la fiamma più sincera,†
Cui men distava la favilla pura;
Credo però che più di lei s' invera.‡

Perchance at an equal distance as that at which the halo seems to begird the light that paints it, when the vapour which forms it is densest, thus distant around the Point, a circle of flame was whirling so rapidly, that it would have surpassed that motion (of the *Primum Mobile*) which revolves most swiftly round the world; and this was by another encircled, and that by a third, and the third again by a fourth, the fourth by a fifth, and then the fifth by a sixth. Beyond followed the seventh spread out so far in breadth, that, were the messenger of Juno (*i.e.* Iris, the Rainbow) complete (as an entire circle), it would be too narrow to contain it. So, too, the eighth and the ninth; and each of these rolled with a slower motion, according as it was in number more distant from unity: and that circle had its flame the most translucent from which the Pure Spark was least distant; I think, because it partakes most of Its truth.

Division II.—Dante is struck with wonder and awe

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* *Più tardo si movea*, et seq.: "quello che era più presso al punto, si movea più ratto che 'l secondo, e così successivamente; sicchè l' ultimo si movea più tardo di tutti." (Buti.)

† *sincera:* The primary meaning of *sincero* is "pure," and to this day at Florence pure wine is spoken of as "vino sincero." Compare St. Thom. Aquin. *Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. lv, art. 3. Compare "sincere milk of the word" in 1 *Pet.* ii, 2; though the *Vulgate* reads "sine dolo lac concupiscite." Dr. Moore tells me that Livy has "sincerum gaudium," meaning "unmixed pleasure."

‡ *s' invera:* "Qui rende la ragione e dice che è più in lucidezza, perchè s' invera, cioè più cognosce e vede della veritade della divina essenzia. E nota *s' invera* che è verbo informativo, quasi fassi simile alla veritade." (Lana.)

on learning that the nine Spheres of Heaven in their revolutions round the One Point, which is God Himself, are revolving with a motion which is precisely the opposite to that known on Earth. Beatrice, seeing this doubt in Dante's mind, proceeds at once to dispel it. The reason why the innermost circle revolves with the greatest velocity is because it is that nearest to the central spark of Divine flame, and consequently the one most enkindled by the love of this One Point, God, on whom the Heavens and the *whole* Order of Nature and of the Universe depend.

La Donna mia, che mi vedeva in cura
Forte sospeso, disse:—" Da quel punto*
Depende il cielo e tutta la natura.
Mira quel cerchio che più gli è congiunto,
E sappi che il suo movere è sì tosto
Per l' affocato amore,† ond' egli è punto."—

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* *Da quel punto Depende il cielo e tutta la natura:* Dante means the constituted order of the Heavens, and their entire influence upon all things terrestrial. Dante is here almost giving a literal translation of the words of Aristotle, *Metaphys.* Λ 7 (1072 b. 13, 14): "Ἐπεὶ δ' ἔστι τι κινοῦν αὐτὸ ἀκίνητον ὄν, τοῦτο οὐκ ἐνδέχεται ἄλλως ἔχειν οὐδαμῶς . . . ἔκ τοιαύτης ἄρα ἀρχῆς ἤρτηται ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ φύσις."

† *Per l' affocato amore*: That is, of the *Primum Mobile.* In *Conv.* ii, 4, ll. 21-27, Dante, speaking of the *Primum Mobile*, says: "Chè per lo ferventissimo appetito che ha ciascuna parte di quello nono cielo, ch' è immediato a quello, d' esser congiunta con ciascuna parte di quello decimo cielo divinissimo e quieto, in quello si rivolve con tanto desiderio, che la sua velocità è quasi incomprensibile." And *Ep. Kani*, § 26, ll. 472-482: "Omne quod movetur, movetur propter aliquid quod non habet, quod est terminus sui motus; sicut cœlum lunæ movetur propter aliquam partem sui, quæ non habet illud ubi, ad quod movetur: et quia pars quælibet eius non adepto quolibet ubi (quod est impossibile), movetur ad aliud; inde est, quod semper movetur et numquam quiescit, ut est eius appetitus. Et quod dico de cœla lunæ, intelligendum est de omnibus præter primum."

My Lady, who saw me greatly perplexed in my anxiety (to know more), said: "From that Point depend the Heavens and all Nature. Observe that circle which is most nearly conjoined with it, and know that its motion is so rapid because of the burning Love by which it is spurred."

Dante, however, is not wholly disburdened of his doubts. He cannot understand why a different order of things should exist in the world below from what he now finds to be the case in the world above; nor why in Heaven, full of Light and Love, the greatest perfection should have its place in the closest proximity to the centre; whereas in the case of the material world, the Earth is the centre of the material heavens, and the Empyrean, the most perfect of them all, is the most distant heaven of all from the earth.

Ed io a lei:—"Se il mondo fosse posto
Con l' ordine ch' io veggio in quelle rote,
Sazio m' avrebbe ciò che m' è proposto.
Ma nel mondo sensibile si puote
Veder le vôlte tanto più divine,* 50

* *vôlte tanto più divine:* Others read *cose*, *rote*, *viste*, *luci*, *note*, etc., and a few read *tanto più festine*. On this see Moore, *Text. Crit.* p. 494: "The reading *vôlte* is certainly to be preferred here (1) as giving to the passage a perfectly appropriate sense, as well as one very definite and technical in reference to the Ptolemaic system of astronomy; (2) as being a word employed elsewhere by Dante in precisely the same sense, viz. of the heavenly 'spheres,' in *Purg.* xxviii, 104:—

'L' aer si volge con la prima vôlta;'

(3) as being just sufficiently removed from common use to suggest either the substitution of a more obvious word, or at any rate the addition of a marginal gloss which would be easily mistaken for a *var. lect.* and then introduced into the text. The word *rote* is just such a word. . . . In regard to the variants *divine* and *festine* at the end of the line, it is scarcely necessary to point out that the latter is an obvious case of the substitution of an easier word, very likely first appearing as a quite natural marginal gloss, and then mistaken for a variant."

Quant' elle son dal centro più remote.*
Onde, se il mio disio dee aver fine
In questo miro ed angelico templo,†
Che solo amore e luce ‡ ha per confine,
Udir conviemmi ancor come l' esemplo § 55
E l' esemplare non vanno d' un modo ;
Chè io per me indarno ciò contemplo."—

And I to her: "If the world were arranged in the order that I perceive in those orbs, that which is set before me (by thee as answer) would have satisfied me. But in the world of sense one can

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* *dal centro più remote:* Cary explains this well: "The material world and the intelligential (the copy and the pattern) appear to Dante to differ in this respect, that the orbits of the latter are more swift, the nearer they are to the centre, whereas the contrary is the case with the orbits of the former. The seeming contradiction is thus accounted for by Beatrice. In the material world, the more ample the body is, the greater is the good of which it is capable; supposing all the parts to be equally perfect. But in the intelligential world, the circles are more excellent and powerful, the more they approximate to the central point, which is God. Thus the first circle, that of the Seraphim, corresponds to the ninth sphere, or *primum mobile*—the second, that of the Cherubim, to the eighth sphere, or heaven of the fixed stars—the third, or circle of Thrones, to the seventh sphere, or planet of Saturn, and in like manner throughout the two other trines of circles and spheres.

'In orbs
Of circuit inexpressible they stood,
Orb within orb.' (Milton, *Par. Lost*, v, 596.)"

† *templo:* Heaven is very frequently styled "God's Temple" in Scripture. Compare 2 *Sam.* xxii, 7: "In my distress I called upon the Lord, and cried to my God; and He did hear my voice out of His temple." And *Psalm* xi, 4: "The Lord is in His holy temple, the Lord's throne is in heaven."

‡ *am ore e luce:* Compare *Par.* xxvii, 112: "Luce ed amor d'un cerchio [the *Empyrean*] lui [the *Primum Mobile*] comprende."

§ *l' esemplo:* Compare Boëthius, *Phil. Consol.* iii, metr. 9, ll. 6, 9:—

"tu cuncta superno
Ducis ab exemplo: pulchrum pulcherrimus ipse
Mundum mente gerens similique in imagine formans
Perfectasque jubens perfectum absolvere partes,"

discern the revolutions to be so much the more divine, in proportion as they are more removed from the centre. Therefore, if my desire is to have completion (*i.e.* be satisfied) in this wondrous and angelic fane, which has love and light alone for its confines, I must further hear why the copy and the model follow not the same method; because I by myself contemplate this in vain."

The copy (*esemplo*) is the world of sense, the material world: the exemplar (*esemplare*) or prototype is the supra-sensible world, for, as Dante says in *De Mon.* ii, 2, ll. 15-20: "For nature exists, first, in the mind of the First Agent, who is God; then in heaven; as in an instrument, by means of which the likeness of the Eternal Goodness unfolds itself on shapeless matter." (F. J. Church's translation.)

Beatrice points out to Dante that the reason of his being unable of himself to unravel the entanglements of this difficult question, is from his not having properly investigated it, but if he will only follow closely the explanation she is about to give him, his curiosity will be fully satisfied.

—"Se li tuoi diti * non sono a tal nodo
Sufficïenti, non è maraviglia,

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* *Se li tuoi diti*, et seq.: "Pone i *diti* per lo ingegno, e lo *nodo* per la malagevilezza del dubbio, cioè: Se 'l tuo ingegno non è bastevile a sciolgere questo dubbio, *non è meraviglia;* et assegna la cagione, per che, cioè per la negligenzia de lo studiare e cercare la verità, dicendo: *Tanto per non tentare*, cioè tanto è fatto insolubile e malagevile, per non cercare di sciolgerlo, *è fatto sodo:* lo nodo della fune, quando sta grande tempo che non si sciolge, o che non s' allenti, tuttavia rassoda; e così lo dubbio delle cose intellettuali, quando non si cerca co lo studio de la scienzia a trovare la verità, diventa più forte l' un dì che l' altro." (Buti.)

Tanto per non tentare è fatto sodo."—
Così la Donna mia: poi disse:—"Piglia
Quel ch' io ti dicerò, se vuoi saziarti,
Ed intorno da esso * t' assottiglia.

"If thy fingers are insufficient for such a knot (*i.e.* if thy intellect is not able to solve so difficult a question), it is no marvel: so hard is it grown, for want of testing." Thus my Lady; then she said: "Accept what I will tell thee, if thou wouldest be satisfied, and exercise on that thy subtlety.

Benvenuto here observes that by the words in which Beatrice begins to solve the doubtful question put to her, Dante wishes to demonstrate briefly that the nine Orders of Angels are in exact proportion and correspondence with the nine Spheres of Heaven, and are in perfect agreement with them in their motions and in all their parts. Beatrice further dwells upon their vast expanse.

Li cerchi corporai sono ampi ed arti,
Secondo il più e il men della virtute †
Che si distende per tutte lor parti.
Maggior bontà ‡ vuol far maggior salute;
Maggior salute maggior corpo cape,
S' egli ha le parti egualmente compiute.§

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* *intorno da esso:* This is an old construction, not uncommon in Dante's time. Compare *Purg.* vi, 85, 86:—

"Cerca, misera, intorno dalle prode
Le tue marine."

† *virtute:* "Dei cieli del mondo sensibile, quelli che più sono stretti hanno manco virtù, e quelli allo 'ncontro che son più ampi e grandi, ne hanno più." (Daniello.)

‡ *Maggior bontà*, et seq.: "Bontà più grande vuole una più grande estensione de' salutari, de' benefici suoi influssi [*salute*]; ed un corpo di natura sua più grande, se in nessuna delle sue parti sia mancante, è, per la sua maggior estensione, capace di ricevere in sè una maggior copia di cotali influssi." (Lombardi.)

§ *egualmente compiute:* Buti explains that this is so, if the greater body has its several parts equally perfect with the

Dunque costui, che tutto quanto rape
L' altro * universo seco, corrisponde
Al cerchio † che più ama e che più sape.
Perchè, se tu alla virtù circonde ‡
La tua misura, non alla parvenza
Delle sustanzie § che t' appaion tonde,

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smaller body; as for instance one sees that a big man has more strength than a little one; but if the little man had both his hands, and the big one were deprived of them, their relative proportions of power would be changed.

* *L' altro universo:* Some read *l' alto.*

† *corrisponde Al cerchio che più ama e che più sape:* "The *Primum Mobile*, which sweeps along with it the rest of the Universe, corresponds to the Seraphim who love most and know most; and similarly the other heavens each to its own celestial intelligence or special angelic order, the higher order to the more noble sphere, the lower to the less." (Gardner.) Buti remarks that the Circle of the Seraphim loves God more than the other Angels, and has greater knowledge of Him and His creations than have the other Angels; Dante wishes his readers to understand this by the greater proximity of this circle to God, and the greater velocity at which it whirls. This signifies the ardent fervour that the Seraphim have towards God, and their immediate conversion to Him after their creation. See *Conv.* ii, 6, ll. 79-81. Compare St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. cviii, art. 5).

‡ *circonde La tua misura:* "Beatrice's answer (writes Mr. Gardner) is that Dante has again gone astray by merely regarding appearances, by applying his measure only to the *appearance* of the substances that appear to him round. If he considers only their virtue—for they are not really circles or hoops of fire, but this is merely another sensible sign—he will find perfect correspondence between the greater virtue and influence of the heavens nearer to God and the diviner character of the higher orders of Angels which preside over them."

§ *sustanzie:* Compare *Purg.* xxx, 101, 102, where Beatrice

"alle sustanzie pie (*i.e.* the Angels)
Volse le sue parole così poscia;"

and the Saints are so called in *Par.* xv, 7, 8:—

"Come saranno ai giusti preghi sorde
Quelle sustanzie?"

In *Par.* xxix. 16-36 the doctrine is taught, that Angels are pure form, or act; and thus the word *sustanzie* used there again for "Angels" is explained.

Tu vederai mirabil conseguenza,*
Di maggio a più, e di minore a meno,
In ciascun cielo a sua intelligenza."—

The corporeal circles (*i.e.* the visible planetary Spheres) are wide or straitened, according to the more or the less of the virtue that is diffused throughout all their parts. The greater excellence will cause the greater salutary influence; and the greater body will contain the greater salutary influence, if it has its parts equally perfect. Therefore this (Sphere, the *Primum Mobile*), which sweeps along with itself all the rest of the universe, corresponds to that circle (of Angels, namely, the Seraphim), which most loves and most knows. Wherefore, if to this excellence thou apply thy measure, and not to the outward appearance of these Existences (*i.e.* the Spheres of Angels), that seem to thee circular (*i.e.* disposed in circles), thou wilt discern the marvellous agreement, of more with greater, and of less with less, in every heaven with its Intelligence."

Mr. Haselfoot's exposition of these fifteen lines is so lucid, that I give it *in extenso:* "The Corporal Circles are the revolving heavens. Beatrice explains that they are larger or smaller, according as more or less virtue—*i.e.* power to influence the Spheres below them—is infused into them. And that the larger heavens, having this virtue, or excellence, in greater degree, produce the greater weal; have, that is, more beneficial influence. Consequently, the *Primum Mobile*, which is the largest of the revolving heavens, and covers all the Universe, is more full of virtue than any of the rest, and thus corresponds to the circle of the Angelic Order (of Seraphim) which is the nearest to God, and therefore possesses the most

* *conseguenza:* Others read *convenenza*, but the former is the reading of all the older Commentators.

love and knowledge. If, therefore, the measure of the virtue possessed by each Order of Angels (called here, as in *Purg.* xxx, 101; *Par.* xxix, 76, *Sustanzie*) is considered, and not the apparent size of the circles in which they severally revolve, it will be seen that each heaven is united with that Order of Angels which is most fitted for it: the larger the heaven, the greater being the excellence of its Angelic Movers or Intelligence; and the smaller the heaven, the lower the grade of its Intelligence in the celestial hierarchy. In other words, on the principle of like to like, the smallest circles of the Angels, being the chiefest, sway the largest circles of the heavens; which also are the chiefest, and for the same reason viz.: their nearer proximity to God. . . . And, similarly, the largest circles of the Angels sway the smallest circles of the heavens."

Beatrice's solution of Dante's doubt is so complete, that he compares his present enlightenment to the clear blue of the sky, and his vision of truth to a flaming star.

Come rimane splendido e sereno *
L' emisperio dell' aer, quando soffia †
Borea da quella guancia ond' è più leno,

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* *sereno:* Compare Lucretius, *De Rer. Nat.* i, 6-9:—

"Te, Dea, te fugiunt ventei; te nubila cœli,
Adventumque tuum; tibi suaveis dædala tellus
Submittit flores; tibi rident æquora ponti;
Placatumque nitet diffuso lumine cœlum."

† *quando soffia Borea da quella guancia ond' è più leno:* It is very evident, though some have thought the contrary, that the North-*East* wind is meant. In a note on this passage Longfellow, without giving the reference, says that according to Boccaccio, the North-East wind in Italy is milder than the North-West. This would certainly be the opinion of residents

Perchè si purga e risolve la roffia *

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at Nice and Cannes when the cold *Mistral* (N.-W. wind) is blowing straight from the Pyrenees. Brunetto Latini (*Trésor*, i, 107) speaking of the bastard or side winds of the North wind says: "Li principaus vens qui vient de la tramontane done nues et froidure, et cil qui li est encoste, vers couchant, done noif et grelle . . . mais li autres qui est vers levant rastrait pluies et nues." The meaning of this is that the direct North wind brings clouds and cold, the North-West wind snow and hail, but the North-East wind keeps off rain and clouds.

Compare Virg. *Æn.* xii, 365-367:—

"Ac velut Edoni Boreæ cum spiritus alto
Insonat Ægæo, sequiturque ad litora fluctus,
Qua venti incubuere; fugam dant nubila cœlo;"

and Boëthius, *Philos. Cons.* i, Metr. 3:—

"Tunc me discussa liquerunt nocte tenebræ
Luminibus prior rediit vigor.
Ut, cum præcipiti glomerantur nubila Coro
Nimbosisque polus stetit imbribus,
Sol latet ac nondum cœlo venientibus astris,
Desuper in terram nox funditur:
Hanc si Threicio Boreas emissus ab antro
Verberet et clausum reseret diem,
Emicat ut subito vibratus lumine Phœbus.
Mirantes oculos radiis ferit."

Dr. Moore in a letter to me remarks: "These passages from Virgil and Boëthius seem to imply the North-*East* wind, 'Thrace' and 'Edonia' being North-East. Also Boëthius's reference to *Coro* (which is N.-W.) implies not a 'clearing' wind but the reverse."

Compare also Horace, *Car.* iv, xii, 1-2:—

"Jam veris comites quæ mare temperant
Impellunt animæ lintea Thraciæ."

"The point of this quotation (writes Dr. Moore) is that the *animæ Thraciæ* (N.-E.) are described as *veris comites*, and as smoothing the sea and banishing frost and snow."

* *roffia:* The darkness of a thick mist, or fog. If Dante had ever seen one of our modern black fogs in London, *roffia* would probably have been the word by which he would have described it. *Roffia* is akin to *ruffa* (qu. v. Donkin's *Etym. Dict.*) *arruffare;* also to Milanese *ruff*, Piedm. *rufa*, Romagn. *rofia*, scurf, dirt, and Italian *roffia*, thick mist. Old French *roife, rofeé;* Old High German *hruf;* Old Norse *hrufa, rufa*, scurf. Buti defines it as: "oscurità di vapori umidi, spissati e condensati insieme." Fanfani (*Voc. dell' Uso tosc.* p. 834) says that *roffia* is sometimes heard at Siena as the name for a blacksmith's leathern apron.

Che pria turbava, sì che il ciel ne ride
Con le bellezze d' ogni sua parroffia ;*
Così fec' io, poi che mi provvide
La Donna mia del suo risponder chiaro,
E come stella † in cielo il ver si vide.

Even as the hemisphere of air is left resplendent and clear, when Boreas is blowing from that cheek wherewith he is gentlest (*i.e.* the North-East) because the thick mist that before disturbed it (the hemisphere of air) is swept away and dissolved, so that the heaven smiles to us with every adornment of its pageantry ; such was my case, as soon as my Lady furnished me with her lucid reply, and like a star in the heavens, the truth was seen.

Division III.—As soon as Beatrice has finished speaking, Dante details the whole series of the different Orders of the Angels. He begins by likening the glorious mode of their approach to that of

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* *parroffia :* I follow Longfellow in translating this, "pageantry," which accords with the conclusion which the *Gran Dizionario* comes to after a long discussion of this difficult word, namely, *con ogni pompa della sua bellezza.* Boccaccio (*Teseide*, vii, st. 114) uses the word, with the signification of "following, accompaniment," *i.e.* the persons who follow in the train or *cortège* of some great personage ; and Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*) thinks that Dante uses it in the same sense, and wishes to indicate the stars which visibly compose the retinue of the Sun. Some of the old Commentators understand the word as an altered form of *parrochia*, meaning here the congregation of the Saints, and think that that is probably the right interpretation of this difficult word. Landino takes it in this sense ; "disse *paroffia* in luogo di *parocchia*, e parocchia è in una città quella parte degli uomini che sono sotto una medesima chiesa." Casini says that some of the old Commentators who were Tuscans do not notice the word, probably because it was in such common use in the fourteenth century as not to require explanation.

† *come stella*, et seq. : Venturi (*Simil. Dant.* p. 13, sim. 19), after admiring the wonderful smoothness of this line, says: "La mente rischiarata paragona al sereno del cielo, e la visione del vero a stella fiammeggiante."

myriads of sparks given forth by a red hot iron, and their countless numbers to the progressive reduplication of the squares of a chess-board.

E poi che le parole sue restaro,
Non altrimenti ferro disfavilla *
Che bolle, come i cerchi sfavillaro. 90
Lo incendio † lor seguiva ogni scintilla;
Ed eran tante, che il numero loro
Più che il doppiar ‡ degli scacchi s' immilla.

And after that her words had come to a stop, not otherwise does iron emit sparks when it is molten, than did the circles emit sparks. All the sparks

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* *ferro disfavilla:* This comparison is perhaps suggested by the passage in *Ezek.* i, 7 (*Vulgate*): "Et scintillæ, quasi aspectus æris candentis." See also the *Ottimo:* "Per questa comperazione denota l' ardente festa e innumerabile moltitudine delli angelichi spiriti, come li cerchj delli ordini delle angeliche sustanzie."

† *Lo incendio lor*, etc.; This is a very obscure passage, and Casini observes that of the many interpretations that have been put upon it not one is wholly satisfying, possibly because Dante's own expression is somewhat vague and undetermined. Casini prefers the following explanation of Landino, which, he thinks, shows far deeper insight; "Et le faville seguivano lo incendio. La sententia è che come del ferro bollente escono molte faville; così di quei cerchi apparivon molti angeli volanti come favilla. Ma benchè volassino, non uscivono de l' ordine loro. Ma tucti [*tutti*] seguivono el loro incendio, cioè l' ordine del loro circulo." So that according to Landino *lo incendio* is their respective circle of fire from which the sparks did not issue.

‡ *il doppiar degli scacchi:* A Brahmin once brought to an Eastern King the game of chess which he had invented. The King was so delighted with it, that he offered him in return anything he might ask. The Brahmin said he only asked for a grain of wheat, doubled as many times as there were squares on the chess-board; that is, one grain for the first square, two for the second, four for the third, and so on to the sixty-fourth square, in geometrical progression. The sum total goes into countless millions; and though the king had willingly granted the Brahmin's petition, he found he had not so much wheat in his whole kingdom.

followed (*i.e.* kept within) their respective circles of fire; and they were so numerous, that their number would make more thousands than the reduplication of the chess-board squares.

At this point Dante, who is overcome by awe as well as wonder at the sight of the infinite multitude of Angels whom he can discern circling round the point, and singing their Hosannahs, enveloped in a radiance such as his eye has never before looked upon, turns to Beatrice in doubt and perplexity. She proceeds to describe to him the nine spheres of Angels, or in other words, the Angelic Hierarchies. The classification adopted by Dante is derived from the work attributed (in his time) to Dionysius the Areopagite, *De cœlesti hierarchiâ*. In it we find that there were nine Orders of Angels or Intelligences, who were supposed to influence the Nine Heavens respectively, from whence their influence descended upon earth. These nine Orders were subdivided again into three groups or Hierarchies.* Dante goes very fully into this in *Conv.* ii, 6, but his classification in the *Commedia* is not quite the same as that in the *Convivio*. In fact, in ll. 113-115, while pretending that Gregory laughed at himself on reaching Heaven for his erroneous views on this subject, it is really Dante who is laughing at *himself*.

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*The mediæval doctrine on this subject was taken partly from that of Dionysius, partly from a Homily of St. Gregory the Great: but primarily no doubt these definitions are taken from St. Paul, *Ephes.* i, 21: "Principality, and power, and might, and dominion." And *Coloss.* i, 16: "thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers." And *Rom.* viii, 38: "nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers."

According to this *Paradiso* system * we find in the *First Hierarchy or Triad :—*

(1) The Seraphim, who sway The Primum Mobile.
(2) The Cherubim, „ „ The Fixed Stars.
(3) The Thrones, „ „ Saturn.

In the *Second Hierarchy or Triad :—*

(4) The Dominions, who sway Jupiter.
(5) The Virtues, „ „ Mars.
(6) The Powers, „ „ The Sun.

In the *Third Hierarchy or Triad :—*

(7) The Principalities, who sway Venus.
(8) The Archangels, „ „ Mercury.
(9) The Angels, „ „ The Moon.

Returning, after this interlude, to our narrative, we find that Beatrice, seeing Dante listening in rapt attention to the heavenly chants, anticipates any possible question by beginning a detailed description of these celestial Hierarchies. The first to be mentioned are the Seraphim and Cherubim.

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* The following table will enable the reader to compare the difference between Dionysius (followed by Dante in the *Commedia*), Gregory, and Dante in the *Convivio.*

Dionysius.	Gregory.	Dante in *Convivio.*
First Hierarchy :—		*First Hierarchy :—*
(1) Seraphim	(1) Seraphim	(1) Seraphim
(2) Cherubim	(2) Cherubim	(2) Cherubim
(3) Thrones	(3) Thrones	(3) Powers
Second Hierarchy:—		*Second Hierarchy :—*
(4) Dominions	(4) Dominions	(4) Principalities
(5) Virtues	(5) Principalities	(5) Virtues
(6) Powers	(6) Powers	(6) Dominions
Third Hierarchy :—		*Third Hierarchy :—*
(7) Principalities	(7) Virtues	(7) Thrones
(8) Archangels	(8) Archangels	(8) Archangels
(9) Angels	(9) Angels	(9) Angels

Io sentiva osannar di coro in coro
Al punto fisso che li tiene all' *ubi*,* 95
E terrà sempre, nel qual sempre fôro;
E quella, che vedeva i pensier dubi †
Nella mia mente, disse :—"I cerchi primi
T' hanno mostrati i Serafi e i Cherubi.
Così veloci seguono i suoi vimi ‡ 100
Per simigliarsi al punto quanto ponno,
E posson quanto a veder son sublimi.

I could hear Hosannahs re-echoing from choir to choir in praise of the Fixed Point which holds them (the Angels) and will for ever hold them in that (mutual relation which we call) place, in which they have ever been ; and she, who saw the doubtful cogitations in my mind, said: "The first circles have shown thee the Seraphim and Cherubim. Thus rapidly do they follow their own bonds (*i.e.* the Love and Grace which bind them), in order to grow as like as they can to the One Point, and that, they can (do) in proportion as they are exalted to see.

According to Landino, this means that blessedness consists in sight and in knowledge, rather than in Love; for Love is derived from knowledge, and not knowledge from Love. And so much the more does

* *all' ubi : i.e.* in their appointed places. "Lo quale punto della Divinità tiene li detti Angeli al luogo fermo; però che sono confermati in grazia; *e terrà sempre*, cioè Iddio li detti Angeli nella sua grazia, *nel qual*, cioè luogo fermo, *sempre fôro ;* imperò che ab eterno furno così predestinati in mente divina." (Buti.)

† *pensier dubi Nella mia mente :* We may well infer, from Dante adopting a different classification of the Hierarchies of Heaven in the *Commedia* from what he had done in the *Convivio*, that the doubts here referred to were as to the true abodes of the Angels.

‡ *vimi : Vime* an ancient contracted form of *vimine* is derived from the Latin *vimen.* The singular form is found in *Par.* xxix, 35, 36 :—

"Nel mezzo strinse potenza con atto
Tal vime, che giammai non si divima."

the Creature love the Creator, in proportion as it knows Him, and receives reward and grace according to the measure of its knowledge. Hence from degree to degree, the more it sees, the more it has of Grace, and of good-will, namely, to will that which God wills.

Beatrice then names the Third Order of the First Triad, namely, the Thrones.

Quegli altri amor * che intorno a lor vonno,
Si chiaman Troni del divino aspetto,
Perchè † il primo ternaro terminonno. ‡ 105

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* *amori* is used to signify Angels in xxix, 18 :—

"S' aperse in nuovi amor l' eterno amore;"

and *ibid.* 46, 47 :—

"Or sai tu dove e quando questi amori
Furon creati, e come;"

and in *Par.* xxxii, 94-96, the Archangel Gabriel is so styled :—

"E quell' amor che primo lì discese,
Cantando: *Ave Maria gratia plena*,
Dinanzi a lei le sue ali distese."

† *Perchè il primo ternaro terminonno :* These are words taken from Dionysius *de cæl. Hier.* cap. 7, where the author says that thrones are so called *quia primum ternarium terminarunt.* It does not exactly seem a reason, but Dante was evidently quoting the very passage. Gregory the Great (*Homiliarum*, ii, 34) says that they are called thrones in order that (*perchè*) "in eis sedeat Deus, et per eos judicia decernat." And St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. cviii, art. 6): "Throni elevantur ad hoc quod Deum familiariter in seipsis recipiant." Pietro di Dante gives the two interpretations both of Dionysius and of Gregory. Daniello says: "Si chiaman Throni del divino ed eterno giudice, quello ch' egli giudica, perchè terminano il primo Ternaro, il primo ordine, e la prima Gerarchia de gli Angeli."

‡ *terminonno :* Dante purposely uses the past tense to emphasize the fact that the distribution of the Angels was made at the time they were created. On the termination, *terminonno*, Nannucci (*Analisi Critica dei Verbi Italiani*, page 197, xvi) writes: "Si leggono, e si odono communemente in Toscana nel parlar familiare, le terze plurali terminate in *onno*, *enno*, *inno*, come *comincionno*, *fenno*, *dienno*, *sentinno*," etc., and he gives several illustrations of this. Nannucci (*ibid.* pp. 524, 525) discusses at

> Those other Loves (*i.e.* Angels), that gyrate around these, are called Thrones of the Divine Aspect, because they terminated the first Triad.

Mr. Gardner writes: "The Thrones terminate the primal Triad. They are the special images of God's power, the mirrors of His judgment, and represent especially His steadfastness. The peculiar office of the Thrones is that of purification, as illumination is that of the Cherubim, and perfecting that of the Seraphim: (and to use the words of Dean Colet on the works of Dionysius, *ap.* J. H. Lupton): 'Power cleanses, clear Truth makes serene, finished Love make perfect.'"

Beatrice then explains to Dante that the Angels in this first Triad, being so much nearer to God, enjoy a greater amount of beatitude in proportion to that proximity; that their formal beatitude consists in their vision of God.

Dante seems to have been in agreement with St. Thomas Aquinas in this doctrine, and in opposition to Duns Scotus, who maintained that their beatitude consisted in Divine Love.

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some length the form *vonno* in l. 103: "*Vono*, *von*, *vonno* per *vanno*.

> 'Se 'l tuo termine in te viene,
> Tutti i fatti tuoi *von* bene.'
> (Beato Jacopone, v, cap. xxx, 35.)

. . . In due maniere si formarono dagli antichi le terze plurali: la prima, traendole dalla terza, etc., da *ama*, *amava*; la seconda, dalla prima singolare, come *amono*, *amavono* da *amo amavo*. Per la medesima regola dalla terza singolare *va* è *vano*, indi *vanno*, e dalla prima *vo* provenne *vono*, *vonno*, perchè in *ono* si erano terminate nei verbi di ogni maniera le terze plurali dell' indicativo presente."

E dêi saper * che tutti hanno diletto,
Quanto la sua veduta sì profonda
Nel vero † in che si queta ogn' intelletto.
Quinci si può veder come ‡ si fonda
L' esser beato nell' atto che vede,
Non in quel ch'ama, che poscia seconda ;
E del vedere è misura mercede,§

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* *E dêi saper*, et seq. : "Nota qui, che tanto sono eccellenti in beatitudine, quanto sono intellettuali in visione di Dio, per la quale conoscono ; e quanto il conoscono, tanto l' amano ; e però dice, che 'l primo atto è la visione, e lo secondo è nello amore." (*Ottimo.*)

† *Nel vero in che si queta*, et seq. : Compare *Conv.* ii, 15, ll. 181-184 : "E questa [*divina Scienza*] chiama *perfetta*, perchè perfettamente ne fa il Vero vedere, nel quale si cheta l' anima nostra."

‡ *come si fonda L' esser beato nell' atto che vede :* Compare *Par.* xiv, 40-42 :—

"La sua chiarezza seguirà l' ardore,
L' ardor la visïone, e quella è tanta,
Quanta ha di grazia sopra il suo valore."

Compare St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, 2^{dæ}, qu. iii, art. 8) : "Ultima et perfecta beatitudo non potest esse nisi in visione divinæ essentiæ." And *ibid.* qu. iv, art. 3 : "Delectatio in præsentia consequitur dilectionem. Et ideo necesse est ad beatitudinem ista tria concurrere, scilicet visionem, quæ est cognitio perfecta intelligibilis finis ; comprehensionem, quæ importat præsentiam finis ; delectationem vel fruitionem, quæ importat quietationem rei amantis in amato." Dante seems in this passage to have exactly reproduced the words of Aristotle, *Ethic.* x, vii, *ad finem ;* and viii *init.* (1178 a. 7-9) : "Ἡ τελεία εὐδαιμονία θεωρητική τις ἐστὶν ἐνέργεια."

§ *mercede :* *Mercede* is used by Dante to signify "merit, meritorious works." Compare *Inf.* iv, 34, 35 :—

". . . ei non peccaro : e s' elli hanno mercedi,
Non basta, perchè non ebber battesmo ;"

and *Par.* xxi, 52, 53 :—

"La mia mercede
Non mi fa degno della tua risposta."

"Debbesi intendere questo ordine così : La grazia preveniente eccita lo buono volere, la grazia co-operante aiuta questo buono volere e compie questo buono volere e confermalo ; e tanto quanto è l' atto del volere in accettare questa grazia che 'l muove, tanto è lo merito, sicchè nella creatura è la grandezza del volere,

Che grazia partorisce e buona voglia;
Così di grado in grado si procede.

And thou must know that they all have delight in proportion to the depth that their vision penetrates into the Truth in Which every mind finds rest. Hence may be seen how blessedness hath its foundation in the act of sight, not in that of love which follows next in order; and of this seeing, merit is the measure, to which grace and good-will have given birth; thus one proceeds onward from grade to grade.

The power to see God is greater or less, in proportion to the greater or less merit. In proportion as a soul has the co-operation of Divine Grace so much does it get to see God; and in proportion as it sees God, so much does its blissfulness increase.

Beatrice now speaks of the Second Hierarchy.

L' altro ternaro, che così germoglia* 115
In questa primavera sempiterna,
Che notturno Arïete non dispoglia,
Perpetualemente *Osanna* sverna †

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e per consequente del merito e secondo lo merito è lo intendere Iddio, e secondo lo intendere è l' amare, e secondo l' amare è fruere Iddio, che è essere beato." (Buti.)

* *germoglia:* "Germogliare proprio si è in li albor [*i.e. alberi*] nella primavera quando cominciano a germogliare, cioè pullulare [*send forth in sprouts*] loro verdura, e ciascune brocche [*every* shoot] produceno nuove fogliette, così a simile tutto lo collegio delli angioli, delli quali sempre pullula [*neut.* sprouts forth] amore, scienzia e giustizia, e sta sempre in tale pullullare, e però si può dire primavera sempiterna, la quale non è battuta da *notturno ariete,* cioè dalla Libra come questa mondana [*primavera*] che perde le sue fronde quando lo sole è in Libra, che è al principio d' autunno." (Lana.)

† *sverna:* The *Gran Dizionario* gives two separate headings of *svernare,* the one having the signification of "to hibernate, to pass the winter;" and the other, as here, "to sing in the spring" (from *s.* privative, and *vernare, i.e.* to un-winter oneself) and adds: "Parlandosi di uccelli fu detto alla *Lat.* per

Con tre melode,* che suonano in tree
Ordini di letizia onde s' interna.† 120
In essa gerarchia son le tre Dee,‡
Prima Dominazioni,§ e poi Virtudi;
L' ordine terzo di Podestadi èe.

The next Triad, which in like fashion puts forth leaves in this sempiternal spring, which the nocturnal Aries never ravages, is perpetually singing *Hosannah* with triple melodies, which resound in three Orders of gladness, with which it is made threefold. In this Hierarchy are the three divin-

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Cantare; ed è propriamente quel canto, che usciti del verno, fanno a primavera." The two following quotations are from the *Gran Dizionario*, Poliziano, *Stanze*, lib. i, st. 17: "Udir gli augei svernar, rimbombar l' onde," and from the translation of Guido delle Colonne's *Storia di Troia*, Naples, 1625: "Colli dolci canti de' versi gli usignuoli con dolce modo svernano nel mese di maggio." Contrast with *svernare* as used here, the exceptionally different sense of *si sverni* in xxvii, 142, which is a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον.

* *melode:* Plural of the old form *meloda*. Both *meloda* and *melode* (singular) are found among the early writers, but are not used now except in poetry, the modern word *melodia* having superseded them. In *Par.* xxiv, 113, 114, we find *melode* as a singular form:—

"Risonò per le spere un: 'Dio laudamo,'
Nella melode che lassù si canta."

† *s' interna: Internarsi* is a reflective verb signifying, in this one single instance apparently, *essere in tre*. The usual sense of the verb *internare* is: "Far penetrare più a dentro, penetrare nella parte interiore." (*Gran Dizionario.*) Dante must have coined the verb himself for the present passage, forming it from the noun *terno*, "Set of three," or, in playing at dice, "tray." *Fiori terni* are "trefoil flowers," "*foglie terne* = quelle che in numero di tre attorniano il fusto o ramo." (*Gran Dizionario*, s. v. *terno*, adj.)

‡ *Dee:* "Le tre nature o schiere divine, i tre ordini che degli angeli che muovono, come intelligenze, altrettanti cieli."

§ *Dominazioni . . . Virtudi . . . Podestadi:* Compare Milton, *Par. Lost*, v, 600-1:—

"Hear all ye Angels, progeny of light,
Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers."

ities, first the Dominations, and after them the Virtues; the third Order is that of the Powers.

On the above three *terzine* Antonelli (*ap.* Tommaséo) remarks: "A very happy astronomical mode of indicating the season of autumn. In fact, in the season of leaves and flowers, in our climates, the Sun is in Aries, and consequently the Constellation of that name rising and setting with the great planet of the day, passes over our horizon in the day-time, and is therefore not visible in spring; but when the Sun has traversed the Northern part of the Ecliptic and enters into Libra, Aries remains opposite to it, and consequently in the season of autumn is visible at night. The coincidence therefore of the destruction of the plants with the presence of Aries by night, has, in a poetical sense, caused the one fact to be due to the other, and has furnished Dante with a new argument for weaving together, according to his custom, a flower of astronomical science with a flower of poetry." *

The Third Hierarchy is now named, and the first and second of the three Orders in it are designated as the penultimate dances.

Poscia nei due penultimi tripudi

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*The writer of the article *The Astronomy of Dante* in the *Quarterly Review*, of April, 1898, observes that many specialists "have brought to bear upon these astronomical references and allusions in Dante such a wealth of technical knowledge, and have interpreted them by the aid of calculations so elaborate and minute, that they seem to forget that Dante's object was not to compose a didactic poem for teaching astronomy, but to use astronomy, as well as other branches of his very varied and extensive knowledge, in the service of poetry. He was a poet first and an astronomer afterwards."

Principati ed Arcangeli si girano ; 125
L' ultimo è tutto d' Angelici ludi.

After (them, the two first Triads) in the two penultimate dances circle the Principalities and the Archangels ; the last (the ninth Order) is wholly (made up) of rejoicing Angels (*lit.* of Angelic sports).

Beatrice explains to Dante that each of these Angelic spiritualities, in proportion to its degree of excellence, has a beneficial influence over one of the nine revolving Spheres of Heaven, in such wise that one Sphere of Heaven corresponds with one Circle of Angels and is influenced by it.

Questi ordini di su tutti rimirano,
E di giù vincon sì che verso Dio
Tutti tirati sono e tutti tirano.

These (various) Orders all fix their looks upward, and downward so prevail, that unto God all are attracted and all attract (*i.e.* each superior Order draws to itself the Orders below it).

Dante now makes Beatrice express what is really his own opinion as to the classification of the Celestial Hierarchy. She states how much she prefers the arrangement ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite to the somewhat different one adopted by Gregory the Great, and how the latter, on reaching Heaven, and contemplating the subject with eyes newly opened, smiled compassionately at his own former erroneous views.

E Dionisio * con tanto disio 130

* *Dionisio :* St. Dionysius the Areopagite, one of St. Paul's converts at Athens, is (says Dr. Toynbee in his *Dante Dictionary*) said to have been the first Bishop of Athens, and to have been martyred about the year 95. There is a tradition that he visited Paris, and an attempt has been made to identify him with St. Denis, the patron saint of France. In the Middle Ages

A contemplar questi ordini si mise,
Che li nomò e distinse com' io.
Ma Gregorio da lui poi si divise;
Onde sì tosto come l' occhio aperse
In questo ciel, di sè medesmo rise. 135

And Dionysius began to contemplate these Orders with such ardent zeal, that he gave them the same names as I do. But Gregory later on dissented from him; for which reason, so soon as his eyes were opened in this Heaven (*i.e.* in Paradise), he smiled at himself.

The Canto concludes by Beatrice telling Dante, as a corroboration of the views of Dionysius, that he was actually taught them by St. Paul, whose disciple he

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he was universally credited with the authorship of works on the Name of God, on Symbolical and Mystic Theology, and on the Celestial Hierarchy, all of which are now admitted to be the productions of Neo-platonists of the fifth or sixth century. . . . Dionysius is placed by Dante among the great Theologians in the Heaven of the Sun, where his spirit is pointed out by St. Thomas Aquinas, who speaks of him in reference to his supposed work on the Celestial Hierarchy, see *Par.* x, 115-117:—

"Appresso vedi il lume di quel cero
Che giuso in carne più addentro vide
L' angelica natura e il ministero."

See also *Acts* xvii, 34: "Howbeit certain men clave unto him: among the which was Dionysius the Areopagite, and a woman named Damaris, and others with them." "St. Gregory's divergence, which was followed by St. Bernard, . . . was after all a very trifling one, since he merely placed the Principalities in the Second Hierarchy and the Virtues in the Third. Dante apparently attaches importance to the difference, because St. Gregory's division would mar the correspondence between these Angelic Orders and the Spheres that they move, and the souls that appear under their influence in these heavens. However, the Poet's own earlier classification of Angels in the *Convivio* differs considerably more from that of Dionysius than St. Gregory's does; for he there places the Thrones in the lowest, and the Powers in the highest Hierarchy, and composes the middle Hierarchy of Principalities, Virtues and Dominations." (Gardner.)

had been, for St. Paul, when alive, had been caught up to the Third Heaven and saw these things.

> E se tanto segreto ver proferse
> Mortale in terra,* non voglio che ammiri ;
> Chè chi il vide quassù gliel discoperse
> Con altro assai del ver di questi giri."—

> And if a mortal man on earth did proclaim so great a hidden truth, I would not have thee marvel (at this) ; for he (St. Paul) who himself beheld it up here, revealed it to him (Dionysius), with much else of the truth about these Spheres."

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* *se tanto segreto ver proferse Mortale in terra :* We read in 2 *Cor.* xii, 4, how St. Paul, alluding to himself, says that he knew a man, that " was caught up into paradise, and heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for man to utter."

END OF CANTO XXVIII.

CANTO XXIX.

THE NINTH SPHERE, NAMELY, THE *PRIMUM MOBILE* OR CRYSTALLINE HEAVEN (CONCLUDED)—THE ANGELIC HIERARCHIES—THE CREATION AND FALL OF THE ANGELS—THE ANGELIC NATURE—REPREHENSION BY BEATRICE OF (A) THE VAIN SPECULATION OF PREACHERS. (B) THE SALE OF INDULGENCES.

THIS difficult Canto, in which is discussed the where, the when, and the how of the creation of the Angelic Nature, is divided by Benvenuto into four parts.

In the First Division, from ver. 1 to ver. 48, three questions concerning the primal matter and the direct creation of the Angels are considered.

In the Second Division, from ver. 49 to ver. 84, the cause of the fall of the rebellious Angels is discussed, together with certain doubts as to whether Angels are possessed of Intellect, Memory, and Will.

In the Third Division, from ver. 85 to ver. 126, Beatrice censures the preachers of Dante's time, who in their sermons either pervert Holy Scripture, or merely preach vain fables of speculative philosophy.

In the Fourth Division, from ver. 127 to ver. 145, Beatrice returning to her original proposition, discusses the number of the Angels, and the greatness of God displayed in them.

Division I.—As soon as Beatrice has ended her description of the Angelic Hierarchies, she makes a brief pause, before going on to speak of the creation of the Angels, and of other matters relating to them. The pause is momentary, but Dante describes it in six verses of astronomical circumlocution. Beatrice was silent, gazing upon "The Point" for just that duration of time in which the Sun and the Moon, when resting in Aries and Libra, two signs of the Zodiac opposite to each other, and begirded by the same horizon, find themselves exactly face to face for a single instant so brief as to be practically indivisible.

Quando * ambo e due i figli di Latona,
Coperti del Montone e della Libra,
Fanno dell' orizzonte insieme zona,
Quant' è dal punto che il zenit inlibra,†
Infin che l' uno e l' altro da quel cinto,
Cambiando l' emisperio, si dilibra;

* *Quando*, et seq.: This passage can be studied best in Dr. Moore's *Textual Criticism*, pp. 495-500.

† *che il zenit inlibra:* Moore (*ibid.*) says that the most common of the many variants of this is, *che li tiene in libra;* but he thinks with Parenti, that this latter was most probably merely the marginal gloss explaining *che il zenit inlibra*, and adopted by the copyists as a *lectio facilior*. Scartazzini prefers to follow Buti, who interprets *si dilibera*, "cioè esce dal cinto." It is quite beyond the limits of this work to reproduce the whole of Dr. Moore's discussion of these variants, but it should be carefully studied in the original. He says that the bold coining of two such antithetical words as *inlibra* and *dilibra* is thoroughly in Dante's manner. The number of these self-coined words compounded with "*in*" may be counted by dozens, *e.g. immiare; intuare; ingemmare; invogliare; incielare; imparadisare; insaccare; inanellare*, etc. Dr. Moore thinks that *inlibra*, after the analogy of similar compounds, is certainly transitive; he would take *che* as referring to *punto*, and *punto* as probably describing the situation of exact opposition of sun and moon. He would understand *inlibra* as "forms a balance, constitutes equi-

Tanto, col volto di riso dipinto
Si tacque Beatrice, riguardando
Fisso nel punto che m' aveva vinto:

At the time when, surmounted by the Ram and the Scales, both the two children of Latona (namely, Apollo the Sun, and Diana or Luna, the Moon) make for themselves a common girdle of the horizon, as much time as elapses from the point which the Zenith equilibrates (*i.e.* holds evenly poised), until (the moment when) both the one and the other break the equipoise by changing hemispheres (*i.e.* by the one passing up into one hemisphere and the other down into the other); for so long a time, her face painted with a smile, was Beatrice silent, gazing fixedly at The Point which had overpowered (*i.e.* dazzled) me.

Beatrice resumes her discourse, and says that she will, without being asked by Dante, tell him that which he seeks to know, as she has seen it in God, in Whom dwells both time and space. She answers three questions which she supposes Dante is tacitly asking.

Why did God create the Angels? Not for any advantage or profit to Himself to increase His own Blessedness, which never could be increased, but that He might manifest His Glory to others.

Poi cominciò :—"Io dico, non domando
Quel che tu vuoli udir, perch' io l' ho visto
Dove s' appunta * ogni *ubi* ed ogni *quando*.

librium, equilibrates," and *dilibra* (the antithesis to *inlibra*) as "breaks the balance, destroys equilibrium." *Dilibrarsi* is constructed in the usual reflexive way like *divimarsi* (see l. 36); *dismagliarsi; dismalarsi; dislagarsi*, etc.

* *Dove s' appunta*, et seq.: Time and place are alike present to God. Compare *Par.* xvii, 17, 18:—

"mirando il punto
A cui tutti li tempi son presenti;"

and *Par.* xxvi, 106-108:—

Non per avere a sè di bene acquisto,
Ch' esser non può, ma perchè suo splendore *
Potesse risplendendo dir: *Subsisto;* 15

Then she began: "I tell that which thou desirest to hear, I do not ask it, for I have (already) seen it there (in the divine aspect of God) where every Where and every When are centred. Not to obtain for Himself any acquisition of good, which is not possible (for God is All Good), but in order that His Glory might in its radiance declare I AM (I exist);

When did God create the Angels? To this Beatrice answers: Not *before* time was, but *when time first was, i.e.* on the first day of the Creation. Therefore, the creation of the Angels was contemporaneous with the creation of the material world. The Fathers of

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"Perch' io la veggio nel verace speglio
Che fa di sè pareglio all' altre cose,
E nulla face lui di sè pareglio."

* *ma perchè suo splendore*, et seq.: The apparent meaning of these three lines is, that at the Creation God did not look to acquire anything for Himself since He Himself did not need the acquisition or possession of His own works, which He created out of pure love. St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. contr. Gent.* lib. ii, c. 46) says: "Ad productionem creaturarum nihil aliud movet Deum, nisi sua bonitas, quam rebus aliis communicare voluit secundum modum assimilationis ad ipsum." Scartazzini feels sure that *splendore* expresses that which God had created, not God Himself. Compare *Job* xxxviii, 35: "Canst thou send lightnings, that they may go, and say unto thee, Here we are?" Compare *Par.* xiii, 52-59:—

"Ciò che non more, e ciò che può morire,
Non è se non splendor di quella idea
Che partorisce, amando, il nostro Sire;
Chè quella viva luce che sì mea
Dal suo lucente, che non si disuna
Da lui, nè dall' amor che a lor s' intrea,
Per sua bontate il suo raggiare aduna,
Quasi specchiato, in nove sussistenze."

Brunone Bianchi adds: "Gli Angeli e le minori nature sono specchi della divina bontà."

the Church derived this doctrine from *Ecclesiasticus* xviii, 1: *Qui vivit in æternum creavit omnia simul.*

> In sua eternità di tempo fuore,*
> Fuor d' ogni altro comprender,† come i piacque,
> S' aperse in nuovi amor ‡ l' eterno amore.

> In His eternity outside of time, outside of all other comprehension (*i.e.* limits), as it pleased Him, the Eternal Love unfolded Himself into new Loves (*i.e.* the Angels).

This may be paraphrased as follows: God, Who is Eternal Love, diffused and manifested Himself in

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* *di tempo fuore:* According to Peter Lombard, *Sentent.* ii, dist. 1, it was supposed that in *Gen.* i, 1, "the Heaven and the Earth" signified the spiritual and material worlds, and that in the production of the material world, the work of the six days had been one of evolution and development, but that all organic and inorganic bodies had been created at once, at least in their constituent matter, and their germs and seminal principles. (Cayley.)

† *Fuor d' ogni altro comprender:* Some refer *comprender* to space, and some to understanding, *e.g.* Plumptre, "grasp of thought." Lamennais, "hors de tout ce qu' un autre peut comprendre," etc. But on the whole I prefer the view which refers *di tempo fuore* to the *quando* of l. 12, and *fuor d' ogni altro comprender* to the *ubi* in the same line. This latter is the opinion of *Philalethes*, Hettinger, Longfellow, Norton, Cary, Haselfoot, Butler, Cayley, etc. In Bowden's Hettinger's *Dante*, p. 260, footnote 2, the following translation is given from St. Aug. *De Civ. Dei*, 6: "For if eternity and time be rightly distinguished in this, that time does not exist without some movement and transition, whilst eternity is changeless, time evidently could not be, had not some creature been made, which by motion gave birth to change. The various parts of which motion and change, as they cannot be simultaneous, succeed one another; and thus in these shorter or longer intervals of duration time began."

‡ *nuovi amor:* Some read *nove amor*, which would mean the nine Orders of Angels, who are burning with love for God. Brunone Bianchi says: "*s' aperse in nuovi amori*, creò, emanò da sè gli Angeli, che chiama *nuovi amori*, perchè effetti primi dell' eterno amor suo."

creating the whole creation of Angelic Substances, because He willed it so in His Eternity, not circumscribed either by time or space, and completely outside all other limits, in His immensity; or (to take the other interpretation), in a manner that is incomprehensible to any mind other than God's.

But it must not be supposed that God was inactive *before* the Creation. Before the Creation there was no time, and consequently neither a "before" nor an "after."

Nè prima quasi torpente si giacque;
Chè nè prima * nè poscia procedette
Lo discorrer di Dio sopra quest' acque.† 20

Nor before (creation) did He lie as if torpid; for neither before nor after did God's moving upon these waters take place.

We can see an infinite variety of corporeal substances and of divers natures, which can be transformed the one into the other.

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* *Nè prima nè poscia procedette:* Compare St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. x, art. 1): "Tempus nihil aliud est quam numerus motus secundum prius et posterius. Cum enim in quolibet motu sit successio, et una pars post alteram; ex hoc quod numeramus prius et posterius in motu, apprehendimus tempus; quod nihil aliud est quam numerus prioris et posterioris in motu. In eo autem quod caret motu, et semper eodem modo se habet, non est accipere prius et posterius."

† *Lo discorrer di Dio sopra quest' acque:* These are the nearly identical words of *Gen.* i, 2: "And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters." Cornoldi observes that two significations—both allegorical—can be applied to the word *acque*, the first signifying all mutable things; while in the second signification *l' acque* are to be taken as the *materia prima* according to the idea of St. Augustine, over which the Spirit of God moved just as the will of an artificer moves over wood or any other subject of his operations. Therefore time commenced when God created matter, imprinting upon it the substantial forms, and the movement of mutable things, the only ones that can be measured by time, commenced then also.

Beatrice now touches upon the creation of elementary bodies.* Simple bodies existed before composite bodies, and these latter do not come into being from the combination of other bodies; but God from the beginning created *primal matter*, and at the same time differentiated it into the simplest forms of existence, and having thus created and differentiated it, He made the elementary forms. Form, material, and composition were the result of one complete and perfect action of the Divine mind.

Forma e materia congiunte e purette
Usciro ad esser che non avea fallo,†

*These remarks are from Cornoldi. Dr. Moore kindly writes to me on the subject: "Dante's idea of the generation or production of material things was something like this: *First*, there was *prima materia*, containing in itself *potentially* every possible form of actual existence, but as yet not developed into any concrete form of existence, 'in actu.' [See *Conv.* iv, 1, l. 64, as to Dante's early speculations and interest in this subject: where he admits that his Lady changed his ideas 'massimamente in quelle parti ove io mirava e cercava se la prima materia degli elementi era da Dio *intesa* (*i.e.* created).'] *Secondly*, the first and lowest forms of existence 'in actu,' or of corporeal existence, were the *elements*. *Thirdly*, the next step in development was the formation of minerals (plants and animals coming later), due to the mixture of the elements. This stage in *De Mon.* i, 3, l. 48, is described as 'esse complexionatum . . . hoc etiam reperitur in mineralibus.' Also *Quaestio De Acqua et Terra*, § xviii, *passim*, a very instructive passage in this connexion. Compare also *Conv.* iii, 3, where *corpora semplici* (ll. 8, 9) mean 'the elements,' and *corpora composte* (l. 14) are explained as 'le miniere,' in the first place, and then plants and animals."

† *Usciro ad esser che non avea fallo:* "queste tre cose, cioè materia, forma e congiunto, uscirono ad essere per volontà divina." (Lana.) Compare *Gen.* i, 31: "And God saw everything that He had made, and, behold, it was very good." "Non, come alcuni intendono, nello stesso momento, ma per effetto dello stesso impulso, sotto la medesima azione della mente divina; a quel modo che dallo scattare d' un arco tricorde ricevono impulso tre saette." (Casini.) See however Lana, p. 404.

Come d' arco tricorde * tre saette;
E come in vetro,† in ambra od in cristallo
Raggio risplende sì che dal venire ‡
All' esser tutto non è intervallo;
Così il triforme effetto del suo Sire
Nell' esser suo raggiò insieme tutto,
Senza distinzïon nell' esordire.

Form and Matter, mixed and simple, started into an existence which had no defect, like unto three shafts from a three-stringed bow; and as in glass, in amber, or in crystal, a ray so shines that, from its (first) coming until its being complete, there is no interval; so did the threefold effect of its Lord (*i.e.* pure form, pure matter, and form joined with matter) flash forth all at once into its being, without distinction in its beginning.

The above passage is discussed in the *Church Quarterly Review*, for October, 1898, p. 176: "This seems to us to mean that in direct creations where the created thing is perfect and incorruptible, form and matter are not combined into *complessioni* by the influence of

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* *arco tricorde:* "Fassi archi ch' hanno tre corde e saettano insieme tre saette, e così balestre che saettano tre bolcioni o quadrelli." (Lana.) "E ben si conviene questa similitudine: imperò che l' arco figura la Divinità; le corde, le tre persone, Padre, Figliuolo, Spirito Santo; le tre saette, le tre spezie generali dette di sopra, cioè forma, materia e coniunto: imperò che in essa creazione fue concreante la potenzia del Padre, la sapienza del Figliuolo, e la benivolenzia dello Spirito Santo." (Buti.)

† *come in vetro*, etc.: Meaning, in any lucid body. St. Augustine (*De Civ. Dei*, xii, 9); Peter Lombard (*Sentent.* ii, 1); and St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. lxxiv, art. 2) held the doctrine, followed by Dante, that the Creation was wrought instantaneously and simultaneously.

‡ *dal venire All' esser tutto*: Antonelli (*ap.* Tommaséo) observes that this passage is very remarkable on account of the theory Dante professes in it of the rapid propagation of light, which he and all the learned of ancient times believed to be instantaneous.

the planetary spheres (*il cielo* or *la circular natura*) but are specially created for the occasion, and are joined together by a direct creative act of God *so as to remain pure form and pure matter.* Moreover, this act of direct creation is no *process*, it has no *distinction* in its beginning, *i.e.* it does not take place under conditions of sequence, but 'fuor d' ogni comprender' (l. 16), where one moment cannot be distinguished from another; for the Angels are created 'post aeternitatem sed ante tempus.' Thus the 'spiritual substances had order' [*i.e.* form; for in *Par.* i, 104, we are told *ordine è forma*] 'and composition *concreate*'—that is, they are not form and matter combined by natural process, under conditions of time, but were 'flashed into being' as a divinely compounded creation, unique 'secondo specie.'"

Contemporaneously with the production of the above-mentioned three kinds of existence, namely, pure form, pure matter, and form conjoined with matter, a proper order or proportion was created and established for them.

Concreato fu ordine e costrutto*

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* *Concreato*, et seq.: On these two *terzine* see Moore, *Studies in Dante*, pp. 109, 110: "Now this is little more than an adaptation of a passage in the *De Anima*, II, ii, ad fin. (414 a. 14 seq.): '*τριχῶς γὰρ λεγομένης τῆς οἰσίας καθάπερ εἴπομεν, ὧν τὸ μεν εἶδος, τὸ δὲ ὕλη, τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν· τούτων δέ ἡ μὲν ὕλη δύναμις, τὸ δὲ εἶδος ἐντελέχεια· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἔμψυχον, οὐ τὸ σῶμα ἐστιν ἐντελέχεια ψυχῆς, ἀλλ' αὐτὴ σώματος τινος.*' From this point of view the technicalities of Dante's language are easily cleared up. It will be observed that Aristotle recognises three degrees or orders of existence :—

1	2	3
εἶδος (forma) or *ἐντελέχεια* (actus)	*ὕλη* (materia) or *δύναμις* (potentia)	both combined.

Alle sustanzie, e quelle furon cima*
Nel mondo, in che puro atto fu produtto.
Pura potenza tenne la parte ima;
Nel mezzo strinse la potenza con atto
Tal vime, che giammai non si divima.

These reappear in Dante as—

Puro atto ... Pura potenza... Potenza con atto;

and these correspond with

Angels ... Matter ... Created things.

Dante maintains that all these three were created simultaneously, on the strength no doubt of *Ecclus.* xviii, 1 ('Qui vivit in aeternum creavit omnia simul') and other similar passages (see ll. 28-30 and 40, 41). In this he follows P. Lombard and Aquinas, and corrects St. Jerome, who taught otherwise (l. 37 seq.). Further Dante declares (though this of course has nothing to do with Aristotle) that after their creation Lucifer and his angels fell before you could count twenty (!) see l. 49. See also *Conv.* ii, 6, l. 96, 'si perderono alquanti *tosto che furono creati*.' A consideration of these passages together will perhaps serve to correct the charge of inconsistency made against Dante by Scartazzini, for saying (1) that the *Inferno* was eternal in *Inf.* iii, 7, 8, 'Dinanzi a me non fur cose create Se non eterne;' and (2) that it was formed in the centre of the earth (which therefore pre-existed), by the fall of Lucifer (*Inf.* xxxiv, 121-126)." *costrutto:* I prefer to follow the large majority of the Italian Commentators, and take *costrutto* as the past participle of *costruire.* The *Gran Dizionario* quotes this very passage and interprets: "Formato insieme in armonia con altro o altri oggetti. *Concreato fu ordine e costrutto Alle Sustanzie.* Insieme colle sostanze angeliche fu creato e formato, quasi costruzione armonica di un solo disegno, l'ordine che distingue l' atto, la potenza, la potenza coll' atto." The word is similarly used in *Inf.* xi, 28-30:—

"De' violenti il primo cerchio è tutto:
Ma perchè si fa forza a tre persone,
In tre gironi è distinto e costrutto."

Distinto e costrutto has a ring very like *concreato e costrutto.*

**furon cima Nel mondo:* The above-mentioned article in the *Church Quarterly* thus explains this passage: "Those Angels whose creation we are discussing (adds Dante), were the pinnacle of the world in which pure act was produced, *i.e.* were the highest of the direct creations of Him Who is, regarded as Creator, 'purus actus,' and are themselves not 'pure form' (ἐντελέχεια) but 'pure act' (ἐνέργεια), which presumes contact with material."

> Simultaneously with the Existences (*i.e.* the Angels) was order created and established (for them), and these were the summit (*i.e.* they occupied the highest place) in the world, in which Pure Act was produced. Pure Potency held the lowest site; in the midst, so powerful a bond conjoined Potency with Act, that never can it be unbound.

In the mid-region, between the summit and the lowest part of the universe, an indissoluble link conjoined the Existences that are receptive with those that are active.

But now Beatrice goes on to speak of a theory of St. Jerome's (with which St. Thomas Aquinas had disagreed) that the Angels were created long before the rest of the universe. Dante differs *in toto* from St. Jerome and thinks that the opinions of St. Thomas are supported by Scripture.

Jeronimo vi scrisse lungo tratto
Di secoli degli Angeli creati
Anzi che l' altro mondo fosse fatto;
Ma questo vero è scritto in molti lati
Dagli scrittor* dello Spirito Santo;
E tu te n' avvedrai, se bene agguati; †
Ed anche la ragione il vede alquanto,
Che non concederebbe che i motori
Senza sua perfezion fosser cotanto.

Jerome wrote to you of Angels created a long tract

**scrittor dello Spirito Santo:* The writers of the Sacred Books. Compare *De Mon.* iii, 4, ll. 88-91: "quamquam scribae divini eloquii multi sint, unicus tamen dictator est Deus, qui beneplacitum suum nobis per multorum calamos explicare dignatus est." Compare *De Mon.* ii, 9, ll. 99, 100: "Hoc etiam testimonium perhibet scriba Christi Lucas, qui omnia vera dicet." And *ibid.* ii, 12, ll. 41, 42: "Sed Christus, ut scriba eius Lucas testatur," etc.

†*agguati: Agguatare* is derived from *guato* or *agguato*, an ambush, and signifies here, "consider, give your mind to, pay close attention to."

> of centuries before the other world was made; but this truth (above-mentioned, and contrary to Jerome's assertion) is written in many passages by the Scribes of the Holy Ghost (*i.e.* by the inspired Biblical Writers); and thou wilt discern this, if thou examine closely; and also Reason sees it in some measure, which scarcely could allow that the movers (of the Spheres, *i.e.* the Angels) should be in existence so long without their full perfection.

St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. lxi, art. 3), contends that as God (*Gen.* i, 1) created the heaven and the earth IN THE BEGINNING, were it true that anything had been created before them, then would these words be untrue: "Ergo Angeli non sunt ante naturam corpoream creati."

Mr. Haselfoot observes that it would have been unreasonable that the Angels, the movers of the heavens, should have been created before there were any heavens to move.

Therefore, Beatrice contends, Dante may be supposed to know the *where* of the Angels' creation, namely, in the Empyrean; the *when*, namely, contemporaneously with the creation of time and of the universe; and the *how*, namely, they were all created beings of perfect goodness.

> Or sai tu dove e quando questi amori
> Furon creati, e come; sì che spenti
> Nel tuo disio già sono tre ardori.
>
> Now knowest thou where and when these beings of Love were created, and how; so that three flames of thy desire are already burnt out (*i.e.* three of thy ardent longings are allayed).

Division II.—But there was a certain portion of the Angels who became rebellious against God,

When? The instant they were created. The others who remained faithful to God commenced their functions (of imparting a circular movement to the heavens) by gyrating round the Central Point.

Nè giugneriesi * numerando al venti
Sì tosto, come degli Angeli parte
Turbò il suggetto dei vostri elementi.†
L' altra rimase, e cominciò quest' arte
Che tu discerni, con tanto diletto
Che mai da circuir non si diparte.

Nor would one in counting, reach to twenty as quickly, as one portion of the Angels threw into

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* *Nè giugneriesi*, etc.: From the creation of the Angels to the instant when some of them rebelled and fell, so infinitesimally short a time elapsed, that one could not have counted twenty in the interval. Dante asserts this in *Conv.* ii, 6, ll. 94-99: "E non è qui da tacere una parola. Dico che di tutti questi Ordini si perderono alquanti tosto che furono creati, forse in numero della decima parte; alla quale restaurare fu l' umana natura poi creata." Dante no doubt in the above words was following St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. lxiii, art. 6): "Necesse est dicere, si ponatur quod in primo istanti suae creationis in actum liberi arbitrii proruperit, et cum gratia fuerit creatus. Cum enim angeli per unum actum meritorium ad beatitudinem perveniant, si diabolus in gratia creatus, in primo instanti meruit, statim post primum instans beatitudinem accepisset, nisi statim impedimentum praestitisset peccando. Si vero ponatur quod angelus in gratia creatus non fuerit, vel quod in primo instanti actum liberi arbitrii non potuerit habere, nihil prohibet aliquam moram fuisse inter creationem et lapsum."

† *suggetto dei vostri elementi:* There are several interpretations to this passage. Some by *suggetto* (or by its variant *subietto*) understand that which is below (*lit.* underlying) the other elements, water, air, and fire, namely, the interior of the globe that was convulsed and thrown into disturbance by the fall of the rebellious Angels. Compare *Inf.* xxxiv, 122 et seq. Others think that *il suggetto* is the Earth in general which is the subject, the base, and the abode of all the elements. The *Postillatore Cassinese* reads as follows, with the marginal comments above the line:—

globumterræ caetendo in eius abissum
"turbò ilsubjecto divostri elementi."

confusion (the world which is) the subject of your elements. The rest remained, and commenced this operation which thou beholdest (of revolving round the Point), with such delight, that nevermore do they cease from circling round.

The fall of the rebellious Angels originated in the pride of Lucifer, whereas the faithful remainder recognized in all humility that their whole being was in God, Who had created them with an understanding sufficient to merit Illuminating Grace, the very reception of which is in itself a merit, as demonstrating good will. The Angels are therefore incapable of sin.

Principio del cader fu il maledetto
Superbir * di colui, che tu vedesti
Da tutti i pesi del mondo costretto.†
Quelli che vedi qui furon modesti
A riconoscer sè dalla bontate,‡
Che gli avea fatti a tanto intender presti;
Perchè le viste lor furo esaltate §

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* *il maledetto Superbir:* All the Early Fathers of the Church are in agreement that Pride was the sin through which Lucifer fell.

† *costretto:* Compare *Inf.* xxxiv, 110, 111, where the centre of the earth, in which Lucifer is fixed, is called

"il punto
Al qual si traggon d' ogni parte i pesi."

That comparison serves as a contrast to the Central Point in Paradise round which all the glories of the heavens revolve.

‡ *riconoscer sè dalla bontate:* After much hesitation I have adopted Casini's interpretation of this passage rather than that of the *Gran Dizionario*, which would understand *riconoscersi di un benefizio* as = *mostrarsene grato.* Casini interprets: "The good Angels, whom thou seest spread out into nine Choirs, were humble (*modesti*) in acknowledging their existence (*sè*) as derived from the Divine Goodness, Which had made them apt for intelligence of God."

§ *furo esaltate:* On ll. 58-63 Cornoldi writes: "Gli altri furono umili nel riconoscere tutti i loro pregi d' intelligenza derivati dalla divina bontà; [e] in premio di loro umiltà furono

Con grazia illuminante, e con lor merto,
Sì ch' hanno piena e ferma volontate.

The primary cause of the fall was the accursed arrogance of him, whom thou sawest constrained by all the weights of the world (*i.e.* Lucifer). Those whom thou seest here were modest enough to acknowledge their existence as derived from the Divine Goodness, which has made them apt for intelligence so high; wherefore their vision was exalted by Illuminating Grace, and by their own merit, so that they have a full and steadfast will.

By accepting the Illuminating Grace of God (says Dean Plumptre) the Angels had, in scholastic language, merited their blessedness. They had shown their modesty in owning that they had nothing which they had not received, and therefore received more illuminating grace; and then, on the theory of a "grace of condignity or congruity" (art. xiii), the gift of perseverance, so that they could no longer fall from their high estate. Grace, therefore, does not exclude merit; nay, rather, there is a merit in the very act of accepting it.*

E non voglio che dubbi ma sie certo,
Che ricever la grazia è meritorio,
Secondo che l' affetto gli è aperto.
Omai dintorno a questo consistorio †

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di grazia arricchiti, con la quale, liberamente e perciò con vero merito onorando Iddio, ottennero quella fermezza immutabile nel bene che ha chi è ammesso alla immediata visione della divinità."

* See St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. lxii, art. 4), in which it is argued at great length that the merit of the Angels who remained faithful, was just that of having received grace. See also *ibid.* art. 8, wherein we read: "Angelus beatus nullo modo peccare potest."

† *consistorio:* Compare *Purg.* ix, 22-24:—
"Ed esser mi parea là dove foro

Puoi contemplare assai, se le parole
Mie son ricolte,* senz' altro aiutorio.

And I will not have thee doubt, but be assured, to receive Grace is meritorious, in proportion as the affection is open to it. Henceforth, if my words have been understood (*lit.* gathered in), thou canst without further assistance contemplate much round this consistory (*i.e.* Sacred College of Angels).

Beatrice now combats the theory taught in certain schools, and notably by St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. liv, art. 5; and qu. lviii, art. 1), that the Angels are endowed with the faculty of Memory, as well as with Understanding and Will. She tells Dante that although they possess the two latter, they lack Memory, because they see everything in God, and therefore need it not. "They see all things in the Divine Mind, and in It, there being no past, there is consequently no Memory. No new object can interrupt their vision; and there being no interruption of an ever-present perception, there can be no memory, which implies that interruption. The

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Abbandonati i suoi da Ganimede
Quando fu ratto al sommo consistoro."

"*Consistorio* è luogo, dove li cardinali stanno ad audienza et a consilliare insieme col santo padre; e così qui si pone per lo luogo, dove stanno insieme gli Angeli intorno a Dio." (Buti.) So Ganymede was caught up to the Olympus, the consistory or council of the gods; and so in *Conv.* iv, 5, ll. 20-23, in the same way as in the present passage, *consistoro* is used to signify Heaven: "Eletto fu in quell' altissimo e congiuntissimo Consistoro divino della Trinità, che 'l Figliuolo di Dio in terra discendesse." Daniello says that Dante received permission to look round at all the precincts and appurtenances of this Angelic college.

* *se le parole Mie son ricolte:* Compare *Par.* iv, 88, 89:—

"E per queste parole, se ricolte
L' hai come devi, è l' argomento casso,"

refining subtlety of the scholastic mind may be almost said to culminate in this speculative theory." (Plumptre.)

Ma perchè in terra per le vostre scuole
Si legge che l' angelica natura
È tal che intende e si ricorda e vuole,*
Ancor dirò, perchè tu veggi pura
La verità che laggiù si confonde,
Equivocando † in sì fatta lettura.
Queste sustanzie,‡ poichè fur gioconde
Della faccia di Dio, non volser viso

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* *intende e si ricorda e vuole:* That is, the three faculties of Intelligence, Memory, and Will.

† *Equivocando:* Casini says it should be remembered that among the early writers *equivoco* in signification followed its etymology, and meant similarity of words [hence "ambiguity"] and so *equivocare* and *equivocazione* expressed the idea of a varied signification of the same word, and, as Buti remarks: "quando lo vocabolo è uno e le significazioni sono varie." Bearing this in mind, we are to understand Dante's meaning to be, that the Schoolmen erred in attributing, as far as the Angels are concerned, to the word "*Memoria*" the same sense that it has among men, the sense, namely, of being able to recall to the mind an idea or an incident; whereas there can be no such recalling to the Angels, to whom all things are present.

‡ *Queste sustanzie,* et seq.: Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante,* p. 112) writes: "Another case may be taken from the phenomena of memory as referred to by Dante in *Par.* xxix, 76-81. Dante says that the vision of the Angels is never interrupted or broken off by new objects (God and God alone filling all their thoughts); they do not need to remember *per concetto diviso.* This seems to refer to Aristotle's theory of memory in the tract *περὶ μνήμης καὶ ἀναμνήσεως,* c. 1; see especially 450 a. 25-32, b. 10 and 14-29. He says in effect that memory (in which function there occurs the apparent anomaly of our being affected by an absent object) is possible, owing to the continuance in the mind of a *φάντασμα* of the object, or a *τύπος τοῦ αἰσθήματος,* like the impression of a seal, and consequently when this impression does not persist (as from different causes occurs in the extremes of youth and of old age), then there is no memory. This *φάντασμα* or *τύπος τοῦ αἰσθήματος* remaining after the object which excited it has disappeared, seems to be exactly what Dante means by *concetto diviso* in this passage."

Da essa da cui nulla si nasconde:
Però non hanno vedere interciso
Da nuovo obbietto, e però non bisogna
Rimemorar per concetto diviso.
Sì che laggiù non dormendo si sogna,
Credendo e non credendo dicer vero;
Ma nell' uno * è più colpa e più vergogna.

But because on earth throughout your schools it is taught that the angelic nature is such, that it understands, and remembers and wills, I will speak further that thou mayest see the clear truth, which down yonder (on Earth) is confounded through mistaking the two senses in such teaching. These (Angelic) Beings since they were joyful in the face of God, never turned their gaze aside from It, from Which nothing can be hidden: therefore their vision is not interrupted by any new object, and hence they have no need for renewing the act of memory by means of a separate impression.† So that down there (on Earth), people dream when not asleep, some believing and some not believing that they are speaking truth, but in the latter is most fault and shame.

The following (says Scartazzini) is the way the last three lines are understood by the old Commentators: Down in the world people, dreaming with their eyes open, talk nonsense; but with this difference, however, that some of them attach credence to their own dreams, and really believe they are speaking the truth; while others, not themselves believing in their dreams, have

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* *Ma nell' uno è più colpa:* It is far greater wickedness in a teacher to teach doctrines in which he himself does not believe, than to teach errors which he sincerely credits.

† *i.e.* by an impression separate from the original object which first caused an impression, namely, the *τύπος τοῦ αἰσθήματος* taking the place of the original *αἴσθημα* and so causing the impression of memory, just as the first caused the impression of perception. (Written to me by Dr. Moore.)

the consciousness that the things they speak and teach are nothing but dreams; but, in order that they may be thought learned, they insist on maintaining them to be true. These last are by far the most guilty and deserving of shame; for the first-named fallacies are spoken in ignorance, but these last through wickedness.

Division III.—Beatrice goes on to point out to Dante that men in the world are so carried away by their wish to make a show in philosophy, that there are nearly as many systems as there are philosophers. Nor is this the worst. Much more is the wrath of God aroused by the way in which the Scriptures are set below human philosophy or are misinterpreted.

Voi non andate giù per un sentiero
Filosofando; tanto vi trasporta
L' amor dell' apparenza * e il suo pensiero.
Ed ancor questo quassù si comporta
Con men disdegno, che quando è posposta †
La divina scrittura, o quando è torta.‡

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* *L' amor dell' apparenza:* Compare *Conv.* i, 11, ll. 72-82: "Molti sono che amano più d'essere tenuti maestri, che d'essere; e per fuggire lo contrario, cioè di non essere tenuti, sempre danno colpa alla materia dell' arte apparecchiata ovvero allo stromento; siccome il mal fabbro biasima il ferro appresentato a lui, e il mal citarista biasima la citara, credendo dare la copla del mal coltello e del mal sonare al ferro e alla citara, e levarla a sè."

† *posposta:* Compare *Par.* ix, 133-135:—

"Per questo l' Evangelio e i Dottor magni
Son derelitti, e solo ai Decretali
Si studia sì che pare ai lor vivagni."

‡ *torta:* "alterata, sforzata [i.e. *perverted*, *wrested*], a significazioni aliene dallo spirito delle sacre carte." (Casini.) "Tirata a contrario intendimento, o ad altro che non ebbono li

> Ye in the world journey not by one path only in your philosophy; so much does the love of outward show, and the thought of it, carry you away. And even this is endured here on high with less indignation than when the Holy Writ is set aside, or when it is (in sense) perverted.

The fact is forgotten that Holy Scripture was sown in the world by the blood of martyrs; and for that reason God loves a humble fast-holding devotion to it. Theologians and preachers are so wild to show themselves profound and inventive, that they preach fables all day instead of the Holy Gospel, and feed Christ's sheep with emptiness for their own profit.

Non vi si pensa quanto sangue costa
Seminarla * nel mondo, e quanto piace
Chi umilmente con essa s' accosta.
Per apparer ciascun s' ingegna,† e face

Dottori, nè che ebbe lo Spirito Santo, che la dettò per la bocca loro." (Buti.) Compare *Par.* xii, 124-126:—

"Ma non fia da Casal, nè d' Acquasparta,
Là onde vegnon tali alla scrittura,
Che l' un la fugge, e l' altro la coarta."

But though Benvenuto, Buti, Daniello, and others, by *scrittura* understand Holy Writ, Andreoli followed by Scartazzini, considers that in that passage *scrittura* refers to the rule of the Franciscan Order. Supposing *torta* to signify "perverted, wrested," compare 2 *Pet.* iii, 16: "As also in all his [St. Paul's] epistles, speaking in them of these things; in which are some things hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other scriptures, unto their own destruction."

* *Seminarla:* Compare *Purg.* xxii, 76-78:—

"Già era il mondo tutto e quanto pregno
Della vera credenza, seminata
Per li messaggi dell' eterno regno."

In *Par.* xxiv, 109-111, Dante says to St. Peter:—

"Chè tu entrasti povero e digiuno
In campo a seminar la buona pianta,
Che fu già vite, ed ora è fatto pruno."

† *s' ingegna:* Casini remarks that Dante is here censuring

Sue invenzioni, e quelle son trascorse 95
Dai predicanti, e il Vangelio si tace.*

No one down there thinks how much blood it costs to sow it in the world, and how greatly that man is pleasing (to God), who humbly keeps in conformity with it. Every one strives his utmost to make an outward show, and fabricates his own inventions, and these become the theme of the preachers, and the Gospel is left in silence.

Beatrice's "words are an anticipation of the days of the Renaissance when great ecclesiastics advised men of culture not to read the Scriptures, as they were bad for their taste and would not improve their style: as Ruskin has put it, 'Christ's teaching was discovered not to be rhetorical, St. Paul's preaching not to be logical, and the Greek of the New Testament not to be grammatical.' If Dante gives an accurate picture of the state of things in his day, the seeds were already being sown of the 'Infidelity of the Renaissance.'" (Gardner.)

Un dice che la luna si ritorse †

two vices that existed in the sacred eloquence of his time: (1) The abuse of reasoning power (*s' ingegna*), by means of which the most simple ideas were developed through subtle and interminable demonstrations and subdivisions; and (2) the excess of fantastic invention (*face le sue invenzioni*), by means of which, to confirm real truths, the most preposterous and improbable narrations of grotesque miracles, of awe-inspiring events, or of fearful punishments, were invented.

* *e il Vangelio si tace:* "Qui l' Autore riprende li predicanti moderni, che ignorano e dispregiano la santa evangelica Scrittura, ed a malizioso intento favoleggiono e dicono *ciancie*, e trovano dubbii e gavillazioni [*cavillings*], per li quali credono essere stimati dal volgo sapientissimi; e solo a questo fine fanno tali invenzioni. E quando dicono queste favole, ridono le persone, e questi gonfiano il cappuccio, e spurgansi [*expectorate*] quasi dicano: io sono una saputa persona." (*Ottimo.*)

† *la luna si ritorse:* Compare *St. Matt.* xxvii, 45: "Now from the sixth hour there was darkness over all the land unto the ninth hour." See also *St. Mark* xv, 33; and *St. Luke* xxiii, 44.

Nella passion di CRISTO, e s' interpose,
Per che il lume del sol giù non si porse: *
Ed altri che la luce si nascose
Da sè ; però agl' Ispani ed agl' Indi,
Com' a' Giudei, tale eclissi rispose.

One says that the Moon turned itself backward during Christ's Passion, and interposed, so that the light of the Sun was not diffused on earth; and others (say) that the light hid itself of its own accord; and therefore this eclipse took place alike for the Spaniards and the Indians, as for the Jews.

* *il lume del sol giù non si porse:* The death of Our Lord occurred at a time when the Moon was in opposition to the Sun, because the Jews celebrated the Passover at the full Moon of the first month of their year. Some, therefore, in order to try and explain away the sudden darkness that fell over the earth by assigning it to a solar eclipse, had recourse to the supposition that the Moon, miraculously receding, interposed itself between the Earth and the Sun, as at the new Moon, and so intercepted from us the light of the great luminary: but Dante, great astronomer as he was, gives the lie to such conjectures, because the darkness arising from an eclipse of the Sun would only be partial on the surface of a terrestrial hemisphere; whereas the darkness that accompanied the Agony of the Redeemer, was universal, so that it extended from Spain to India, that is, from the farthest West to the farthest East; and was caused by a complete obscuration of light, not by the interposition of a small body between us and the Sun (Antonelli, *ap.* Tommaséo). Scartazzini says that some maintain that the Moon went back six signs of the Zodiac, and interposed between the Sun and the Earth, others contend that the Sun darkened itself spontaneously. Let it suffice for us that it was a miracle, and what means God employed to effect it, was not a fitting subject for discussion in Church, where people were assembled to hear the Word of God. For the opinion of the Schoolmen on this matter, see St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars iii, qu. xliv, art. 2): "Secundum quosdam illae tenebrae vel solis obscuratio, quae in passione Christi accidit, fuit propter hoc quod sol suos radios retraxit, nulla immutatione facta circa motum coelestium corporum, secundum quem tempora mensurantur. . . . Origines autem dicit hoc accidisse per interpersitionem nubium. . . . Sed circa hoc magis credendum est Dionysio, qui oculata fide inspexit hoc accidisse per interpositionem lunae inter nos et solem."

She adds that the mass of old-wives' tales and fables that are deliberately related as truths from the pulpit are as numerous as there were then persons in Florence bearing the names of Lapo and Bindo, names exceedingly common there in the Middle Ages; and the congregations are being morally starved from the lack of any real spiritual nourishment.

Non ha Fiorenza tanti Lapi e Bindi,*
Quante sì fatte favole per anno
In pergamo si gridan quinci e quindi: 105
Sì che le pecorelle, che non sanno,
Tornan † dal pasco pasciute di vento,‡
E non le scusa non veder lor danno.

Florence has not so many Lapi and Bindi, as every

**Lapi e Bindi:* Lapo was the abbreviation for Jacopo; and Bindo for Albino or Aldobrandino.

†*Tornan dal pasco*, et seq.: Compare *Par.* xi, 127-129:—

"E quanto le sue pecore remote
E vagabonde più da esso vanno,
Più tornano all' ovil di latte vote."

‡*pasciute di vento:* Compare Milton, *Lycidas*, 113-131:—

"'How well could I have spared for thee, young swain,
Enow of such as, for their bellies' sake,
Creep, and intrude, and climb into the fold!
Of other care they little reckoning make,
Than how to scramble at the shearers' feast,
And shove away the worthy bidden guest.
Blind mouths! that scarce themselves know how to hold
A sheep-hook, or have learned aught else the least
That to the faithful herdsman's art belongs!
What racks it them? What heed they? They are sped;
And, when they list, their lean and flashy songs
Grate on their scrannel pipes of wretched straw;
The hungry sheep look up, and are not fed;
But, swoln with wind and the rank mist they draw,
Rot inwardly, and foul contagion spread:
Besides what the grim wolf with privy paw
Daily devours apace, and nothing said:
But that two-handed engine at the door
Stands ready to smite once, and smite no more.'"

year fables of this sort are shrieked in the pulpit from this side and that; so that the poor sheep, that do not understand, return from their pastures fed with wind (only), and yet their not seeing their harm does not excuse them.

A Christian may not plead the excuse of being ignorant of things necessary to salvation.

Our Lord did not command His Apostles to go forth and recount idle fables, but to preach the sacred truths of the Gospel to every creature in the world; but this holy practice had, in Dante's time, fallen into disuse.

"Ah!" exclaims Benvenuto, "how many a time and oft have I heard metaphysics, astrology, and medicine preached to congregations of old women! so I do not wonder at Dante thus railing them." *

Non disse CRISTO al suo primo convento:
'Andate, e predicate al mondo ciance,' 110
Ma diede lor verace fondamento;
E quel tanto sonò nelle sue guance,
Sì ch' a pugnar, per accender la fede,
Dell' Evangelio fêro scudo e lance.

To His first congregation (the Apostles) Christ did not say: 'Go forth and preach idle tales to the world,' but He gave them the foundation of Truth; and it (Truth) sounded in their mouths (*lit.* cheeks) with such might, that in their warfare for the kindling of the Faith, they made of the Gospel their shields and lances.

The Gospel was their shield in defending the Faith, and their lance in attacking its enemies.

Beatrice next, with bitter sarcasm, upbraids the

* Benvenuto's expression is: "ideo non miror si autor lavat ita eis caput." The modern Florentines would use the identical expression: "che gli lavi per bene il capo a quei bricconi."

levity and irreverence with which the preachers delivered their sermons; the main object of which apparently was to make their own supposed wit to shine forth, and excite the misplaced hilarity of their auditors * in sacred precincts where reverence and devotion should alone be seen. But there is some one lurking within their cowls (says Benvenuto); for, when the preacher is boasting his highest and rejoicing at the mirth of his auditory, the devil, unseen, is laughing loudly at his back; and, while clutching at his hair, mutters, "I've got you!" (*diabolus latet a tergo ridens fortiter, et tenens eum per crines, dicens: habeo te*). If the common people would only understand that such preaching as what they now hear is nothing but the inspiration of the devil, they would then see, that it could not possibly bring them the pardons and indulgences they hope to acquire

* Those among my readers who have not been in the South of Italy can hardly appreciate how literally true are these denunciations against misplaced hilarity in places of worship. In the spring of 1859 I was one afternoon in Lent visiting the beautiful Cathedral of Palermo, and as our party were moving about the aisles, we were startled by the incongruous sounds of the loud laughter of many people proceeding from the North Transept. Much surprised, we turned our steps thither, and witnessed a scene that was to us wholly unexpected in a Church. Upon a sort of dais was placed a deal table, at which sat a monk. His countenance was indescribably comical, and he was preaching upon the temptations of St. Anthony with a broad vein of humour that was irresistible to his auditory, who entered into the fun of the thing with as much zest, as they would, had they been listening to the narrative songs of an *improvvisatore* in one of the public squares. There did not seem to be the slightest pretence of reverence or devotion on the part either of the preacher or of his congregation. Contrast such behaviour with that of the very devout priests in South Germany or Austria. I was particularly struck with this contrast on another occasion by observing the reverential piety of the priests in the Cathedral of Trent.

by their attendance there; for such indulgences are promised by the preacher without any valid authority or proof of pontifical licence.

Ora si va con motti * e con iscede † 115
A predicare, e pur che ben si rida,
Gonfia il cappuccio, e più non si richiede.
Ma tale uccel ‡ nel becchetto § s' annida,
Che se il vulgo il vedesse, vederebbe
La perdonanza || di che si confida; 120
Per cui tanta stoltizia in terra crebbe,
Che senza prova d' alcun testimonio
Ad ogni promission si converrebbe.¶

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* *con motti e con iscede A predicare:* Compare Cowper, *Task*, ii:—

"He that negotiates between God and man,
As God's ambassador, the grand concerns
Of judgment and of mercy, should beware
Of lightness in his speech. 'Tis pitiful
To court a grin, when you should woo a soul;
To break a jest, when pity would inspire
Pathetic exhortation; and to address
The skittish fancy with facetious tales,
When sent with God's commission to the heart!"

† *iscede: Isceda* is an obsolete form of *Sceda*, "buffoonery, mimicry, grimace." Compare Michelangelo Buonarroti (the younger), *La Fiera*, giorn. ii, act ii, sc. 6:—

"La mia moglie . . .
. . . che digruma, e 'ngoja me
Sempre con nuove smorfie e nuove scede,
Insipida ognor più lasciò scapparsi."

‡ *tale uccel:* Compare *Inf.* xxii, 96, where Malacoda the chief demon of the *Malebranche* rebukes Farfarello, calling him "Malvagio uccello."

§ *becchetto:* The hood of the *lucco*, the garment worn in Dante's time by the citizens, terminated in a long point, which was termed the *becchetto*.

|| *perdonanza = indulgenza.* We have in old English the word "pardoner" for a priest who heard confessions. Compare *Purg.* xiii, 61, 62, where some Church-services are termed *perdoni*.

¶ *converrebbero:* In Tuscany "Ne conviene?" meaning "You will admit that? You will agree so far?" is a common everyday expression.

Di questo ingrassa il porco sant' Antonio,
Ed altri ancor che son assai più porci, 125
Pagando di moneta senza conio.

Now men go forth to preach with quips and buffooneries, and if only they can raise a laugh, the cowl puffs out, and nothing further is required. But in the depths of that hood a certain bird (the Devil) has built its nest, of such ill-omen, that if the vulgar could see it, they would understand the sort of pardoning (*i.e.* indulgences) in which they put their trust; wherefrom such huge folly has increased on the earth, that without proof of any testimony, they would give their assent (*converrebbero*) to any kind of promise of indulgence. On (such credulity as) this doth St. Anthony fatten his pig, and others also, that are far more pigs, paying in money without stamp of coinage (*i.e.* with unauthorised indulgences).

Mrs. Jameson (*Sacred and Legendary Art*, ii, p. 380) remarks: "The hog was the representative of the demon of sensuality and gluttony, which Anthony is supposed to have vanquished by the exercises of piety and by the Divine aid. . . . The monks of St. Anthony kept herds of consecrated pigs, which were allowed to feed at the public charge, and which it was a profanation to steal or kill." From these superstitious observances Dante has sketched an image of powerful reality, implying that the preaching and mendicant friars, with the price realised by their sale of indulgences, maintained in idleness, not merely the pig, but a whole host of unworthy followers, far more loathsome than any pig.

Division IV.—Beatrice here remarks that she has wandered considerably away from her original proposition; she therefore closes this long digression,

remembering what a short time Dante has left to him in which to accomplish his journey.

She returns to the subject of the Angels, and offers two points for Dante's reflection.

First, the number of the Angels.

Ma perchè siam digressi assai, ritorci
Gli occhi oramai verso la dritta strada,*
Sì che la via col tempo si raccorci.
Questa natura sì oltre s' ingrada † 130
In numero, che mai non fu loquela
Nè concetto mortal che tanto vada.
E se tu guardi quel che si rivela
Per Daniel, vedrai che in sue migliaia ‡
Determinato numero si cela. 135

But since we have made a long digression, turn thine eyes back forthwith to the straight path (*i.e.* to the subject from which we have digressed) so that the way may be shortened with the time. This (Angelic) nature grows to such an extent in numbers, that never yet was there mortal speech nor conception that can reach so far (as to comprehend or describe it). And if thou consider what is revealed through Daniel, thou wilt see that in his thousands a determinate number is concealed.

The second point is the immeasurable greatness of God displayed in the Angels; on which Mr. Gardner

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* *dritta strada:* Scartazzini says that Beatrice thus metaphorically speaks of the argument about the Angels, which had been interrupted.

† *s' ingrada: Ingradare* (neuter verb) or *ingradarsi* (reflective) signify "arrivare, ascendere, stendersi," and on this Buti remarks: "*Sì oltre s' ingrada*, cioè si stende di grado in grado in sì fatta grandezza di numero."

‡ *in sue migliaia*, et seq.: Compare *Daniel* vii, 10: "A fiery stream issued and came forth before Him: thousand thousands ministered unto Him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before Him."

(p. 213) observes: "Not only is every Angel of this almost infinite number different from any other in its reception of Divine light and in its burning love, but not two are of the same species. According to Thomist philosophy, in things incorruptible there is only one individual of each single species. . . . It is impossible that there should be two Angels of one species, just as we cannot talk of several separate whitenesses or more than one humanity. (*Summa*, i, 50, 4.)"

La prima luce* che tutta la raia,†
Per tanti modi in essa si recepe,‡
Quanti son gli splendori a che s' appaia.
Onde, perocchè all' atto che concepe
Segue l' affetto,§ d' amor la dolcezza
Diversamente|| in essa ferve e tepe.

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* *La prima luce:* The Light of God is also termed "la verace luce" (*Par.* iii, 32); "l' eterna luce" (*Par.* v, 8); "la luce eterna" (*Par.* xi, 20).

† *raia* for *raggia:* Compare *Par.* xv, 55-57:—

"Tu credi che a me tuo pensier mei
Da quel ch' è primo, così come raia
Dall' un, se si conosce, il cinque e il sei;"

and *Purg.* xvi, 142:—

"Vedi l' albòr che per lo fummo raia."

‡ *si recepe:* Compare *Par.* ii, 35, 36:—

"Com' acqua recepe
Raggio di luce, permanendo unita."

In a note on which passage Scartazzini quotes the following: "*recepe* in luogo di *riceve*, non del tutto latino, nè affatto toscano, comme disse altrove *cupe*, cioè *desidera*, e molti altri somiglianti." [He does not, however, give the reference.]

§ *all' atto che concepe Segue l' affetto:* "*L' atto che concepe* è la visione di Dio, effetto dell' irradiazione della sua luce." (Scartazzini.) Compare *Par.* xxviii, 109-111:—

"Quinci si può veder come si fonda
L' esser beato nell' atto che vede,
Non in quel ch' ama, che poscia seconda."

|| *Diversamente . . . ferve e tepe:* "Esso amore è più e men fervente in loro [gli Angeli], secondo che più e meno partecipano della divina luce." (Vellutello.)

Vedi l' eccelso omai, e la larghezza
Dell' eterno valor, poscia che tanti
Speculi * fatti s' ha in che si spezza,
Uno manendo in sè come davanti."— 145

The Primal Light which irradiates the whole (Angelic nature), is received therein by as many modes as there are splendours (*i.e.* Angelic individualities) with which It (the Primal Light) is mated. Hence, since Love follows upon the action that perceives, therefore the sweetness of their love is either fervent or tepid in different degrees. Behold now the height † and the breadth of the Eternal Goodness,‡ since it has made for itself so many mirrors (*i.e.* the Angels), on which it is distributed (*lit.* broken up), One in Itself remaining as before."

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* *tanti Speculi:* Compare *De Vulg. Eloq.* i, 2, ll. 18-20: "Illud fulgentissimum speculum, in quo cuncti repraesentantur pulcerrimi atque avidissimi speculantur." Compare also *Par.* xiii, 58-60:—

"Per sua bontate il suo raggiare aduna,
Quasi specchiato, in nove sussistenze,
Eternalmente rimanendosi una."

† *the height and the breadth;* Compare *Ephes.* iii, 17, 18: "That ye, being rooted and grounded in love, may be able to comprehend with all saints, what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height."

‡ Dr. Moore tells me that he thinks *valore* means *Goodness*, rather than Power, in Dante generally. Compare *Par.* xxvi, 40-42:—

". . . la voce del verace autore,
Che dice a Moisè, di sè parlando:
'Io ti farò vedere ogni valore.'"

In *De Mon.* ii, 2, ll. 15-20, in reference to Creation, Dante thus speaks of Heaven: "Est enim natura in mente primi motoris, qui Deus est, deinde in coelo tanquam in organo, quo mediante similitudo bonitatis aeternae in fluitantem materiam explicatur."

END OF CANTO XXIX.

CANTO XXX.

THE TENTH SPHERE, NAMELY, THE EMPYREAN HEAVEN—GOD—ANGELS AND SAINTS—THE ASCENT TO THE EMPYREAN—THE RIVER OF LIGHT—THE HEAVENLY ROSE—THE EMPTY THRONE AWAITING HENRY VII.

In the last Canto Dante gave the definition of the Angelic Nature. In the present Canto is discussed the *de essentia et de effectu* of the Empyrean Heaven, and Dante's admission to the vision of the whole glory of Paradise.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

In the First Division, from ver. 1 to ver. 33, Dante relates the disappearance of the nine choirs of Angels, and the superadded loveliness he saw in Beatrice.

In the Second Division, from ver. 34 to ver. 81, he describes how he found that he had ascended into the Empyrean, and how he saw a River of Light.

In the Third Division, from ver. 82 to ver. 132, he relates how he beheld the transmutation of the River of Light into the Mystic Heavenly Rose full of thrones.

In the Fourth Division, from ver. 133 to ver. 148, Dante describes the throne he saw remaining vacant, and how he learned from Beatrice that it is to be occupied by Henry VII.

Division I.—The choirs of Angels circling round "the Point" fade from Dante's view. He turns for information to Beatrice, and perceives that she has grown into a loveliness that exceeds all human powers of conception. He finds that he has been taken up with her into the Empyrean, and compares the vanishing from his sight of the three triumphant Hierarchies of the nine choirs of Angels, to the gradual fading away of the stars on the appearance of dawn.

Brunone Bianchi observes that, to determine the precise hour indicated, one must remember that in Dante's time the circumference of the Earth was estimated at 20,400 miles (see *Convivio* iii, 5; iv, 8), of which the Sun traverses 850 every hour. If then the quarter of 20,400 miles is 5100; if noon is distant from a given place, about (*forse*) 6000 miles to the East of the observer of the stars, then it would be sunrise at a place 900 miles to the East of him. And at the place where the observer was standing, it would be wanting rather more than an hour to sunrise, for, as we said, the Sun was supposed to traverse 850 miles every hour.*

Forse sei milia miglia di lontano
Ci ferve l' ora sesta, e questo mondo
China già l' ombra quasi al letto piano,
Quando il mezzo del cielo a noi profondo †

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* See also Antonelli (*ap.* Tommaséo) who has an admirable disquisition on this subject at the end of the Canto. Also Della Valle, *Senso Geografico-Astronomico*, pp. 135-143, and especially pp. 140, 141.

† *cielo a noi profondo:* Scartazzini and Casini quote with approval the following comment of Antonelli: "*Il cielo a noi profondo* è quello della sfera stellata [*the Heaven of the Fixed Stars*], l' unico creduto visibile tra i nove del sistema, e il più profondo

Comincia a farsi tal, che alcuna stella
Perde il parere infino a questo fondo;
E come vien la chiarissima ancella
Del sol più oltre, così il ciel si chiude
Di vista in vista * infino alla più bella;
Non altrimenti il trionfo, che lude
Sempre dintorno al punto † che mi vinse,
Parendo inchiuso ‡ da quel ch' egl' inchiude,
A poco a poco al mio veder si estinse; §
Per che tornar con gli occhi a Beatrice
Nulla vedere ed amor mi costrinse.

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e remoto dei cieli determinati dagli astri; non contenendone il primo Mobile, che è il cielo remotissimo, contemplato dall'astronomia di quel tempo come cagione immediata e materiale del moto di tutti gli altri." Compare Virg. *Georg.* iv, 222 :—

"Terrasque tractusque maris coelumque profundum."

* *Di vista in vista:* From one star to another star. The word *vista* is often used in Dante in the sense of "an opening;" "the mouth of a tomb," as in *Inf.* x, 52; and "a window," as in *Purg.* x, 67. Here the stars are supposed to be the windows of Heaven. Compare *Par.* ii, 115 :—

"Lo ciel seguente, ch' ha tante vedute," etc.

† *che lude Sempre dintorno al punto:* Compare *Par.* xxviii, 25 :—

"Distante intorno al punto un cerchio d' igne
Si girava."

‡ *Parendo inchiuso*, et seq.: God, the Fixed Point, seems to be enclosed within the circling choirs of Angels, whereas in reality all things alike are included in Him. Compare *Wisdom* i, 7: "For the spirit of the Lord filleth the world; and that which containeth all things hath knowledge of the voice." Compare *Par.* xiv, 28-30 :—

"Quell' uno e due e tre che sempre vive,
E regna sempre in tre e due ed uno
Non circonscritto, e tutto circonscrive;"

and *Purg.* xi, 1-2 :—

"O Padre nostro, che nei cieli stai,
Non circonscritto," etc.

§ *si estinse:* In allusion to the above referred to words in *Par.* xxviii, 25, *un cerchio d' igne.* Having thus compared the choir of Angels to fire, it is an appropriate sequel to compare their vanishing to the quenching of a flame.

Perchance the sixth hour is blazing at a distance from us of six thousand miles, and this world is already inclining its shadow almost to the level plane (*i.e.* in a horizontal line), when the midst of highest (*lit.* deepest) heaven above us, begins to take such an appearance (*i.e.* to be lighted up by the first whitening of the dawn), that some star or other loses its perceptibility so far as this depth (*i.e.* down on Earth); and as the brightest hand-maiden of the Sun (*i.e.* Aurora, the dawn) advances nearer, in like proportion the heaven closes itself from one to another aperture, even to the fairest; not otherwise the Triumph (*i.e.* the Angelic Choirs) which for ever plays round the Point that overcame me, seeming enclosed by that which it encloses, little by little vanished from my sight; whereat to turn my eyes upon Beatrice, both my seeing nothing and my love constrained me.

We have seen, throughout Dante's ascents from Sphere to Sphere of Paradise, that on his entrance into each new Heaven Beatrice's beauty had proportionately increased. He now finds that it has done so to such a transcendent pitch, that he is unequal to give the slighest idea of it.

Se quanto* infino a qui di lei si dice
Fosse conchiuso tutto in una loda,
Poco sarebbe a fornir questa vice.†

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* *Se quanto,* et seq.: In *Conv.* iii, 4, ll. 4-22, we find a commentary, as it were, of the ideas in this passage (ll. 16-24): "Dico che la mia insufficienza procede doppiamente, siccome doppiamente trascende l' altezza di costei per lo modo ch' è detto. Chè a me conviene lasciare per povertà d' intelletto molto di quello ch' è vero di lei. . . . Dico che non pure a quello che l' intelletto non sostiene, ma eziandio a quello ch' io intendo, sufficiente non sono, perocchè la lingua mia non è di tanta facondia, che dir potesse ciò che nel pensiero mio se ne ragiona."

† *a fornir questa vice:* "ad perficiendum istum tractatum." (Benvenuto.) Casini says it is either "dire compiutamente quello che dovrei dire di lei;" or "compiere l' officio di parlare

La bellezza ch' io vidi si trasmoda
Non pur di là da noi,* ma certo io credo
Che solo il suo Fattor tutta la goda.
Da questo passo vinto mi concedo,
Più che giammai da punto di suo tema
Soprato fosse comico o tragedo.†
Chè, come sole in viso che più trema,‡
Così lo rimembrar del dolce riso
La mente mia di sè medesma scema.

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degnamente di lei." Either interpretation will do, he adds, but the second answers better to the Latin phrase *vicem explere*, to which Dante's expression seems akin. Compare Phaedrus, lib. iii, prol. : "Ut adsuetam fortius praestes vicem." And *ibid.* iii, epil. : "Tuae sunt partes ; fuerunt aliorum prius : Dein simili gyro venient aliorem vices." Also Hor. *Ars Poet.* 304 :—

"Fungar vice cotis."

Compare also *Par.* xxvii, 16, 17 :—

"La provvidenza, che quivi comparte
Vice ed offizio."

* *si trasmoda . . . di là da noi :* Poletto remarks that the word *trasmodare* is one of Dante's own coining (*è del conio di Dante*), and signifies "transcends, surpasses, our comprehension," "exceeds the measure, the capacity of our intellect, where are its limits." "Passa sì ogni comprendere creato che solo lo Creatore che la dàe sì la intende." (Lana.)

† *comico o tragedo :* On this see L. Venturi, *Simil. Dant.* p. 199, sim. 342 ; "Fra le opere d' arte poetica rammenta a preferenza la commedia e la tragedia, perchè d' arte più specialmente civile l' una con istile dimesso ; politico-religiosa l' altra, con elevato. Ebbero già ambedue più largo senso ; e Commedia Dante chiama il suo poema (*Inf.* xvi, 128 ; xxi, 2) e Tragedia quello di Virgilio (*Inf.* xx, 113)."

‡ *come sole in viso che più trema*, et seq. : Benvenuto thus explains this passage, as to which the old Commentators are not all agreed : "*lo rimembrare del dolce riso*, idest, memoria dulcis laetitiae Beatricis, *scema la mente mia da sè medesma*, idest, debilitat meam memoriam et diminuit, *così come sol*, supple, scimat lucem, *in viso che più trema*, idest, maxime in infirmo et debili. Sic enim se habet oculus noctuae ad lucem solis."—"Dicendo, che così li viene meno lo intelletto ora speculando la presente materia, come manca l' occhio ch' è

If all that has hitherto been said of her were concentrated into one single eulogy, it would be scant to carry out this duty (of speaking worthily of her). The beauty which I saw, not only passes beyond all measures of human beauty, but I truly believe that its Maker alone can enjoy it to the full. I do confess myself vanquished by this point more than comic or tragic (poet) ever was mastered by any point of his subject. For as the Sun (acts) upon the sight that quivers most (*i.e.* as it is the weakest eyes that are most dazzled by the Sun), even so does the remembrance of that enchanting smile deprive my spirit of itself (*i.e.* of all its power).

At the conclusion of the *Vita Nuova* Dante says that it is his intention and hope to speak of his Beatrice in words, the like of which have never before been offered up in praise of mortal woman. He here declares that from the time he first saw her up to this moment he has never found his powers of singing her praises fail him so much as at his present sight of her.

Dal primo giorno ch' io vidi il suo viso
In questa vita, infino a questa vista,
Non m' è il seguire al mio cantar preciso; 30

più debole in riguardare il raggio del Sole." (*Ottimo.*) Compare the Canzone, *Amor che nella mente mi ragiona*:—

"Cose appariscon nello suo aspetto,
Che mostran de' piacer del Paradiso,
. . . . . .
Elle soverchian lo nostro intelletto,
Come raggio di Sole un fragil viso;"

and *Vita Nuova*, § xlii, ll. 27-29: "Conciossiacosachè il nostro intelletto s' abbia a quelle benedette anime, come l' occhio nostro debole al Sole." And *Conv.* iii, 8, ll. 124-131: "E dico che poco ne dico per due ragioni. L' una si è, che queste cose che paiono nel suo aspetto, *soverchiano l' intelletto nostro*, cioè umano: e dico come questo *soverchiare* è fatto; ch' è fatto per lo modo che soverchia il sole lo fragile viso, non pur lo sano e forte."

Ma or convien che mio seguir desista
Più dietro a sua bellezza poetando,
Come all' ultimo suo * ciascuno artista.

From the first day that I beheld her face in this life (*i.e.* on earth) even to the moment of my present sight of her (in the highest Heaven) the sequence of my song has never been cut short; but henceforward my sequence must needs forbear from following any longer after her loveliness in my poesy, even as (must) every artist at his uttermost (*i.e.* when he reaches the limit of his powers).

Division II.—Beatrice now draws Dante's attention to the Empyrean into which he and Beatrice are ascending.

Cotal, qual io la lascio a maggior bando †
Che quel della mia tuba, che deduce ‡ 35
L' ardua sua materia terminando,
Con atto e voce d' espedito duce §

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* *all' ultimo suo :* Understand "limite" or "confine." "Come dire l' ideale dell' arte. Ogni arte ha un limite, e un ideale, e una meta." (Tommaséo.)

† *maggior bando :* Casini strongly protests against the interpretation of certain Commentators who, connecting the *bando* of this passage with the *novissimo bando* of *Purg.* xxx, 13, understand Dante to mean that only at the last trump can Beatrice's loveliness be adequately celebrated. This was not the interpretation of the older Commentators, who took the words in their simplest sense, as meaning that Dante sees Beatrice having attained to such a pitch of loveliness, that he leaves her to be described by whoever is capable of doing so. Fraticelli also interprets the passage in the same way.

‡ *deduce :* Scartazzini interprets this "conduce a termine." Compare *Par.* viii, 121 :—

"Sì venne deducendo infino a quici,"

where *deducendo* means: "drawing one truth from another in his argument." Compare Ovid, *Metam.* i, 4 :—

"Ad mea perpetuum deducite tempora carmen."

§ *espedito duce :* The *Gran Dizionario* (s. v. *spedito*) does not think that in this passage we ought to take *espedito* as in *Par.*

Ricominciò:—"Noi semo usciti fuore
Del maggior corpo * al ciel ch' è pura luce; †
Luce intellettual ‡ piena d' amore,
Amor di vero ben pien di letizia,
Letizia che trascende ogni dolzore.§
Quĭ vederai l' una e l' altra milizia
Di Paradiso, e l' una || in quegli aspetti
Che tu vedrai all' ultima giustizia."—

She—such (in her superadded loveliness) as I resign her to a loftier heralding than that of my trumpet, which is drawing its arduous theme to a final close—recommenced with gesture and with voice like that of a leader prepared (for action): "We have

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xvii, 100, where *si mostrò spedita l' anima santa* means that the blessed spirit that had been speaking "had finished its task;" but rather in the sense of "pronto, diligente."

* *maggior corpo:* Compare *Par.* xxviii, 64:—

"Li cerchi corporai sono ampi ed arti,
Secondo il più e il della virtute men,
Che si distende per tutte lor parti."

† *pura luce:* The Empyrean, placed outside the nine Corporal Heavens, is the immaterial Heaven of pure light. Compare 1 *Tim.* vi, 16: "Who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto." Compare St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, 2dæ, qu. cxii, art. 5): "Objectum autem vel finis gratiæ est nobis ignotum propter sui luminis immensitatem." Also *Conv.* ii, 15, and *ibid.* ii, 4, where Dante makes the Empyrean the symbol of the Divine Science of Theology.

‡ *Luce intellettual:* Cornoldi says that there are three degrees of happiness: (*a*) The Intellectual Light, that is, discerning God with one's Intellect. (*b*) The Love which is the consequence of this. (*c*) The joy which is engendered by the possession of the Highest Good, a joy that in itself comprehends all other joys.

§ *dolzore*: See Nannucci, *Analisi Critica*, p. 29, note (6): "*Doussor e dolsor*, onde noi *dolzore*. Fra Guittone dal lat. *dulcor* disse *dolcore*, che manca nel Vocabolario:—

'Novello adduce e dolce in me dolcore.'"

|| *e l' una*, et seq.: "Cioè l' anime umane, quando saranno congiunte con li loro corpi per resurrezione il dì del giudicio." (*Ottimo.*)

issued forth from the greatest corporeal sphere (the *Primum Mobile*) into the heaven which is pure light (the Empyrean); light intellectual replete with Love, Love of the true good replete with ecstasy, ecstasy that transcends all sweetness. Here thou wilt see both the one and the other Army of Paradise, and one (of the two, *i.e.* the Spirits of the Blessed) in those same aspects which thou shalt see at the Last Judgment."

The two Hosts are (1) the Angels; and (2) the Saints, or "Spirits of just men made perfect." (Butler.) The former warred against the rebel angels, the latter against sin. In the Empyrean will be seen the Saints in the glorified semblance of their earthly bodies. In all the lower heavens their forms are veiled in light. In *Par.* xxii, 58, Dante had asked St. Benedict to show himself to him unveiled by radiance; and St. Benedict had replied that Dante's exalted wish would be granted when he reached the highest Heaven.

Dante has now entered into the Empyrean. His eyes are unable to bear the glorious radiance that pours upon him from every side, and he is at first unable to discern anything.

Come subito lampo che discetti
Gli spiriti visivi,* sì che priva
Dell' atto l' occhio di più forti obbietti;

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* *spiriti visivi*: Trissino says that among the Schoolmen at that time each sense was supposed to have a spirit that gave it its power. Compare *Purg.* xxi, 88:—

"Tanto fu dolce mio vocale spirto," etc.;

and *Par.* xxvi, 70, 71:—

"E come a lume acuto si dissonna
Per lo spirto visivo," etc.

In *Vita Nuova*, § ii, ll. 30, 31, we find "gli spiriti del viso;" and in *Conv.* iii, 9, in l. 83 and l. 151, the expression *spiriti visivi* occurs twice.

Così mi circonfulse * luce viva,
E lasciommi fasciato di tal velo
Del suo fulgor, che nulla m' appariva.†

Even as a sudden lightning flash which so scatters the visual spirits, that it deprives the eye of the action of more powerful objects (*i.e.* renders it incapable of discerning a brighter radiance); so did a vivid light flash around me, and left me enswathed with such a veil of its effulgence, that naught was apparent to me.

Beatrice explains to Dante that the Divine Love works in this way upon the spirits as they arrive in the Heaven of Heavens so as to prepare them for being enkindled by Himself into radiance similar to His own.

—"Sempre l' amor che queta questo cielo,‡
Accoglie in sè con sì fatta salute,§
Per far disposto a sua fiamma il candelo."||—

"Ever does the Love (*i.e.* God) that gives tranquillity to this Heaven, give a welcome into Itself with a salute like this, so as to render the candle fitted for its flame."

Dante hereupon feels that a new power has entered

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* *circonfulse:* Compare *Acts* xxii, 6 (*Vulgate*): "Factum est autem, eunte me, et appropinquante Damasco media die, subito de coelo circumfulsit me lux copiosa."

† *fasciato di tal velo Del suo fulgor, che nulla m' appariva:* Compare *ibid.* 11: "Et cum non viderem prae claritate luminis illius, ad manum deductus a comitibus, veni Damascum."

‡ *l' amor che queta questo cielo:* Divine love imparts motion to the other nine Heavens; but the Empyrean Heaven is made still and quiet by it. Some read *Sempre l' Amore che quieta il cielo*, but Dr. Moore says it is barely scansible, and the authority of the MSS. is against it.

§ *con sì fatta salute:* Others read *così fatta. Salute* is to be taken in the sense of "salutation."

|| *candelo:* This is an old form of *candela.* Compare *Par.* xi, 15:—

"Fermossi come a candellier candelo."

into him, and his eye is able to see the Divine Light, at first in the form of a river flowing between two flowery banks, and giving forth vivid sparks.

Non fur più tosto dentro a me venute
Queste parole brevi, ch' io compresi
Me sormontar di sopra a mia virtute;
E di novella vista mi raccesi
Tale che nulla luce è tanto mera,*
Che gli occhi miei non si fosser difesi.
E vidi lume in forma di riviera †
Fulvido di fulgore, intra due rive
Dipinte di mirabil primavera.‡
Di tal fiumana uscian faville vive,
E d' ogni parte si mettean nei fiori,
Quasi rubin che oro circonscrive.§
Poi come inebriate dagli odori,

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* *mera:* "Pure, resplendent." Compare *Par.* xi, 16-18:—

"Ed io senti' dentro a quella lumiera
Che pria m' avea parlato, sorridendo
Incominciar, facendosi più mera;"

and *Par.* xviii, 55:—

"E vidi le sue luci tanto mere."

† *lume in forma di riviera:* Casini remarks that this idea of a river of light is entirely biblical, and Dante must have taken it from *Daniel* vii, 10: "A fiery stream issued and came forth from before him."

‡ *mirabil primavera:* Understand "i fiori che nascono di primavera." Also it has the sense of *verdura.* Compare *Purg.* xxviii, 49-51:—

"Tu mi fai rimembrar, dove e qual era
Proserpina nel tempo che perdette
La madre lei, ed ella primavera;"

and Gabriello Chiabrera, *Rime* iv, 68 (Venice, 1730, 4 vols., 8vo):—

"Dove erbette e fiori
Smaltano delle valli il chiuso grembo
La più soave primavera miete."

§ *circonscrive:* Compare Virg. *Æn.* x, 134:—

"Qualis gemma micat fulvum quae dividit aurum."

See also Buti: "cioè che intorneato dall' oro."

Riprofondavan sè nel miro gurge,*
E s' una entrava, un' altra n' uscia fuori.

No sooner had these brief words penetrated within me, than I perceived that I was elevated above my own faculties; and I re-kindled myself with new powers of vision so great, that there is no light in existence so resplendent that my eyes could not have withstood it. And I saw light in the shape of a river blazing with radiance, streaming between two banks enamelled with a marvellous wealth of flowers. Out of that river issued vivid sparks, and settled themselves in the flowers on every side even as rubies in a chasing of gold. Then, as it were intoxicated by the perfumes, they plunged again into that wondrous flood, and if one entered in, another issued forth.

At this point Beatrice puts in a word of high commendation of the earnest desire which she knew was passing through Dante's mind, the desire to learn the interpretation of this stupendous vision. She bids him drink his fill of the glorious radiance around him by gazing on at the river of pure light, for by so doing he will acquire strength sufficient to contemplate the whole of the unveiled splendour.

—" L' alto disio che mo t' infiamma ed urge 70

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* *miro gurge;* " Queste angeliche intelligenze, che schive di tutti fittizj profumi, attraggono le più schiette fragranze dalla nascosa virtù de' santi, e ne aspergono sè, e il fiume dove esultando si immergono e donde risalgono con nuova esultanza; questo ire e redire dalla fulgida riviera ai fiori olezzanti, e da questi a quella, attingendo di là sempre nuovi lampi di vero, e di quà sempre nuovi profumi di lode; questo inebbriamento d' acque e d' odori ineffabili, questo circolo d' intellezione e d' amore che si rinnovella per tutta l' eternità, quanto più vivo parla ne' pochi versi, che non parlerebbe in lunga descrizione!" (Perez, *Delle fragranze onde l' Alighieri profuma il Purgatorio e il Paradiso*, Art. ii, § ii.)

D' aver notizia di ciò che tu vei,*
Tanto mi piace più, quanto più turge.
Ma di quest' acqua † convien che tu bei,
Prima che tanta sete in te si sazii:"—
Così mi disse il sol degli occhi miei.
Anco soggiunse:—"Il fiume, e li topazii ‡
Ch' entrano ed escono, e il rider dell' erbe
Son di lor vero ombriferi prefazii; §
Non che da sè sien queste cose acerbe:
Ma è difetto dalla parte tua,
Che non hai viste ancor tanto superbe." ||—

"The lofty desire which now enflames thee and stimulates thee to have knowledge of that which thou seest, pleases me the more, in proportion as it increases. But thou must first drink of this water,

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* *vei* for *vedi*. See instances of the frequent use of this form both in prose and verse among the early writers in Nannucci, *Anal. Crit.* p. 738, etc.

† *quest' acqua:* This, says Benvenuto, is the same water of which Dante speaks in *Purg.* xxi, 1-3:—

"La sete natural che mai non sazia,
Se non con l' acqua onde la femminetta
Sammaritana domandò la grazia."

‡ *topazii:* In *Par.* xv, 85, Dante, invoking his ancestor Cacciaguida, addresses him thus:—

"Ben supplico io a te, vivo topazio!"

The meaning of *topazii* in the present passage is to compare the Blessed Saints to living glowing sparks.

§ *prefazii:* This difficult passage is best explained by Blanc, *Voc. Dant.* s. v. *prefazio*. He says that, in its ordinary use, the preface unfolds the contents of the book; and it would seem as if Dante had made use of the bold metaphor of terming the river and the sparks he sees in Paradise *prefazioni*, *i.e.* images which indicate by anticipation what those objects are in reality. And Blanc adds: "Ciò che conferma questa interpretazione è l' epiteto di *ombriferi* dato a *prefazii*, che ricordando il verbo *adombrare*, figurare, dare idea, permette di spiegare: cenni preliminari, adombrativi, o figure predimostrative del vero."

|| *superbe:* Both the *Gran Dizionario* and Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*) interpret *superbe* as used in this passage as "acute, penetrating."

> before so great a thirst can be quenched in thee." Thus spake to me the Sun of my eyes (*i.e.* Beatrice). She added further: "The river, and the topazes that enter in and issue forth, and the smiling of the flowers, are shadowy foretastes of their Truth (*i.e.* images that indicate by anticipation what these objects really are); not that these things are in themselves imperfect: but it is defective power on thy part, that thou hast not yet vision so exalted."

Division III.—As soon as Dante's eyes have been fixed upon the River of Light, it undergoes in an instant a marvellous transformation, becoming suddenly circular, and of so vast a circumference as to exceed that of the Sun itself. The flowers on the two banks are seen to be the spirits of innumerable Saints clothed in white robes, and standing round that Heavenly Shore. The heavenly flood is, as it were, a mirror that reflects and throws back their radiance; the sparks become myriads of Angels circulating in unceasing flight between the Saints and the exalted heights above, inhabited by the Holy Trinity. Those multitudes of the Blessed clothed in white robes are disposed all round that immense circle of radiance upon more than a thousand steps that widen more and more; even the lowest of these exceeds the Sun in breadth. As all this vision is offered to Dante's enraptured gaze it presents the semblance of a vast white Rose, which, as it unfolds its innumerable leaves and petals, breathes forth an odour of praise to Him Who is Sun and Life and Everything. Meanwhile the Angels in unceasing alternation descend down the steps of the shining white leaves, and reascend again to God. With the fanning of their immortal

pinions they collect and distribute ever freshening breezes of fragrance and Beatitude. (Perez, *Fragranze*, Art. ii, § 3.)

Non è fantin * che sì subito rua
Col volto verso il latte, se si svegli
Molto tardato dall' usanza sua,
Come fec' io, per far migliori spegli
Ancor degli occhi, chinandomi all' onda
Che si deriva perchè vi s' immegli.†

There is no babe, if it awakes much later than its wont, that throws itself more impetuously with face towards the breast (*lit.* milk), than did I, to make even better mirrors of mine eyes, bending towards that flood which flows its course so that in it one may be made more perfect.

This means that the River of Light flows from the Divine Source, in order that in it the sight of those spirits who are about to look upon God may receive the highest perfection.

The transformation of the River of Light into a circular sea of radiance is now described.

E sì come di lei bevve la gronda ‡

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* *fantin:* Compare *Purg.* xxiv, 108:—

"Quasi bramosi fantolini e vani;"

and *Purg.* xxx, 43, 44:—

"Volsimi alla sinistra col rispitto
Col quale il fantolin corre alla mamma."

Compare also 1 *Pet.* ii, 2: "As newborn babes, desire the sincere milk of the word, that ye may grow thereby." Scartazzini says that the simile depicts the vehemence of the desire of Dante, as well as his humility, which is like that of the half-famished infant.

† *s' immegli:* Another of the many words coined by Dante. It is derived from the Latin *melior*, and signifies "to make oneself more perfect."

‡ *la gronda:* "Estremità del tetto, ch' esce fuora della parete della casa, perchè da essa gronda e versa la pioggia che cade

Delle palpebre mie, così mi parve
Di sua lunghezza divenuta tonda.
Poi come gente stata sotto larve,*
Che pare altro che prima, se si sveste
La sembianza non sua in che disparve;
Così mi si cambiaro in maggior feste
Li fiori e le faville, sì ch' io vidi†
Ambo le corti del ciel manifeste.

And so soon as the pent-house of my eyelids drank of it (*i.e.* at the very first sight my eyes had of the river), so it seemed from its long shape to have become round. Then, like unto people who have been under masks, who seem other than before, if they put off that semblance not their own wherein they disappeared; in like manner were changed for me into a greater jubilee the flowers and the sparkles, so that I saw made manifest both the Courts of Heaven (*i.e.* the Angels and the Blessed Saints).

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sul tetto." (*Gran Dizionario.*) Hence *la gronda della palpebre* must be taken in the sense of "the edge of the eyelids." Caverni (*Voci e Modi*, p. 63) says that by the edge of the eyelids must be understood the edge of the eyes, *i.e.* the eyelashes.

* *larve:* Compare *Purg.* xv, 127-129:—

"Se tu avessi cento larve
Sopra la faccia, non mi sarien chiuse
Le tue cogitazion."

Compare Poliziano, *Stanze* ii, 24:—

"Ciascum de' Sogni drento alle lor larve
Gli si fe' incontro, e 'l viso discoperse."

† *vidi:* It will be remarked that the word *vidi* occurs three times over in this and the four lines following rhyming to itself alone. On this see Brunone Bianchi: "Questa triplice ripetizione della medesima parola *vidi* in rima, non è senza il suo perchè: il poeta voleva richiamare l' altrui attenzione su questa miracolosa visione, che è il punto più importante e la catastrofe [*turning-point*] del poema: e però nota enfaticamente prima il fatto della visione a lui giunta, poi il mezzo onde l' ebbe, e quindi prega di poter descriverne il *come*, ripetendo per tre volte in fine di verso quasi a modo di trionfo il conseguito vidi." Compare *Purg.* xx, 65-69, where *ammenda* is repeated three times; and *Par.* where in Cantos xii, xiv, xix and xxxii, the word Cristo similarly occurs.

Dante here utters an Invocation to the Glory of God, which gave him the power to gaze upon such radiance, and supplicates for the literary power to represent it adequately.

O isplendor * di Dio, per cu' io vidi
L' alto trionfo del regno verace,
Dammi virtù a dir com' io lo vidi.

O Splendour of God, through which I saw the lofty triumph of the Kingdom of Truth, vouchsafe unto me the power to tell how I saw it!

The lines that follow are illustrated at very great length by Cornoldi, the substance of whose remarks is concisely rendered by Mr. Gardner. "It is by the *lumen gloriae* (the *lume in forma di riviera*, see line 61) that Dante beholds this final vision. By the *lumen gloriae* God disposes the mind of Angel or man so that it becomes in a measure god-like, and is rendered capable of union with, or immediate intuition of, the Divine Essence. By the light of glory, the Divine Essence is made the intelligible form of the intellect. This ocean of Divine grace is reflected from the light which comes from God, and from which the heaven of the First Movement, the *Primum Mobile*, receives all its vitality and virtue for the government of the Universe. In this sea from which they receive glory and beatitude the saints of Paradise are mirrored, as the grass and flowers on a hill-side in a limpid stream at its foot."

Lume è lassù, che visibile face
Lo Creatore a quella creatura,

* *O isplendor:* Compare *Purg.* xxxi, 139:—
"O isplendor di viva luce eterna," etc.

Che solo in lui vedere ha la sua pace;*
E si distende in circular† figura
In tanto, che la sua circonferenza
Sarebbe al sol troppo larga cintura.
Fassi di raggio tutta sua parvenza
Riflesso al sommo del Mobile primo,
Che prende quindi vivere e potenza.‡
E come clivo in acqua di suo imo
Si specchia, quasi per vedersi adorno,
Quando è nel verde § e nei fioretti opimo,
Sì soprastando al lume intorno intorno

**solo in lui vedere ha la sua pace:* "Fecisti nos ad te, et inquietum est cor nostrum donec requiescat in te." (St. Aug. *Confess.* i, 1.) "Dispone sì la creatura beata, che vede lo Creatore tanto quanto a lui piace d' essere per essa veduto. Imperò che solo tale visione procede da grazia, e non da natura; chè non è niuna creatura tanto per sua natura eccellente, che potesse vedere lo Creatore; onde quando la creatura lo vede, conviene essere illuminata da quella luce che procede dalla detta fontana, graziosamente a lui largita." (Lana.) Compare *Par.* iii, 85:—

"E la sua volontate è nostra pace."

†*circular:* Scartazzini observes that the circular form is the one that best expresses eternity.

‡*prende quindi vivere e potenza:* On this Scartazzini says: "Tutta la *parvenza,* cioè apparenza di quel lume origina da un raggio procedente dalla somma ed ineffabile luce, il qual raggio si riflette dalla parte convessa del *Primo Mobile,* che ne riceve il suo *vivere,* cioè tutta quella vitalità e virtù che comunica a tutto il sottoposto creato." Compare *Par.* xxiii, 113, where Dante says that the *Primum Mobile* "più ferve e più s' avviva;" and *Par.* xxvii, 110, where he speaks of the Divine Mind, in which is kindled "L' amor che il volge e la virtù ch' ei piove." Compare St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. lxvi, art 3): "Coelum empyreum habet influentiam super corpora quae moventur, licet ipsum non moveatur. Et propter hoc potest dici quod influit in primum coelum quod movetur, non aliquid transiens et adveniens per motum, sed aliquid fixum et stabile, puta virtutem continendi et causandi, vel aliquid hujusmodi ad dignitatem pertinens."

§ *Quando è nel verde:* Some read *quanto* for *quando,* and *nell' erbe* for *nel verde.*

Vidi specchiarsi* in più di mille soglie,
Quanto di noi lassù fatto ha ritorno.†

There is up yonder a light that renders the Creator visible to that creature (*i.e.* spirit) which has its only peace in the contemplation of Him; and it spreads out into a circular figure so widely, that its circumference would be too ample a girdle for the Sun. All of it that is seen is formed of a ray of light reflected upon the summit of the First moving Heaven (the *Primum Mobile*), which from it takes life and vigour. And as a hill-side is mirrored in water at its base, as though to contemplate its own adornment, when (at spring-time) it is gorgeous with verdure and flowers, even so round above that light on every side did I see mirrored on thousands of thrones, all those of us who have (from earth) returned up yonder.

There are thousands upon thousands of degrees of these rings of thrones. The lowest and smallest of them is of greater width than the Sun. How immense then must be the extent of the outermost rings.

E se l' infimo grado in sè raccoglie 115
Sì grande lume, quant' è la larghezza
Di questa rosa nell' estreme foglie !

And if the lowest grade collects into itself so mighty a radiance, how vast must be the amplitude of this Rose in its most distant petals!

Benvenuto observes that in the lines that follow Dante describes the miraculous powers of vision that he had acquired, able to embrace all the wonders

**specchiarsi:* Compare *Rev.* xxi, 18: "And the city was pure gold, like unto clear glass."

†*Quanto . . . lassù . . . ritorno:* Compare *Eccles.* xii, 7: "Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was: and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it." Compare also in *Purg.* xvi, 85 et seq., the beautiful passage about *l' anima semplicetta, che sa nulla,* etc.

before him; so that the invocation he had made previously (ll. 97-99), asking for such powers, would seem to have been granted to him. He adds that there is no reason why he should not see far off as well as near, for in Heaven the laws of distance do not exist.

La vista mia nell' ampio e nell' altezza
Non si smarriva, ma tutto prendeva
Il quanto e il quale di quella allegrezza.* 120
Presso e lontano lì nè pon nè leva,
Chè dove Dio senza mezzo † governa,
La legge natural ‡ nulla rileva.

Neither in the breadth nor in the height did my vision lose itself, but fully comprehended the quantity and the quality of that gladness. In that region neither nearness nor distance either adds or takes away, for where God governs immediately (*i.e.* without the interposition of secondary causes), the laws of Nature are of no account.

Beatrice now conducts Dante into the centre of the Heavenly Rose, from which the full blossom spreads out above and around him like an immense amphi-

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* *Il quanto e il quale di quella allegrezza:* Dante's vision was able to embrace the quantity and the quality of that immense shape or figure replete with celestial gladness.

† *senza mezzo:* Compare *Par.* vii, 67, 68:—

"Ciò che da lei senza mezzo distilla
Non ha poi fine."

Compare *Conv.* iii, 14, ll. 35, 36: "Onde nelle Intelligenze raggia la divina luce senza mezzo."

‡ *La legge natural:* "The natural law, *i.e.* of vision; which makes near objects clear and those at a distance indistinct." (Haselfoot.) "L' essere quelle anime o più presso o più lontano dal centro, non monta alla loro felicità. La ragione è che Dio è da tutte immediatamente veduto, e tutte le governa immediatamente. Non vale lassù il principio della legge naturale cui soggiacciono le cose di quaggiù, che le più lontane dal centro d' azione ricevono minore virtù." (Cornoldi.)

theatre. From this point the Saints, arrayed like the petals of a full-blown white rose, are seen seated upon thrones, and the fragrance of the rose is their praise to the Eternal Sun of Righteousness, which is its centre, the yellow of the rose, and which is not cognizant of any change of season.

Nel giallo della rosa sempiterna,*
Che si dilata, digrada e redole
Odor di lode al sol che sempre verna,
Qual è colui che tace e dicer vuole,
Mi trasse Beatrice, e disse:—"Mira
Quanto è il convento † delle bianche stole! ‡
Vedi nostra città § quanto ella gira!
Vedi li nostri scanni sì ripieni,
Che poca gente omai ci si disira.

Within the yellow of the Eternal Rose, which opens out, rises in tiers, and breathes forth a fragrance of praise to the Sun that is ever vernal (*i.e.* God, Who makes all around Him an eternal spring), did Bea-

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* "*giallo della rosa sempiterna* appella il circolare predetto lume sopra della convessa superficie del *Primo Mobile*, imperocchè situato in mezzo e nel fondo degl' intorno ascendenti gradi, appunto come il giallo in mezzo della rosa." (Lombardi.)

† *convento:* Dante frequently uses this word to signify an assembly, a congregation. Cf. "conventicle." Compare *Purg.* xxi, 62:—

"tutta libera a mutar convento;"

and *Par.* xxii, 88-90:—

"Pier cominciò senz' oro e senza argento,
Ed io con orazioni e con digiuno,
E Francesco umilmente il suo convento;"

and *Par.* xxix, 109:—

"Non disse Cristo al suo primo convento," etc.

‡ *bianche stole:* Compare *Rev.* vii, 13, 14: "And one of the elders answered, saying unto me, What are these which are arrayed in white robes? and whence came they? . . . These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb."

§ *nostra città:* The Heavenly Jerusalem. The Kingdom of the Blessed. See *Rev.* xxi (*passim*).

trice, like one who is silent and yet fain would speak, conduct me, and said: "Behold how numberless is the Congregation of the white robes! Behold our City how vast is its circuit! Behold our seats so well thronged, that few people henceforward are awaited in them!

Division IV.—Dante now specially singles out for description among the thrones he sees, one throne remaining vacant, pre-eminent among those surrounding it, and surmounted by an Imperial crown. It is the one which awaits the Emperor Henry VII of Luxembourg, and Beatrice tells Dante that it will be occupied by his spirit, before Dante himself shall come into this abode of the Blessed. We may remember that the Emperor died at Buonconvento on the 24th August, 1313, just eight years before Dante's death. These lines were no doubt written by Dante as a *vaticinium post eventum* after 1313, when the non-deliverance of his beloved Italy, owing to the death of Henry VII, was the disappointment of his life. It was the death-blow of all his political hopes.

In quel gran seggio, a che tu gli occhi tieni
Per la corona che già v' è su posta,
Prima che tu a queste nozze ceni,
Sederà l' alma, che fia giù agosta,*
Dell' alto Enrico,† ch' a drizzare Italia

* *fia giù agosta:* Dr. Moore has remarked to me on the accuracy, in 1300, of *fia* agosta, though, when Dante wrote this, Henry was no doubt even dead already.

† *l' alto Enrico:* Henry VII of Luxembourg was elected Emperor in 1308, on the death of Albert I, and in January, 1311, was crowned with the iron crown at Milan; and in June, 1312, with the imperial crown at Rome in St. John Lateran. While he was on the march to attack the Kingdom of Naples, he died very suddenly at Buonconvento on the 24th August, 1313.

Verrà in prima che ella sia disposta.*

In that proud seat, to which thine eyes are directed, by reason of the crown that is already placed above it, before thou thyself shalt sup at this marriage feast, shall be enthroned the soul—which down on earth shall (first) be Imperial—of the great Henry, who, to set Italy straight, will come before she be ready (for reform).

Benvenuto paraphrases this by saying that Henry would not find Italy well ordered for the assured and upright rule of a single monarch, by reason of the factions, the tyrannies, and the intestine wars that were spread over the whole of Italy. A spell lies over that ill-fated land, and she will sooner starve herself to death than accept the wholesome food sometimes offered to her by her mother the Church, or by the Imperial Court. Benvenuto adds, however: "Tamen, quidquid dicat autor, nescio quid utile faciant in Italia gallici vel germanici, nisi rapinas publice et privatim."

Beatrice then explains to Dante that covetousness has so taken hold on all the inhabitants of the land, and especially on the Rulers of the Church, that, sooner than not have full scope for their unbridled passions, they thrust away him who comes forward as their liberator. Casini thinks that this rebuke is chiefly

* *Verrà in prima che ella sia disposta:* On this apparent inconsistency with Dante's statement in *Purg.* vii, 96, that Henry would come too late, Casini observes that there is not in reality any real contradiction, because in the passage in the *Purgatorio* Dante says that the efforts of the Emperor were tardy, considering the immensity of the evils which he desired to remedy; whereas in the present passage he means that the way had not been sufficiently prepared for so complete a restoration by the removal of the secondary difficulties which were the obstacles to the work of Henry VII.

addressed to the Guelph democracy and the Church party, but more especially to the Florentines whose opposition to the Great Emperor was the most uncompromising of all.

La cieca cupidigia che vi ammalia,*
Simili fatti v' ha al fantolino,
Che muor di fame e caccia via la balia;

The blind cupidity that bewitches you, has rendered you like unto the little child that is dying of hunger and yet pushes away his nurse.

She then alludes to the thwarting by Pope Clement V of the very enterprise to which he had invited Henry VII, but retribution awaits both him and Boniface VIII (*quel d' Anagna*), in the Third Circle of Hell amongst the Simonists.

E fia prefetto nel fôro divino †
Allora tal, che palese e coperto
Non anderà con lui per un cammino.
Ma poco poi sarà da Dio sofferto
Nel santo offizio; ch' ei sarà detruso
Là dove Simon mago è per suo merto,
E farà quel d' Anagna entrar più giuso." ‡—

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* *cupidigia che vi ammalia:* See Dante's own words in another passage (*Epist.* vi, § 5, l. 150): "Nec advertitis dominantem cupidinem, quia caeci estis, venenoso susurro blandientem, minis frustatoriis cohibentem, nec non captivantem vos in lege peccati."

† *fia prefetto nel fôro divino . . . tal:* Clement V is alluded to in terms of scathing censure in *Inf.* xix, 82-84:—

". . . dopo lui verrà, di più laid' opra,
Di ver ponente un pastor senza legge,
Tal che convien che lui e me ricopra."

Some read *perfetto* for *prefetto*, on which Benvenuto observes: "et non dicas, *perfetto*, sicut multi textus habent, quia tunc esset implicatio contradictionis in litera."

‡ *entrar più giuso:* This is a repetition of the prophecy put into the mouth of Nicholas III (*Inf.* xix, 76-87, of which the *terzina* quoted in the preceding note forms part), who predicted

> And there shall at that time be for Prefect (*i.e.* Pontiff) in the Sacred Forum (*i.e.* the Church) one who both openly and secretly will not walk in the same road with him (Henry VII). He shall not however be for long endured by God in the Holy Office; for he shall be thrust down to that place where Simon Magus is for his deserts, and (by his coming) he will make him of Anagni (Boniface VIII) penetrate still farther down."

These are the last words spoken by Beatrice in the *Divina Commedia.* Like Virgil, after his valedictory address to Dante at the threshold of the *Terrestrial Paradise*, Beatrice's subsequent presence is unaccompanied by a single remark.

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that Boniface VIII would displace him, and would in his turn be displaced by Clement V, in the burning aperture where Dante had seen him, head downwards and with flaming feet.

END OF CANTO XXX.

CANTO XXXI.

THE TENTH SPHERE:—THE EMPYREAN (CONTINUED)—GOD—ANGELS AND SAINTS—THE SNOW-WHITE ROSE OF HEAVEN—ST. BERNARD—BEATRICE RETURNS TO HER THRONE—THE GLORY OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN.

IN this Canto Dante further enlarges upon the glorious vision described in the previous Canto.*

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

In the First Division, from ver. 1 to ver. 27, Dante (to use the words of Benvenuto) describes the actions and the vestures of the Angels who are the Courtiers of this exalted Court.

In the Second Division, from ver. 28 to ver. 51, he makes his invocation to God rapt in holy contemplation.

In the Third Division, from ver. 52 to ver. 93, Dante finds that Beatrice has left him, and that the spirit of an aged man, St. Bernard, is at his side.

In the Fourth Division, from ver. 94 to ver. 142, St. Bernard points out to Dante the place where he sees Beatrice seated in glory upon her throne.

* Mr. Gardner (*Dante's Ten Heavens*, p. 227) says that the last three Cantos of the *Paradiso* are on a somewhat different footing to the rest of the poem. They are the anagogical completion of the whole work. . . . Here the literal, the allegorical, and the anagogical meet, and are almost undistinguishably blended.

Division I.—Dante's eyes are still further ravished by the ecstatic vision of the Saints redeemed by the blood of Christ, now collected into the form of the Heavenly Rose, described in the last Canto. The Angels fly down to the Saints as bees to flowers, and fly back to God as bees to their hive.

In forma dunque * di candida rosa
Mi si mostrava la milizia santa,
Che nel suo sangue CRISTO fece sposa ;
Ma l' altra, che volando † vede e canta
La gloria di colui che la innamora
E la bontà che la fece cotanta,
Sì come schiera d' api, che s' infiora
Una fïata, ed una si ritorna
Là dove suo lavoro s' insapora,‡
Nel gran fior discendeva che s' adorna

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* *dunque* is used to connect the sense of this passage with that of Canto XXX, 100-132, where the full description of the Mystic Rose is first given.

† *volando :* The host of the Angels is in continuous movement ; the multitudes of Saints are for ever abiding on their thrones. Venturi (*Simil. Dant.* Sim. 449) quotes the following passage from St. Anselm, which, however, I have been unable to verify : "Millia millium ad complenda patris ministeria, alacri discursu, jugiter meant inter coelum et terram, quasi apes negotiosae inter alvearia et flores, suaviter disponentes omnia : populus accinctus, nesciens labem et inobedientiae moram." Compare also Homer, *Il.* ii, 87-90 :—

"Ἠύτε ἔθνεα εἶσι μελισσάων ἀδινάων,
Πέτρης ἐκ γλαφυρῆς αἰεὶ νέον ἐρχομενάων ·
Βοτρυδὸν δὲ πέτονται ἐπ' ἄνθεσιν εἰαρινοῖσιν ·
Αἱ μέν τ' ἔνθα ἅλις πεποτήαται, αἱ δέ τε ἔνθα."

Compare, too, Virgil, *Æn.* vi, 707-709 :—

"Ac velut in pratis ubi apes aestate serena
Floribus insidunt variis, et candida circum
Lilia funduntur ; strepit omnis murmure campus."

‡ *s' insapora :* Compare Virg. *Georg.* iv, 163, 164 :—

"aliae purissima mella
Stipant, et liquido distendunt nectare cellas."

Di tante foglie, e quindi risaliva
Là dove il suo amor sempre soggiorna.

In form then of a snow-white rose was displayed before me the saintly host, which Christ in His own blood had made His Spouse. But the other (host, *i.e.* of the Angels) who as they fly, behold and sing the glory of Him Who fills them with love, and the goodness that has made them so glorious, even as a swarm of bees, that at one moment alights upon the flowers, and at another returns again to where their labour turns into sweetness (*i.e.* in their cells), so did these (the host of Angels) go down into that vast Flower (the Heavenly Rose) which is decked with leaves so many, and from it they re-ascended again to where their love (God) ever hath His abode.

Dante now describes the radiant colours of the Angels. Their countenances are in flames, their wings of gold, their raiment white as snow. When from the golden centre of the Rose they fly down on to its petals, they impart to the Blessed Saints that peace and love which they have acquired by flying up to God. From the centre to the outermost petals of the vast Rose, the air is filled with multitudes of Angels flying up and down, from the seats of the Saints up to God, and from God down to His Saints. Although the multitude of Angels is so great, yet such is the intensity of the Divine radiance, that the space occupied by the Angels, to Dante's dazzled eye, appears quite empty. Notice that there is a marked distinction between the hosts of Angels, and the hosts of the Saints.

Le facce tutte avean di fiamma viva,*

**fiamma viva:* Compare *Ezek.* i, 13: "As for the likeness of the living creatures, their appearance was like burning coals of fire, and like the appearance of lamps: it went up and down among the living creatures; and the fire was bright, and out of the fire went forth lightning."

E l' ali d' oro,* e l' altro tanto bianco,†
Che nulla neve a quel termine arriva.
Quando scendean nel fior, di banco in banco
Porgevan della pace e dell' ardore,
Ch' egli acquistavan ‡ ventilando il fianco.§

Their faces were all of living flame, and their wings of gold, and the rest of such surpassing whiteness, that never did snow attain that limit. When they descended into the flower from rank to rank they deposited something of the peace and burning love which they had won while they fanned their sides.

Dante is careful to explain to his readers that, as he looked upon the wondrous spectacle he has just described, his vision was in no ways impeded in seeing every detail; for as the Angels flew about between himself and the Saints, on the petals of the Rose, their bodies were rendered completely diaphanous by the Glory of God that shone through them, so that he could gaze on uninterruptedly.

Nè lo interporsi tra il disopra e il fiore

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* *ali d' oro:* Compare *Dan.* x, 5: "Behold a certain man clothed in linen, whose loins were girded with fine gold of Uphaz."

† *l' altro tanto bianco:* Compare *Dan.* vii, 9: "The Ancient of days did sit, whose garment was white as snow." Casini does not feel certain that Dante intended these colours as symbols, as Buti and others maintain. He thinks rather that Dante wished merely to represent the Holy Angels garbed in the most irridescent colours, to give an idea of their supernatural beauty.

‡ *Ch' egli acquistavan: egli* for *eglino.* Compare *Inf.* xix, 113, 114:—

"E che altro è da voi all' idolatre [*the idolaters*],
Se non ch' egli [*they*] uno, e voi n' orate cento?"

§ *ventilando il fianco:* "Accenna i gradi delle foglie della rosa. Gli angeli battendo le ali traevano dal giallo pace e ardore e poi recavanlo ai beati." (Cornoldi.)

Di tanta plenitudine volante * 20
Impediva la vista e lo splendore;
Chè la luce divina è penetrante
Per l' universo † secondo ch' è degno, ‡
Sì che nulla le puote essere ostante.
Questo sicuro § e gaudioso regno, 25
Frequente || in gente antica ed in novella,
Viso ed amore avea tutto ad un segno.

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* *plenitudine volante:* Some read *moltitudine.* Dr. Moore (*Textual Criticism*, p. 500) observes that "*moltitudine* seems clearly to be a gloss on the obscurer word *plenitudine*, which is probably therefore to be preferred. In any case if *moltitudine* were original, it is scarcely possible to imagine how the other reading could have arisen, except indeed on one supposition, which perhaps in some cases like this may hardly have been sufficiently taken into account, *viz.* whether Dante himself may not have hesitated between the two words. We know that even in these days of printing and publishing, authors (*e.g.* notably Wordsworth and Tennyson) frequently introduce variants, and not by any means always improvements." Compare *Readings on the Inferno*, Second Edition, vol. i, pp. 465, 466, footnote †, where the variant *lo sonno e i polsi* versus *le vene e i polsi* is discussed (*Inf.* xiii, 63). *Plenitudine* is infinitely the more emphatic reading of the two, implying that the space was not only crowded, but absolutely FULL of winged beings.

† *penetrante Per l' universo:* Nearly a repetition of *Par.* i, 1-3:—

"La gloria di colui che tutto move
Per l' universo penetra, e risplende
In una parte più, e meno altrove."

‡ *secondo ch' è degno; i.e.* in proportion to its different degrees of perfection.

§ *sicuro:* Compare *Par.* xxvii, 7-9:—

"O gioia! o ineffabile allegrezza!
O vita intera d' amore e di pace!
O senza brama *sicura* ricchezza!"

and *Purg.* xiii, 85-87:—

". . . 'O gente sicura,'
Incominciai, 'di veder l' alto lume
Che il disio vostro solo ha in sua cura.'"

|| *Frequente:* That is, "populous, crowded." "Dante nobilitò questa voce, dandole fattezze Latine; come ha Cicerone *frequentissimo theatro, frequens municipium*; ed Ovidio, *frequens via:*

Nor did the interposition of such a vast plenitude of winged beings between the flower (the Mystic Rose) and what was above (*i.e.* the throne of the Almighty) obstruct the vision and the resplendence; for the Divine Light penetrates through the Universe, according to its merit, so that nought can be an obstacle to it. This realm secure and full of gladness, crowded with people both of old and of modern time (that is, of the Old and New Testament) concentrated all its sight and all its love upon one mark.

Division II.—Dante now utters an invocation to the radiance of the Holy Trinity, conjuring it to shine upon those who are tossed about upon the tempestuous sea of human life.

O trina luce, che in unica stella
Scintillando a lor vista sì gli appaga,
Guarda quaggiù alla nostra procella.* 30

O Trinal Light, which, glowing in a single star (*i.e.* in One Essence) upon their sight, dost so satisfy them, look down (in pity) upon our tempest here below.

As Dante contemplates the glory of Paradise and its wondrous shape, he is struck dumb with awe, as would be any uncivilized peasant who for the first time found

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e dicesi anche, *Senatus frequens; frequentes fuimus ad ducentos.*" (Cesari.)

* *Guarda quaggiù . . . procella:* Compare *De Mon.* i, xvi, ll. 26-30: "O genus humanum! quantis procellis atque jacturis, quantisque naufragiis agitari te necesse est, dum bellua multorum capitum factum, in diversa conaris." And Boëthius, *Philos. Consol.* i, Metr. v, 42-48:—

"O jam miseras respice terras,
Quisquis rerum foedera nectis.
Operis tanti pars non vilis
Homines, quatimur fortunae salo.
Rapidos, rector, comprime fluctus,
Et, quo coelum regis immensum,
Firma stabiles foedere terras."

himself in a great city. If the inhabitants of the extreme north marvelled on seeing the buildings of Rome, and Virgil himself (*Georg.* ii, 534) had felt the same wonder, how far greater must be that of Dante, coming now for the first time from things human to things Divine, from time to eternity, and from the unrighteous Florentines, ever divided by factions, to the Communion of the Saints in Heaven, ever pure, ever righteous, and ever united in everlasting peace.

Se i Barbari, venendo da tal plaga *
Che ciascun giorno d' Elice † si copra,
Rotante col suo figlio ond' ell' è vaga,
Vedendo Roma ‡ e l' ardua sua opra

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* *plaga:* "part," "region" (of the world). Dante uses it in *Par.* xiii, 4 (*in diverse plage*), and in *Par.* xxiii, 11, 12 (*invêr la plaga sotto la quale il sol mostra men fretta*), to signify one of the divisions of Heaven. "E già tutta Lazia mi chiamava per eccellenza la formosa Ligura, e di tal fama tutta l' occidentale plaga sonava." (Boccaccio, *Ameto*, 55.) In *Ezek.* vii, 2 (*Vulgate*), we find *plaga* as indicating one of the cardinal points of the world: "Finis venit, venit finis super quatuor plagas terrae."

† *Elice:* The nymph Helice, or Callisto, and her son Arcas, or Boötes, were changed, respectively, into the Great Bear, revolving in the Northern sky, and into the Lesser Bear. See footnote on *Purg.* xxv, 131, in *Readings on the Purgatorio*, Second Edition, vol. ii, p. 374. See Ovid, *Metam.* ii, 500-530; especially ll. 506-7. Compare *Fasti*, iii, 107, 108.

‡ *Vedendo Roma*, et seq.: "Dante contemplando tutta insieme la forma del Paradiso, stupisce. Lo stupore va crescendo in proporzione dell' oggetto maraviglioso ond' è mosso. Il montanaro si turba e ammutisce, entrando in una città qualunque:—

'Non altrimenti stupido si turba
Lo montanaro, e rimirando ammuta,
Quendo rozzo e salvatico s' inurba.'

(*Purg.* xxvi, 67-69.)

Più dovevano rimanere attoniti i Barbari del Settentrione in vedere la prima volta quella Roma, di cui Virgilio stesso e sclamò:—

'Scilicet et rerum facta est pulcherrima Roma.'

(*Georg.* ii, 534.)

Ora, quanto più di tutti il nostro Poeta, venuto dal soggiorno

Stupefaciensi, quando Laterano
Alle cose mortali andò di sopra;
Io, che al divino dall' umano,
All' eterno dal tempo era venuto,
E di Fiorenza in popol giusto e sano,
Di che stupor dovea esser compiuto!
Certo tra esso e il gaudio mi facea
Libito * non udire, e starmi muto.

If the Barbarians—coming from that region (*i.e* the extreme North), which every day is covered by Helice (*i.e.* lies under the constellation of the Great Bear), as she revolves with her son (Arcas, or the Lesser Bear) in whom she delights,—beholding Rome and its mighty works were struck dumb with wonder, at that time when the Lateran towered pre-eminent above all human things; I, who had come from things human to things Divine, from time to eternity, and from Florence † to a people just and sane, with what wonderment must I have been filled! In sooth, between this (my wonderment) and my joy, it was pleasure to me not to hear, and to remain silent.

As Dante recovers from his first sensations of awe, he finds himself like a pilgrim, longing to impress upon his mind all the marvels before him, in order that on his return to his native country he may

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degli uomini a quel de' beati, e dal tempo all' eternità! Egli chiamò *stupido* il montanaro, perchè tale egli diviene per povertà di cultura e inerzia d' intelletto; chiama *stupefatti* i Barbari, perchè la stupefazione esprime impressione più prolungata dello stupore; e dice sè stesso *compiuto di stupore*, cioè di quello ch' è proprio soltanto dell' ammirazione intelligente." (L. Venturi, *Simil Dant.* p. 172, sim. 298.)

* *Libito* = quello che piace. Compare *Inf.* v, 55, 56:—

"A vizio di lussuria fu sì rotta,
Che libito fe' licito in sua legge."

† *Florence:* Dr. Moore remarks to me: "I always think that putting Florence, etc., as the climax to the other two, is one of the most intensely bitter things Dante ever wrote."

chronicle them in an imperishable record. All around him breathes Peace, Love, and Good Will.

E quasi peregrin, che si ricrea
Nel tempio del suo voto riguardando,
E spera già ridir com' ello stea,
Sì per la viva luce passeggiando,
Menava io gli occhi per li gradi,
Mo su, mo giù, e mo ricirculando.*
Vedea di carità visi suadi,†
D' altrui lume fregiati e del suo riso,‡
Ed atti ornati di tutte onestadi.§

And even as a pilgrim, who is refreshed in gazing round the temple of his vows, and hopes already (*già*) to tell again how it was, so, as I wended my way through that living light, I carried my eyes over the ranks, now aloft, now below, and now around. I beheld countenances persuasive of charity, embellished by the radiance of Another (*i.e.* God) and by their own gladness, and actions adorned with every noble grace.

Division III.—Up to this point Dante's view of Paradise has been only a general one, for, as Scartazzini says, he has traversed its Spheres, as it were, in an ecstasy, without his attention being specially

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* *ricirculando ;* Compare Virg. *Æn.* viii, 310-312 :—
"Miratur, facilesque oculos fert omnia circum,
Æneas, capiturque locis ; et singula laetus
Exquiritque auditque virùm monimenta priorum."

† *suadi :* An adjective derived from the nearly obsolete verb *suadere,* and signifying: "Ch' è atto o tende a persuadere." (*Gran Dizionario.*) In Virg. *Æn.* vi, 276, we have the poetical adjective *malesuadus ;*—
"Et Metus, et malesuada Fames, ac turpis Egestas."

‡ *del suo riso ;* Compare *Par.* ix, 70, 71 :—
"Per letiziar lassù fulgor s' acquista,
Sì come riso qui."

§ *onestadi ;* Compare *Purg.* iii, 10, 11 :—
"Quando li piedi suoi lasciar la fretta,
Che l' onestade ad ogni atto dismaga," etc.

arrested by any particular detail, or, if it did happen so, Beatrice at once explained the reason of any marvel. We have now an exact repetition of the scene in the Terrestrial Paradise (*Purg.* xxx, 45 et seq.), and as there Dante turned round to address a remark to Virgil, and found he had disappeared, so here does he turn to ask Beatrice a question, and finds that she is no longer at his side. In her stead he beholds the spirit of an aged man of most venerable aspect, whose tranquil countenance displays the tenderness of holy love. Like all the other Saints, he is arrayed in a white robe. This is St. Bernard, formerly Abbot of Clairvaux, who lived 1091-1153, the "mellifluous teacher," the symbol of contemplation. He takes the place of Beatrice, as Matelda, in the Terrestrial Paradise, took the place of Virgil, from the time of their entrance into the Divine Forest until the time when the appearance of Beatrice caused Virgil to vanish.

La forma general di Paradiso
Già tutta mio sguardo * avea compresa,
E in nulla parte ancor fermato il viso ;
E volgeami con voglia riaccesa,
Per domandar la mia Donna di cose,
Di che la mente mia era sospesa.
Uno intendea, ed altro mi rispose ; †

* *sguardo . . . viso* : Casini explains that *il viso* is the same as *la vista*, the faculty of sight ; *lo sguardo* or *sguardare* is the act of seeing, therefore Dante means that his contemplation had not fixed his eyes, although, properly speaking, the action of *fermare il viso* applies better to the man who is looking, than to the act of looking.

† *altro mi rispose : Rispondere* must not be taken here in its usual sense of "to make answer to," but "to encounter." The inner meaning of the whole passage is that Man, in order to elevate himself to the beatific vision of the Holy Trinity, must by

Credea veder Beatrice, e vidi un Sene *
Vestito con le genti gloriose. 60
Diffuso era per gli occhi e per le gene
Di benigna letizia,† in atto pio,
Quale a tenero padre si conviene.

My glance had by this time taken in the general form of Paradise as a whole, and on no one part had my sight as yet been fixed; and with rekindled desire I was turning round to question my Lady

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Contemplation obtain the grace to see that which by means of Holy Scripture alone cannot be understood. St. Bernard, symbol of Contemplation, obtains from the Blessed Virgin the grace which renders Dante able to discern the mystery of the Holy Trinity.

* *vidi un Sene*; Barelli (*L' Allegoria della Divina Commedia*, Florence, 1864, p. 223) asks why it is that Beatrice does not complete her mission of personally guiding her disciple to the highest degree of the ladder of Paradise. Two things were needed to enable Dante to raise himself up to Deific Vision, namely, (1) Excess of charity; and (2) the intercession of the Mother of Divine Love, the most like to God, the nearest to God, and the most powerful advocate with God of all His creatures. These two aids come rather from the heart than from the intellect, and are distinctly derived from Divine Science, seeing that the heart does not usually incline towards any object whatsoever unless the intellect is first convinced of the excellence of it; but they are nevertheless distinct from that Divine Science. Wherefore Beatrice, symbol of that science, after having fully instructed Dante in all that concerns the nature and attributes of God, brings her mission quite naturally to an end, but puts the seal upon it, by deputing as the best person to influence Dante's heart and obtain for him the succour of Mary,

"la vivace
Carità di colui, che in questo mondo
Contemplando, gustò di quella pace." (ll. 109-111.)

And

". . . colui, ch' abbelliva di Maria,
Come del sole stella mattutina."
(*Par.* xxxii, 107, 108.)

† *benigna letizia*: L. Venturi (*op. cit.* sim. 201) says that this simile is as it were own sister to that of Cato in *Purg.* i, 31 et seq., with this difference, that in Paradise *di tanta riverenza* is changed into *benigna letizia*, and the whole passage breathes forth serenity in look and a devout tender love.

upon matters as to which my mind was in suspense. One thing was my intention, and something quite different encountered me; I was thinking to see Beatrice, and I beheld an old man garbed like those glorious throngs. His eyes and his cheeks were overflowing with joy benign, his gesture with such tenderness as is befitting to a loving father.

Dante asks the venerable sage where Beatrice is gone to. He is bidden to look upward, and he will see that she is returned in glory to her seat in the third rank of thrones, counting from above.

Ed :—" Ella ov' è ? "—di subito diss' io.
Ond' egli :—" A terminar lo tuo disiro
Mosse * Beatrice me dal loco mio ;
E se riguardi su nel terzo giro
Del sommo grado,† tu la rivedrai
Nel trono che i suoi merti le sortiro." ‡—

And: "Where is she?" I cried out hastily. Whereat he: "To fulfil thy desire, Beatrice has despatched me from my own place; and if thou wilt look up to the third circle (counting) from the highest rank, thou wilt again see her upon the throne which her merits have won for her."

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* *Mosse :* Compare *Par.* xxvi, 118 :—
" Quindi onde mosse tua Donna Virgilio."

† *terzo giro Del sommo grado :* Scartazzini observes that in the first *giro* was Mary, in the second Eve, and in the third Rachel, beside whom Beatrice is sitting. (*Par.* xxxii, 4 et seq.) Casini remarks that possibly, in placing Beatrice in the third *giro*, Dante may have had some recollection of his youthful imagination, in which (*Vita Nuova*, § xxx, 39-41) he says that his Lady appeared to him "come un miracolo, la cui radice è solamente la mirabile Trinitade." He may, however, have placed her only in the third *giro* out of respect to the Virgin Mary, and to Eve, whom he felt he must place above her.

‡ *sortiro :* Compare *Par.* xviii, 103-105 :—
" Risurger parver quindi più di mille
Luci, e salir quali assai e quai poco,
Sì come il Sol, che l' accende, sortille."

V. Barelli (*op. cit.* p. 224) notices that Dante, already under the influence of the life of love and peace which is enjoyed in the Highest Heaven, was feeling every power of his mind so purified and so absorbed in God, the Fruit of this, his third, pilgrimage, that whereas in the Divine Forest he had broken forth into uncontrollable grief on finding himself abandoned by Virgil, now, on missing Beatrice, he merely utters an exclamation of simple astonishment; and, on hearing from St. Bernard where she is, looks up without reply, and up on high beholds her seated in glory, crowned with the rays of the Divine light which she reflects. Although she is apparently so far away in the heights above him, that the distance is not exceeded by the space intervening between the lowest depths of the ocean and the region of the lightnings and clouds of heaven, yet his eye can perfectly discern her in that pure translucent atmosphere, where no body such as air or water intercepts the vision of the eye.

Senza risponder gli occhi su levai,
E vidi lei che si facea corona,
Riflettendo da sè gli eterni rai.*
Da quella regïon che più su tuona,
Occhio mortale alcun tanto non dista,
Qualunque in mare più giù s' abbandona,

* *Riflettendo da sè gli eterni rai:* Dante may have imitated this image of a crown of glory signifying beatitude, from St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars iii, suppl., qu. xcvi, art. 1): "Praemium essentiale hominis, quod est ejus beatitudo, consistit in perfecta conjunctione animae ad Deum, in quantum eo perfecte fruitur ut viso et amato perfecte. Hoc autem praemium metaphorice corona dicitur. . . . Corona autem est proprium signum regiae potestatis; et eadem ratione praemium accidentale, quod essentiali additur, coronae rationem habet. Significat etiam corona perfectionem quandam, ratione figurae circularis, ut ex hoc etiam competat perfectioni beatorum."

Quanto lì da Beatrice la mia vista ;
Ma nulla mi facea, chè sua effige
Non discendeva a me per mezzo * mista.

Without an answer I lifted up my eyes, and saw her making for herself a crown, reflecting from herself the eternal rays. From that (most distant) region where are the highest thunders, no mortal eye is so far removed into whatsoever ocean recesses it penetrates the deepest, as in that region was my sight (removed) from Beatrice ; but naught mattered it (*i.e.* the distance) to me, for her image came down to me not blurred by any intervening medium.

Dante understands that this is to be his last sight of Beatrice, and he thereupon addresses to her a prayer, in which he solemnly declares that his life-long hope is fixed in her. He thanks her for having quitted her seat in Heaven to visit *Limbo* on his behalf; he thanks her for having, by the wondrous things she has shown him, and by all the mystic ways she has pursued, produced a change in his heart, and brought him from slavery to freedom. He entreats her to let her greatness and goodness continue to dwell in his soul, so that the hour of death may find him still pleasing in her sight.

—"O Donna, in cui la mia speranza vige,
E che soffristi per la mia salute
In Inferno lasciar le tue vestige ; †
Di tante cose quante io ho vedute,

* *mezzo :* "Non era mezzo, che dividesse l' effige di Beatrice da me ; imperò che immediate io la vedeva, sicchè tra lei e me non era mezzo locale ; e per questo dà ad intendere come egli vedeva Beatrice ; cioè cogli occhi mentali, e non corporali ; e tra gli occhi mentali e la cosa veduta non vi è alcuno mezzo." (Buti.)

† *In Inferno lasciar le tue vestige ;* The descent of Beatrice into *Limbo*, to enlist Virgil's services on behalf of Dante, is re-

Dal tuo potere e dalla tua bontate
Riconosco la grazia e la virtute.
Tu m' hai di servo tratto a libertate* 85
Per tutte quelle vie, per tutti i modi
Che di ciò fare avei† la potestate.
La tua magnificenza ‡ in me custodi,
Sì che l' anima mia che fatta hai sana,§
Piacente a te‖ dal corpo si disnodi."— 90

"O Lady, in whom is thriving my hope, and who for my salvation didst endure to leave thy foot-prints in Hell; I acknowledge the grace and virtue of all the things that I have seen, as received through thy power and bounteousness. Thou from a slave hast led me to freedom by all those ways, and by all the means whereby it was in thy power to do this. Keep still thy bounteous gifts in me, so that my soul, which

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lated to him by Virgil in *Inf.* ii, 52-120. Beatrice mentions the fact herself in her address to the Angels, *Purg.* xxx, 139-141:—

"Per questo visitai l' uscio dei morti,
Ed a colui che l' ha quassù condotto,
Li preghi miei piangendo furon pôrti."

* *di servo tratto a libertate:* In *Purg.* i, 71, Virgil tells Cato that Dante is in quest of freedom (from sin):—

"Libertà va cercando, che è sì cara."

Compare *Rom.* vi, 20: "For when ye were the servants of sin, ye were free from righteousness." And *ibid.* 22: "But now being made free from sin, and become servants to God, ye have your fruit unto holiness, and the end is everlasting life." And St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars ii, 2dæ, qu. clxxxiii, art. 4), but too long to quote here.

† *di ciò fare avei:* Others read *avean.* It was *Beatrice* who had the power to lead Dante to freedom, *not* the ways and means!

‡ *magnificenza:* Others read *munificenza*, but I do not see much difference in the interpretation, whichever reading be adopted. Compare μεγαλοπρεπεία in Aristotle's *Ethics*, iv, 2.

§ *l' anima mia che fatta hai sana:* Sin is the sickness of the soul; reconciliation with God is its healing.

‖ *Piacente a te:* Beatrice is the symbol of Spiritual Authority, to die finding favour with which, is to die in the Grace of God.

thou hast made whole, may loosen its bonds (of mortal flesh) still pleasing in thy sight.

Beatrice looks down from the far distant height of her throne and, beaming one more heavenly smile upon Dante as her last farewell, turns herself back to the glories of Heaven.

Così orai ; ed ella sì lontana,
Come parea,* sorrise e riguardommi ;
Poi si tornò all' eterna fontana.

Such was my prayer ; and she, so far away as she seemed to be, smiled and looked again upon me ; then she turned back to the Eternal Fountain (*i.e.* to God).

Division IV.—Dante's thoughts are so wholly absorbed in thinking of Beatrice, that he has not yet given a thought to St. Bernard, who has remained beside him in obedience to the request of Beatrice. Dante had hastily asked the unknown "Where is she?" but on being told, he immediately turned his eyes upward to see Beatrice in her glory, and to address to her the prayer he has just concluded, without a word of reply to St. Bernard. That Saint now bids him continue to gaze steadfastly upward, in order to prepare his eyes for higher things. He is to contemplate the Kingdom, so that, by the intervention of the Queen (the Blessed Virgin), he may the more easily pass into the presence of the Almighty King.

E il santo Sene :—"Acciocchè tu assommi †

* *lontana, Come parea :* It was only to Dante's mortal eyes that the distance appeared so immense ; for in the Empyrean there was no measurement of space.

† *assommi : Assommare* is to complete or finish anything more or less perfectly. In another sense it signifies (*Gran Dizionario*, § 5): "Non solamente *Finire*, ma *Avviare verso*

Perfettamente,"—disse,—"il tuo cammino,
A che prego * ed amor santo mandommi,
Vola con gli occhi per questo giardino ; †
Chè veder lui t' acconcerà ‡ lo sguardo
Più al montar per lo raggio divino.§
E la Regina del cielo, ond' i' ardo
Tutto d' amor, nè farà ogni grazia,
Perocch' io sono il suo fedel Bernardo." ‖—

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la fine." Compare Bono Giamboni, *Volgarizzamento di Paolo Orosio*, Firenze, 1849, 8vo, p. 104: "Inteso che la vittoria della terra era molto assommata [*i.e. tolerably complete*] . . . puose il campo." Buti thinks that Dante is here referring to the completion of his poem. Compare *Purg.* xxi, 112:—

". . . se tanto lavoro in bene assommi."

**prego*, et seq.: "Alla qual cosa fare, mi mandò l' amor santo e 'l priego della tua Donna." (Cesari.)

†*giardino:* The same expression, to signify the Assemblage of the Saints, occurs in *Par.* xxiii, 70-75:—

"Perchè la faccia mia sì t' innamora,
Che tu non ti rivolgi al bel giardino
Che sotto i raggi di Cristo s' infiora ?
Quivi è la rosa in che il Verbo Divino
Carne si fece ; quivi son li gigli,
Al cui odor si prese il buon cammino ;"

and *Par.* xxxii, 38, 39:—

". . . l' uno e l' altro aspetto della fede
Egualmente empierà questo giardino."

‡*t' acconcerà:* This is the reading of all the best MSS. and the First Four Editions. Others read *t' accenderà*, and a few *t' acuirà.*

§*montar per lo raggio divino:* Of all the interpretations I have looked at on this line I prefer that of Andreoli: "ad innalzarsi, su per il suo raggio, insino allo stesso Iddio," *i.e.* "will render thy vision more fit for rising higher and higher by means of God's own radiance, until it arrives at the contemplation of the real Essence of God Himself." Benvenuto's interpretation is also very clear: "habilitabit et acuet tuam speculationem, *al montar più*, idest, altius, *per lo raggio divino*, idest, per radium lucis, qui descendit a puncto divinitatis, per cujus radii scalam te oportet ascendere ad illum ultimum gradum divinitatis."

‖*il suo fedel Bernardo:* St. Bernard, the celebrated Abbot of Clairvaux, was born at Fontaines in Burgundy in 1091. He was made Abbot at the early age of 24. He was one of the preachers

And the aged Saint: "In order that thou mayest wholly complete thy journey to the supreme height, for which end the prayer and holy love (of Beatrice) have despatched me, let thine eyes take flight all over this garden (*lit.* the Assemblage of the Saints, the fair flowers of Paradise); for the sight of it will render thy vision more fit for rising higher on God's own radiance (until it reaches the real Essence of God Himself). And the Queen of Heaven, for whom I am all aflame with Love, will grant us every grace, because I am her faithful Bernard."

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of the Second Crusade. His influence among the Bishops was enormous. He died in 1153. Dante terms him here the Blessed Virgin's "faithful one," because of his extraordinary devotion to her, which is clearly demonstrated in his writings. Benvenuto gives, according to his ideas of etymology, the following quaint derivation of St. Bernard's name: "Et est nomen conveniens rei; dicitur enim Bernardus, idest bene redolens nardus, quae est arbor aromatica!" "Much of the teaching of Dante (says Dr. Moore, *Studies in Dante*, Second Series, p. 62) is undoubtedly derived directly from St. Bernard, and it is in his character of 'suo fedel Bernardo' that that saint at last supersedes even Beatrice, and finally leads Dante to the glorified Virgin to whose care and favour he especially commends him." Dr. Moore quotes several passages in illustration of St. Bernard's devotion to the Blessed Virgin. *E.g.* in the Sermon *In Nativitate Virginis Mariae* (§ 7): "Advocatum habere vis et ad ipsum (sc. Jesum Christum)? Ad Mariam recurre." (§ 6) "Totius boni plenitudinem posuit (sc. Deus) in Maria, ut proinde si quid spei in nobis est, si quid gratiae, si quid salutis, ab ea noverimus redundare." (§ 8) "Quaeramus gratiam, et per Mariam quaeramus, quae quod quaerit invenit; et frustrari non potest." Again she is compared to an aqueduct ("aquae-ductus noster") which receives from the heart of the Father the fulness of the waters of grace and conveys it to mankind, and this is indeed the leading thought of the Sermon, the heading of which is *De Aquaeductu.* . . . Well might Chaucer say (*The Seconde Nonnes Tale*, l. 30):—

"And thou that flour of virgines art alle
Of whom that Bernard list so wel to wryte."

Such passages fully explain the language of Dante in several places in the *Commedia*, and he may be said to have set his seal to such teaching by the prominence given to St. Bernard, especially in relation to the B.M.V., in the closing Cantos of the *Paradiso.*

On hearing this name, Dante is filled with devout tenderness; and he contemplates Bernard's fervent love for the Queen of Heaven with much the same awe-struck reverence as might be manifested by some pilgrim from far-distant Sclavonia to Rome on entering St. Peter's at the moment when the sacred *sudarium* of St. Veronica is being exhibited to the worshippers.

Quale è colui, che forse di Croazia *
Viene a veder la Veronica † nostra,
Che per l' antica fama non si sazia,
Ma dice nel pensier, fin che si mostra:
—"Signor mio Gesù Cristo, Dio Verace,
Or fu sì fatta la sembianza vostra?"—
Tale era io mirando la vivace

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* *Croazia*: Dante only uses the term Croatia in a general way to express the most remote parts of the Christian world from which pilgrims would come to Rome.

† *Veronica nostra*: Dante shows exultation that a relic so precious in his eyes should be in the possession of his beloved country. That is why he uses the possessive pronoun *nostra*. The *Veronica* is a cloth which, according to tradition, was used by St. Veronica to wipe the face of our Lord on His way to the Crucifixion. It is supposed still to retain His likeness miraculously impressed upon it. The ancient legend relates that Veronica was one of the women who accompanied our Lord on His way to Calvary, and that with her veil she wiped the sweat and blood of His Agony on the *Via Crucis*. Others derive the name from the Latin *Vera* and *Ikon* (Gr. εἰκών) = "true image." Great adoration was paid to this relic during the Middle Ages, and pilgrims from all parts of the Christian world flocked to St. Peter's to do homage to it, both in January and in Holy Week. Dante speaks of these pilgrims in the *Vita Nuova*, § xli, ll. 2-5. Compare also Petrarch, part I, sonnet 12:—

"Muovesi 'l vecchierel canuto e bianco
. . . . . .
E viene a Roma, seguendo 'l desio
Per mirar la sembianza di colui
Ch' ancor lassù nel ciel vedere spera."

Carità di colui, che in questo mondo, 110
Contemplando,* gustò di quella pace.

As is he who, it may be, comes from Croatia to behold our Veronica, who by reason of the ancient tradition is never sated with gazing at it, but says in thought all the time it is being exhibited: "My Lord Jesus Christ, very God, was then thy countenance so fashioned?" Such was I, as I marvelled at the vivid love of him (St. Bernard), who in this world by contemplation tasted of that peace.

"St. Bernard (says Mr. Gardner) now commences his function of preparing Dante for the final consummation of the vision. He must gradually prepare himself to behold the Divine Essence, by discipline of his sight in first contemplating the glory of the saints, and, above all, that of Mary, *La Regina, cui questo regno è suddito e devoto.* And indeed all this part of the poem is thoroughly steeped in the spirit of Mary's *fedel Bernardo*, who in one of his sermons calls her the Sinner's ladder: 'whose top, like the ladder which the patriarch Jacob saw, touched the heavens; nay, passed through the heavens, until it reached the well of living waters which are above the heavens;' and, elsewhere, 'Let us seek for grace and let us seek it through Mary; for what she seeks she finds; for she cannot seek in vain.'"

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* *Contemplando*, et seq.: Casini says that many passages of St. Bernard might be quoted as explanatory of these lines, but the following will suffice from *Medit. piiss.* cap. i: "Patrem et Filium cum Sancto Spiritu cognoscere, vita est aeterna, beatitudo perfecta, summa voluptas. Oculus non vidit, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit quanta claritas, quanta suavitas, et quanta jucunditas maneat nos in illa visione, quando Deum facie ad faciem videbimus: qui est lux illuminatorum requies exercitatorum, patria redeuntium, vita viventium, corona vincentium. Ita in mente mea quamdam imaginem illius

—"Figliuol di grazia,* questo esser giocondo,"—
Cominciò egli,—"non ti sarà noto
Tenendo gli occhi pur quaggiù al fondo;
Ma guarda i cerchi fino al più remoto,
Tanto che veggi seder la Regina,
Cui questo regno è suddito e devoto."—

"O Son of Grace," began he, "this glad existence will never be known to thee, if thou keep thine eyes here below on the lowest place only; but look (rather) upon (all) the circles even to the most remote, until thou shalt behold upon her throne the Queen, to whom this Kingdom is subject and devoted."

Dante, in obedience to these injunctions, at once looks up, and as at the hour of dawn the waxing light of the East surpasses the waning light of the West, so, as he raises his eyes from the lowest circles of the Heavenly Rose up to its most exalted ranks, he discerns at its extreme summit, in a far more glittering radiance, and in the midst of thousands of adoring Angels, a Heavenly Being wreathed in smiles, who fills all the Blessed Saints with unutterable Bliss. This is Mary, whose glory completely quenches the radiance of all the other splendours.

Io levai gli occhi; e come da mattina
Le parti oriental dell' orizzonte
Soperchian quella dove il sol declina,
Così, quasi di valle andando a monte,
Con gli occhi vidi parte † nello estremo

summae Trinitatis invenio: ad quam summam Trinitatem recolendam, inspiciendam et diligendam, ut eius recorder, ea delecter, et eam complectar et contempler, totum id quod vivo, debeo referre."

* *Figliuol di grazia:* "E rectamente. Imperochè non da nostri meriti siamo per la morte del peccato rigenerati: Ma per la divina gratia; Adunque siamo figlioli di gratia." (Landino.)

† *vidi parte . . . Vincer di lume tutta l' altra:* "This vision

Vincer di lume tutta l' altra fronte.*
E come quivi, ove s' aspetta il temo
Che mal guidò Fetonte,† più s' infiamma,
E quinci e quindi il lume si fa scemo ;
Così quella pacifica oriafiamma ‡
Nel mezzo s' avvivava, e d' ogni parte
Per egual modo allentava la fiamma.

I lifted up mine eyes; and as at the morning hour the Eastern quarter of the horizon surpasses that in which the Sun declines (*i.e.* the Western quarter), so, climbing as it were from a valley up a mountain,

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of Mary in the midst of this surpassing light of Heaven, in the sunrise of her Son's glory, is a poetical rendering of a thought of Bernard himself:—'Justly is Mary said to be clothed with the Sun, since she has pierced through the exceeding deep abyss of God's wisdom, far deeper than could be believed; so that, as far as her condition as a creature will suffer, without personal union, she seems to be plunged in the light inaccessible. By the fire of that Sun the prophet's lips were cleansed; by the same fire the Seraphim are kindled with love. But in a far higher sense did Mary merit, not, as it were, to be touched merely on her lips, but rather to be covered all over and encompassed by that fire, and, as it were, to be enclosed therein.'" (Gardner.)

* *tutta l' altra fronte;* "idest totam aliam faciem rosae." (Benvenuto.) "*ne lo stremo,* cioè, nell' ultima parte de la sua altezza, *Vincer di lume,* cioè avanzare di lume e splendore, *tutta l' altra fronte,* cioè tutta l' altra altezza, che era in tondo, l' una parte incontra a l' altra." (Buti.) "tutte le altre parti della sua rosa." (Fraticelli.) "tutte le altre parti della sua circonferenza." (Brunone Bianchi.) Lana and Landino give equivalent interpretations.

† *mal guidò Fetonte:* Compare *Purg.* iv, 71, 72:—

"la strada,
Che mal non seppe carreggiar Feton;"

and *Inf.* xvii, 107.

‡ *oriafiamma:* The celebrated *Oriflamme* (*aurea flamma*), the ancient standard of the Kings of France at St. Denis. Though some Commentators think that Dante here means it for the radiant space between the gold and the flame in which was the throne of the Virgin, by far the greater number of ancient and modern Commentators understand it to mean the Blessed Virgin herself.

I saw with my eyes a part in the extreme distance that excelled in lustre all the other face (of the Rose opposite to it). And as at that region, where one expects the car (*lit.* the pole) which Phaeton guided ill (namely, the East) is most aflame, and on either side of it the light is diminished, so did that *Oriflamme* of Peace (*i.e.* the Blessed Virgin herself) appear most vivid in its centre, and in like manner on every side did its flame grow paler.

Amid the radiance of the ten thousand times ten thousand choirs of Angels, their glory and their gladness, Dante is so bewildered, that he professes himself utterly unable to give even an approximate description of the glory of the Blessed Virgin.

Ed a quel mezzo con le penne sparte
Vidi più di mille * Angeli festanti,
Ciascun distinto e di fulgore e d' arte.†
Vidi quivi ai lor giochi ed ai lor canti
Ridere una bellezza, che letizia
Era negli occhi a tutti gli altri Santi.

* *più di mille:* A term frequently used by Dante to denote countless numbers.

† *Ciascun distinto e di fulgore e d' arte.* It is not easy to explain what Dante means by *distinto . . . d' arte.* He may mean in dance. He certainly signifies that the Angels showed a difference in their radiance, and a difference in the amount of their gladness, in proportion to their merit. Compare the following comments: "Vidi ego plus quam mille angelos festantes, quemlibet distinctum et fulgore et arte, quia unus est clarior alio et beatior, et ergo artificisior." (Serravalle.) "Ciascun de' quali distinguevansi dagli altri tutti e nello splendore più o meno vivace, e nel festeggiamento più o meno ilore, secondo cioè il merito di ciascuno." (Trissino.) "Per più o meno splendore, e per più o meno letizia di moti e d' atti." (Fraticelli.) "Per più o meno splendore, e pel suo festeggiare più o meno giocondo." (Brunone Bianchi.) "Ciascuno degli angeli con la diversità dello splendore dimostrava il diverso grado della sua carità o del suo amore, e con la diversità del movimento quella della letizia." (Casini.) "*Arte:* distinguevansi per fulgore e per li varii atteggiamenti festosi." (Cornoldi.) I have therefore translated *arte* "degrees of joy."

E s' io avessi in dir tanta divizia,
Quanto ad immaginar, non ardirei
Lo minimo tentar di sua delizia.

And in that midst with outstretched pinions did I see thousands of Angels making festival, all differing from each other in their effulgence and in their degrees of joy (*lit.* art). I saw there, beaming a smile upon their sports and upon their songs, a Beauty (the Blessed Virgin), who was a joy in the eyes of all the other saints. And (even) if I possessed such wealth in speech as in imagination, I should not dare to attempt the very least (description) of her delightfulness.

Dante concludes the Canto by relating how St. Bernard follows Dante in his rapturous gaze upon the Virgin Mary, thereby increasing the fervency of Dante's devotion.

Bernardo, come vide gli occhi miei
Nel caldo suo calor fissi ed attenti,
Li suoi con tanto affetto volse a lei,
Che i miei di rimirar fe' più ardenti.*

Bernard, as he saw my eyes fixed and intent upon her warm glow, turned his own with such deep affection upon her, that it made mine more ardent to gaze afresh thereon.

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* *fe' più ardenti:* "Come ello si avvide di me attento a guardare in quelle parti, dirizzò gli occhi a quel medesimo scanno con tanta affezione, ch' io m' accorsi che gli miei in quello atto si fecero in guardare più attenti." (Lana.)

END OF CANTO XXXI.

CANTO XXXII.

THE TENTH SPHERE. — THE EMPYREAN (CONTINUED) — GOD, THE ANGELS, AND THE SAINTS OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS — THE SYMMETRICAL ARRANGEMENT OF THE ROSE — THE BABES IN PARADISE — THE PATRICIANS OF THE HEAVENLY CITY.

IN the last Canto Dante gave a somewhat general description of Paradise. In this Canto he goes more into details.

Benvenuto divides it into four parts.

In the First Division, from ver. 1 to ver. 48, St. Bernard points out to Dante the order of the Saints.

In the Second Division, from ver. 49 to ver. 84, he removes a doubt seemingly existing in Dante's mind respecting the salvation of unbaptised infants.

In the Third Division, from ver. 85 to ver. 114, he first describes the glorious beatitude of the Blessed Virgin, and more especially indicates the Archangel Gabriel conspicuous in the festival of the Angels.

In the Fourth Division, from ver. 115 to ver. 151, he points out to Dante the chief patricians of the Court of Heaven.

Division I.—St. Bernard, laying aside for a moment that contemplation of which he is perpetually filled, returns to the active life of a teacher, and proceeds to instruct Dante, by directing his attention to the posi-

tions of many Blessed Saints both of the Old and the New Testament. As in a beautiful piece of mechanism, every part of the Heavenly Rose has its special plan and use. In the centre of the highest row of thrones sits the Blessed Virgin; beneath her, disposed in single file, from row to row, one below the other, sit Eve, then Rachel, then Sarah, then Rebecca, then Judith, then Ruth, and so on.

Dante begins by speaking of St. Bernard as a "contemplator," as he was wholly wrapt in devout observation of the Blessed Virgin.

Affetto * al suo piacer quel contemplante
Libero offizio di dottore assunse,
E cominciò queste parole sante:
—"La piaga † che Maria richiuse ed unse,
Quella ch' è tanto bella ‡ da' suoi piedi 5

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* *Affetto:* Others read *L' affetto;* and there is one curious reading *refetto.*

† *La piaga,* et seq.: On this see Dr. Moore, *Studies in Dante,* p. 292: "It has been usual to suppose that the collocation of the Virgin and Eve in Paradise, and in particular the language in which it is described (*Par.* xxxii, 4-6) was suggested to Dante by Saint Augustine. This contrast between Eve and the Blessed Virgin is found several times in his writings. In the two passages entered in the Index (St. Aug. *Serm.* app. cxx, 4; and cxciv, 2) a string of antitheses is summed up with the words 'percussit illa, ista sanavit,' which closely resemble the above language of Dante. Pietro di Dante observes that, in order to signify this contrast, she was addressed *Ave,* which is *Eva* reversed!" [Dicunt sancti, quod sicut ex superbissima, scilicet Eva, natus est morbus, ita ex humilissima, scilicet Maria, medicina; et ideo converso nomine hoc *Eva,* dicitur *Ave.*]

‡ *Quella ch' è tanto bella:* In *Par.* xiii, 37-39, the beauty of Eve is thus alluded to:—

"Tu credi che nel petto, onde la costa
Si trasse per formar la bella guancia,
Il cui palato a tutto il mondo costa," etc.

Compare Milton, *Par. Lost,* iv, 321-324:—

"So hand in hand they pass'd, the loveliest pair

È colei che l' aperse e che la punse.*
Nell' ordine che fanno i terzi sedi,
Siede Rachel † di sotto da costei
Con Beatrice,‡ sì come tu vedi.
Sara, Rebecca, Judit, e colei
Che fu bisava al cantor che per doglia
Del fallo disse: *Miserere mei,*§
Puoi tu veder così di soglia in soglia||

That ever since in love's embraces met;
Adam the goodliest man of men since born
His sons, the fairest of her daughters Eve."

* *colei che l'aperse e che la punse:* Buti points out that Dante has here used the figure called ὕστερον πρότερον; for a wound must be inflicted before it can be opened; but Dante reverses this order.

† *Rachel:* Rachel is by Dante taken as the symbol of the contemplative life. St. Bernard, as we see by l. 1, figures as the contemplator, and to use Scartazzini's words, "quella, la vita contemplativa per così dire in astratto, o in generale; questi, il singolo individuo che ha abbracciata la vita contemplativa." Talice da Ricaldone says: "Per Rachelem intelligitur vita contemplativa; et per Liam, sororem suam strabonem [*her squint-eyed sister*], intelligitur vita activa, quae non adspicit recte." See also the description of the two sisters in *Purg.* xxvii, 94-108. Beatrice, when she descended into *Limbo* to ask the aid of Virgil on Dante's behalf (*Inf.* ii, 100-102), mentioned to him where she had been sitting in Heaven when Lucia approached her:—

"Lucia . . .
Si mosse, e venne al loco dov' io era,
Che mi sedea con l' antica Rachele."

‡ *Con Beatrice:* It is well to remember here that, in the last Canto (*Par.* xxxi, 67-69), St. Bernard (on Dante anxiously asking him what had become of Beatrice, whom he had missed from his side), pointed her out to Dante seated on her throne "nel terzo giro del sommo grado."

§ *Miserere mei:* David was the writer of the penitential Psalm (li.) "Have mercy upon me, O Lord, for thy great goodness," etc.

|| *di soglia in soglia:* Compare *Par.* iii, 82-84:—

"Sì che, come noi sem di soglia in soglia
Per questo regno, a tutto il regno piace,
Com' allo re ch' a suo voler ne invoglia."

Giù digradar, com' io ch' a proprio nome
Vo per la rosa giù di foglia in foglia. 15

Absorbed in the source of his delight, that contemplator freely assumed the office of a teacher, and began these holy words: "The wound which Mary closed up again and anointed, she who is so beautiful at her (Mary's) feet (Eve), is the one that (first) opened it and inflicted it. Below her, in the rank that is formed by the third row of seats, sits Rachel with Beatrice, as thou canst see. Sarah, Rebecca, Judith and she (Ruth) who was great-grandmother of the Singer (David), who in contrition for his transgression said *Miserere mei*, thou mayest perceive in like manner in descending gradation from rank to rank, as I by the name of each go downward through the rose from leaf to leaf (*i.e.* naming them one by one).

These holy women, with many other Jewish women whose names are not given, form a line of demarcation between the Saints of the Old and the Saints of the New Covenants, who are seated, as Dante is about to tell us, according as they looked upon Christ as yet to come, as had done the Saints of the Old Testament, or as already come, as did those of the New Testament. The thrones of the Old Covenant are all occupied, the number of the Elect of the Old Testament being complete. There are still a few vacant places left among the thrones of the New Testament (but not many) which will gradually be filled up,* until the number of the Elect of the New Covenant is completed.

E dal settimo grado in giù, sì come
Infino ad esso, succedono Ebree,

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*See *Par.* XXX, 131, 132:—
Vedi li nostri scanni sì ripieni,
Che poca gente omai ci si disira."

Dirimendo * del fior tutte le chiome;
Perchè, secondo lo sguardo che fee
La fede in CRISTO, queste sono il muro
A che si parton le sacre scalee.
Da questa parte onde il fior è maturo
Di tutte le sue foglie, sono assisi
Quei che credettero in CRISTO venturo.†
Dall' altra parte, onde sono intercisi
Di vôti i semicircoli,‡ si stanno
Quei ch' a CRISTO venuto ebber li visi.

And from the seventh degree downwards, as (from above) down to it, there is a succession of Hebrew women separating all the tresses (*i.e.* petals) of the flower; because they form the partition wall at which the holy stairs are severed, according to the

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* *Dirimendo:* Casini says that the verb *dirimere* is a pure Latinism of exceedingly rare usage in modern Italian.

† *credettero in Cristo venturo:* Compare *De Mon.* iii, 3, 62-69: "Quod nefas de opinione mortalium illi submoveant qui, ante traditiones Ecclesiae, in Filium Dei Christum, sive venturum sive praesentem sive jam passum crediderunt, et credendo speraverunt, et sperantes caritate arserunt, et ardentes ei coheredes factos esse mundus non dubitat." Compare also *Par.* xix, 103-105:—

"A questo regno
Non salì mai chi non credette in CRISTO,
Nè pria, nè poi ch' ei si chiavasse al legno."

And *Par.* xx, 103-105:—

"Dei corpi suoi non uscîr, come credi,
Gentili, ma Cristiani, in ferma fede,
Quei dei passuri, e quel dei passi piedi."

‡ *intercisi Di vôti i semicircoli:* In adopting this reading I follow Dr. Moore's Oxford text, but Scartazzini reads *di vôto i semicircoli*, following Benvenuto, Buti, Landino, Daniello, and the Aldine. By far the largest number read *di voti in semicircoli*, or *devoti in semicircoli*. Casini reads *intercisi di vôti, in semicircoli si stanno.* "Dall' altro lato della rosa il quale non è ancora pieno, che [which the margin explains as signifying *ove*] sono intra tagliati li mezzi circuli, stanno li Cristiani battezzati. E sono *intercisi* [some editions read *intercessi*] mezzi circuli, però che di dì in dì si vengono empiendo; e quando saranno pieni, allora finirà questo mondo." (*Ottimo.*)

view of Christ which their faith took. On this side (*i.e.* to the left of the Jewesses) on which the flower is in full bloom in all its petals, are seated they who believed in a Christ yet to come. On the other side, where the semicircles are intersected by empty spaces, are situated those who had their looks (*i.e.* their faith) directed to Christ (already) come.

In the same way that he had pointed out to Dante the different degrees of the Saints of the Old Testament, so now St. Bernard shows him the corresponding distinctions that exist among the Saints of the New Testament.

E come quinci il glorïoso scanno
Della Donna del cielo, e gli altri scanni
Di sotto lui cotanta cerna * fanno,
Così di contra quel del gran Giovanni,
Che sempre santo il diserto e il martiro
Sofferse, e poi l' Inferno da due anni ;
E sotto lui così cerner sortiro
Francesco, Benedetto ed Augustino,†
Ed altri sin quaggiù di giro in giro.

* *cerna:* Antiquated plural form for *cerne*. The primary meaning of *cerna* in the singular (see *Gran Dizionario*), is mostly to be found in the idiom *fa la cerna, i.e.* "scegliere tra più cose, separando il men buono." See Giov. Villani, lib. xii, cap. lxxix (some ed. lxxviii) ; "Era tanto il podere delle capitudini dell' arti e degli artefici, e per temenza di non commovere la terra [*i.e.* the city of Florence] a romore e ad arme, ch' egli si rimase di non fare cerna o toccare la lezione di Priori." Hence *cerna* comes to be used purely and simply to signify "separation, division." On *cotanta cerna fanno*, Buti says: "cioè, fanno sì grandi brigate e divisioni." And on *cerner sortiro* (l. 34) "cioè per sorte, e loro parte ebbono cerne, brigate grandissime divise in cerne, secondo li gradi de' meriti."

† *Francesco, Benedetto ed Augustino ;* Of these three Saints Mr. Gardner remarks: "The reasons for the special position of St. Francis, St. Benedict, and St. Augustine, in the opposite line [to the Hebrew women], are not quite so obvious. Dr. Scartazzini thinks that the line of men are those who, in a

> And as on this side the glorious seat of the Lady of Heaven, and the other seats below her, form such a line of severance, so on the opposite side does the seat of the great John, who ever holy endured the wilderness and martyrdom, and afterwards Hell for two years (*i.e.* was in *Limbo* after his martyrdom until Christ at His death took him away into Heaven); and below him Francis, Benedict, and Augustine, and others, have thus drawn the lot to form the dividing line from rank to rank even down here.

This means that to the three above-mentioned Saints was allotted a place situated between the Old and New Testaments; in the same way that St. John the Baptist, dying before our Lord, is imagined by Dante to have held an intermediate place between the two Dispensations. Tommaséo observes that the post of St. John the Baptist, the greatest prophet born of woman (*Luke* vii, 28) corresponds on the opposite division of tiers of thrones to that of the

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way, continued the work of St. John the Baptist in preparing unto the Lord a perfect people: the founders respectively of the *poverelli di Cristo*, of monasticism in the West, and of scientific theology. It will be observed that immediately next to the Precursor of Christ comes His closest and most perfect imitator, in whose body were renewed the sacred stigmata of His Passion. The *alto disio* [*Par.* xxii, 52-63] that Dante had expressed to St. Benedict, to see him with face unveiled, is here fulfilled; and, in connection with the ardent affection he had shown towards that saint in the seventh sphere, it is curious that Benedict is here on the third row opposite to Beatrice—the Blessed in name opposite to the Giver of Blessing. The great contemplative monk is thus likewise fitly placed opposite to Rachel, the type of contemplation itself." It is worthy of note that these three Saints, with St. Dominic added to them, occur together in *Conv.* iv, 28, ll. 68-74: "Non torna a religione pur quegli che a san Benedetto e a sant' Agostino e a san Francesco e a san Domenico si fa d' abito e di vita simile, ma eziandio a buona e vera religione si può tornare in matrimonio stando, chè Iddio non vuole religioso di noi se non il cuore."

Blessed Virgin, the holiest of women. Below St. John, the father of souls conquered for God, are ranged the founders of religious Orders, in their turn fathers of souls conquered for God, and these correspond in their tiers to the tiers on which are seated the great Mothers of Israel.

The true believers, both of the Old and of the New Dispensation, will alike share the blessedness of Heaven, and Paradise will be full when the seats in the two great semicircles on either side shall have been occupied.

> Or mira l' alto provveder divino,
> Chè l' uno e l' altro aspetto della fede
> Egualmente * empierà questo giardino.
>
> Now see the profound foresight of God, for the one and the other aspect of the Faith will equally fill up this garden.

Mr. Gardner observes that this view of Dante may be in part induced by his desire to preserve perfect symmetry in his wonderful creation of the snow-white Rose of Paradise.

Dante is now shown the blessed souls of children who died in infancy, and who are here disposed on the lower tiers of the Mystical Rose, and separated by a clear line—which cuts transversely the two dividing lines (*discrezioni*) of Saints mentioned above —from the Spirits of saintly men and women of both Dispensations.

Thus the Heavenly Rose is divided altogether into four parts, each of which is a complete semicircle.

* *Egualmente:* On this Cornoldi observes that the words can only be a poetical opinion on the part of Dante, due to his love of symmetry.

The two upper semicircles form together a garland of the Blessed Saints, who by the concurrence of their Free Will "put on Christ" and His Salvation; and the two lower and smaller parts, also combined, form the garland of Blessed Children saved merely by their being members of the Mystical body of Christ. They are still children here, with childish faces and childish voices.

E sappi che dal grado in giù, che fiede
A mezzo il tratto le due discrezioni,*
Per nullo proprio merito si siede,
Ma per l' altrui,† con certe condizioni;
Chè tutti questi son spiriti assolti
Prima ch' avesser vere elezïoni.‡
Ben te ne puoi accorger per li volti,
Ed anco per le voci puerili,§
Se tu li guardi bene e se gli ascolti.

And know that downwards from that tier which cuts across the two perpendicular divisions at mid-

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* *due discrezioni:* See l. 30 where *cotanta cerna* indicates one of these lines of severance, which divide the two *aspetti della fede* (l. 38).

† *per l' altrui* [*merito*]*:* Though some Commentators set themselves up to deny this, I firmly believe that what Dante intended, is salvation through the merits of Our Lord Jesus Christ.

‡ *vere elezïoni:* "[La vera elezione] si è quando raziocinando s' intende quel fine; in li pueri non è raziocinare, e così non hanno vera elezione." (Lana.)

§ *volti . . . voci puerili:* Scartazzini quotes the opinion of St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars iii, suppl. qu. lxxxi, art. 1 and 2) that all the Blessed will come to life again at the same age, that is, the age of youth . . . though not all of the same stature. Dante has not, however, followed his theological Mentor here, and seems to admit that the Saints in Paradise show themselves of the same age and stature that they possessed at the moment of their death. In Purgatory they seem to show, as did Manfred (*Purg.* iii, 111), the marks of the wounds they received on Earth. See *Purg.* xxv, 80 *et seq.*, where Dante says of the human soul after death, that it bears away with itself potentially both the human and the divine;

distance, spirits occupy seats for no merit of their own, but for the merits of Another (Jesus Christ), under certain conditions; for all these are souls that were released (from the body) before they had any true election (between evil and good). Well canst thou perceive this by their countenances, as well as by their infantine voices, if thou lookest well at them, and if thou listenest to them.

Division II.—And now St. Bernard, reading Dante's thoughts, incidentally answers a doubt that he perceives to have occurred to Dante's mind on hearing what St. Bernard said before as to these infants being placed, some higher, some lower, in the Heavenly Rose. Why, if they were saved by no merit of their own, should they have seats allotted to them indicating different degrees of bliss? St. Bernard warns Dante that he must neither assign this to chance nor to any special favour of God. Everything in Paradise is regulated according to determinate laws —Whatever God wills is Justice.

Or dubbi tu, e dubitando sili;*
Ma io ti solverò† 'l forte legame, 50
In che ti stringon li pensier sottili.‡

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and continues (ll. 89, 90): "La (sua) virtù informativa raggia intorno *così e quanto* nelle membra vive."

* *sili:* an old Italian form of the Latin verb *silere*, "to be silent."

† *ti solverò*, etc.: Compare *Inf.* x, 95, 96 :—
"solvetemi quel nodo,
Che qui ha inviluppata mia sentenza."
Compare also *Purg.* xxxiii, 49, 50 :—
"Ma tosto fien li fatti le Naiàde,
Che solveranno questo enigma forte;"
and *Dan.* v. 16 (in the *Vulgate*), where Belshazzar says to Daniel: "Audivi de te, quod possis obscura interpretari, et ligata dissolvere."

‡ *pensier sottili:* Compare *Par.* xxviii, 61-63 :—
". . . . . Piglia
Quel ch' io ti dicerò, se vuoi saziarti,
Ed intorno da esso t' assottiglia;"
and *Par.* xiv, 82-84: "s' assottiglia."

Dentro all' ampiezza di questo reame
Casual punto non puote aver sito,*
Se non come tristizia o sete o fame; †
Chè per eterna legge è stabilito
Quantunque vedi, sì che giustamente
Ci si risponde dall' anello al dito. ‡

Thou art doubting now, and in thy doubt keepest silence; but I will loosen for thee the mighty bonds in which thy over refined reasoning restrains thee. Within the ample range of this realm no accidental circumstances can any more find a place, than can sorrow, or thirst, or hunger; for by an eternal law all that thou seest is pre-ordained in such wise that here the ring exactly fits the finger (*i.e.* the blessedness is proportioned to the merits and the capacity of each Spirit).

"And note the metaphor," says Benvenuto; "for the Creator endows the soul with His Grace; the soul being as it were the bride, and the ring God's Grace; and as the ring is large or small according to

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* *Casual punto non puote aver sito:* Compare *Par.* xvii, 37-39:—
"La contingenza, che fuor del quaderno
Della vostra materia non si stende,
Tutta è dipinta nel cospetto eterno."

† *Se non come tristizia o sete o fame:* Compare *Rev.* vii, 16: "They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more; neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat;" and *ibid.* xxi, 4: "And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain; for the former things are passed away."

‡ Most of the Commentators render *dall' anello al dito* in the sense of "as the ring corresponds to the finger." "Sicut annulus conformatur digito secundum grossitiem et subtilitatem ejus." (Benvenuto.) "*Sì che justamente;* cioè per sì fatto modo, che con justizia, *ci si risponde*, cioè è convenienzia, secondo justizia, tra lo luogo e lo locato, come è tra l' anello e 'l dito." (Buti.) "*Chè per eterna*, etc., perciocchè quanto tu vedi è prestabilito ab eterno così puntualmente, che qui (*ci*) ad ogni grado di merito corrisponde il grado della gloria come l' anello al dito." (Andreoli.)

the thickness or fineness of the finger, so is God's Grace more or less, in proportion to the greater or lesser merit of the soul that receives It."

St. Bernard having laid down the principle that nothing in Heaven is due to chance, but, on the contrary, that everything is regulated in accordance with Divine Law, goes on to show that, if all these souls of innocent babes enjoy eternal bliss in different degrees, they do so for a definite reason, namely, that God so willed it.

E però questa festinata gente *
A vera vita non è *sine causa*
Intra sè qui più e meno eccellente.† 60
Lo Rege, per cui questo regno pausa ‡
In tanto amore ed in tanto diletto,

**festinata gente:* From the Latin *festinare*, "to be quick." The meaning in this passage is that this host of infants had come to Heaven before their time, *i.e.* more quickly than would have been usual according to the allotted span of human life. Compare *Purg.* xxxiii, 90, where the *Primum Mobile* is described as:—

". . . il ciel che più alto festina."

In *Par.* iii, 61, Dante tells Piccarda de' Donati that the radiance of Heaven has so changed her face from his early recollection of her, that he was not quick to recognise her; using *festino* as "quick":—

Però non fui a rimembrar festino."

† *Intra sè qui più e meno eccellente:* "Nota che Dio ve gli hae predestinati tutti in una condizione, ciò è che alcuni hanno maggiore e alcuni minor gloria." (*Anonimo Fiorentino.*) "*Intra se*, cioè per rispetto di sè medesimo, cioè tra loro, cioè che l' uno ha più beatitudine che l' altro." (Buti.)

‡ *pausa: Pausare* is the same here as *posare*, "to desist, to be quiet, to be at rest;" as in *Purg.* ii, 85:—

"Soavemente disse ch' io posasse."

Compare also *Par.* xvi, 82, 83:—

"E come il volger del ciel della luna
Copre e discopre i liti senza posa," etc.

Che nulla volontà è di più ausa,*
Le menti tutte nel suo lieto aspetto
Creando, a suo piacer di grazia dota
Diversamente; † e qui basti l' effetto.‡

And therefore this multitude that have been speeded away to the true life, are not *sine causa* among themselves more and less excellent. The King,—through Whom this Kingdom is at rest in so much love and in so much delight, that no will can have (*lit.* has) daring for more—by creating all minds in His own glad sight, according to His pleasure gives them endowments of grace diversely; and here let the effect suffice.

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* *nulla volontà è di più ausa:* "Non v' è alcuno che più desideri; ciascuno v' ha tanto diletto quanto desidera." (Buti.) Compare *Par.* iii, 64-66:—

"voi che siete qui felici,
Desiderate voi più alto loco
Per più vedere, o per più farvi amici?"

Compare also *Par.* vi, 118-126:—

"Ma nel commensurar dei nostri gaggi
Col merto, è parte di nostra letizia,
Perchè non li vedem minor nè maggi.
Quindi addolcisce la viva giustizia
In noi l' affetto sì, che non si puote
Torcer giammai ad alcuna nequizia.
Diverse voci fan giù dolci note;
Così diversi scanni in nostra vita,
Rendon dolce armonia tra queste rote."

† *dota Diversamente:* "Electorum alios magis, alios minus dilexit ab aeterno." (Petr. Lomb. *Sentent.* iii, *Dist.* 32.)

‡ *qui basti l' effetto:* Compare *Purg.* iii, 37:—

"State contenti, umana gente, al *quia*," etc.,

and *Par.* xix, 79-81:—

"Or tu chi sei, che vuoi sedere a scranna,
Per giudicar da lungi mille miglia,
Con la veduta corta d' una spanna?"

And read note on that passage in *Readings on the Purgatorio*, 3rd edition. Compare *Conv.* iv, 5, ll. 73-74: "O istoltissime e vilissime bestiuole che a guisa d' uomini pascete, che presumete contro a nostra Fede parlare; e volete sapere, filando e zappando, ciò che Iddio con tanta prudenza ha ordinato! Maledetti siate voi e la vostra presunzione, e chi a voi crede." Compare also *Quaest. de Aqua et Terra*, § xxii, ll. 1-22.

St. Bernard means, that it must suffice for Dante to know that this is God's method of working, without presuming to further investigate the reason. That which God wills is perfect Justice. And because he has said: "Let the effect suffice," he goes on to adduce the well-known effect of the predestination of the twin brothers Jacob and Esau; and, in putting these words into the mouth of St. Bernard, Dante evidently had in his mind the ninth chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans (10-15): "And not only this; but when Rebecca also had conceived by one, even by our Father Isaac; (for the children being not yet born, neither having done any good or evil, that the purpose of God according to election might stand, not of works, but of him that calleth;) It was said unto her, The elder shall serve the younger. As it is written, Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated. What shall we say then? Is there unrighteousness with God? God forbid. For he saith unto Moses, I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and I will have compassion on whom I will have compassion."

E ciò espresso e chiaro vi si nota
Nella Scrittura santa in quei gemelli,
Che nella madre ebber l' ira commota.

And this is expressly and clearly demonstrated to you in Holy Scripture in (the case of) those twin brothers, who even in (the womb of) their mother had their anger roused.

St. Bernard asks (remarks Benvenuto) if it is not a proof of men's predestination by God, when one considers that, even before these twins were born, God loved the one and hated the other. He gave to the one brother hair of a different colour from that of the

other; and just as His Grace manifested itself differently in the colour of these brothers' hair, which was the sign of a differing Predestination, so must the bliss of all the Blessed in Heaven be greater or less in proportion to the differing amount of God's Grace vouchsafed to them, and shown by the greater or lesser radiancy of the wreath of light and glory with which their heads are decked.

Però, secondo il color dei capelli,* 70
Di cotal grazia l' altissimo lume
Degnamente convien che s' incappelli.
Dunque, senza mercè di lor costume
Locati son per gradi differenti,
Sol differendo nel primiero acume. 75

Therefore it is fitting that the most exalted radiance of this grace should be worn as a crown in accordance with the "colour of the hair". They (these infants) have therefore been placed in different degrees, not for any merit in their conduct (in life),

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* *secondo il color dei capelli:* Brunone Bianchi's explanation of this very difficult passage is on the whole the best: "Il concetto è, che conviene che l' altissimo lume, il lume beatificante, o lo splendore divino, si faccia aureola, corona di gloria *s' incappelli*, convenientemente al *color de' capelli* cioè al quale e quanto della grazia che Dio largì a questi pargoli: e non già che qui si diano capelli alla grazia, ma i capelli ed il loro colore si pongono come simbolo e figura dei bellissimi e varj doni di questa grazia medesima, secondo che si usa anco nelle sacre carte." Lamennais's comment is also very good: "Ce passage obscur a fort tourmenté les commentateurs. Le sens le plus naturel nous semble être celui-ci: Bernard vient de dire que Dieu distribue la grâce, non à raison de mérites antérieurs, mais selon son bon plaisir, et il allègue l'exemple d'Ésaü e de Jacob. 'Il en est,' ajoute-t'il, 'de tous les autres comme de ceux-ci, qui ne se distinguaient que *par la couleur des cheveux*, où l'on ne peut avoir aucun motif de préférence.' Ainsi, *la couleur des cheveux*, c'est-à-dire, un motif inconnu de nous, une volonté mystérieuse, détermine le don *d' une telle grâce*, par l'effet de laquelle *la haute lumière*, c'est-à-dire, Dieu, *s'enguirlande*, se ceint d'une couronne digne de lui."

differing only in their primary keenness of vision (*i.e.* the greater or less grace vouchsafed to them in contemplating God).

Faith in the forthcoming Messiah was sufficient in the early ages of the world until Abraham's day; after which, and until the birth of Jesus Christ, Circumcision became necessary.

Bastava sì nei secoli recenti
Con l' innocenza, per aver salute,
Solamente la fede dei parenti ;*
Poichè le prime etadi fur compiute,
Convenne ai maschi † all' innocenti penne,
Per circoncidere, acquistar virtute.
Ma poichè il tempo della grazia venne,
Senza battesmo perfetto ‡ di CRISTO,

**fede dei parenti :* Compare St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars iii, qu. lxx, art. 4). "Ante institutionem circumcisionis sola fides Christi futuri justificabat tam pueros quam adultos." Compare also *Par.* xix, 103-105 :—

". . . . . A questo regno
Non salì mai chi non credette in CRISTO,
Nè pria, nè poi ch' ei si chiavasse al legno."

† *maschi :* Compare St. Thom. Aquinas, *ibid.* art. 2: "Circumcisio instituta est ut signum fidei Abrahae, qui credidit se patrem futurem Christi sibi repromissi; et ideo convenienter solis maribus competebat. Peccatum etiam originale, contra quod specialiter circumcisio ordinabatur, a patre trahitur, non a matre."

‡ *battesmo perfetto :* "Baptismus in se continet perfectionem salutis, ad quam Deus omnes homines vocat. . . . Circumcisio autem non continebat perfectionem salutis, sed figurabat ipsam ut fiendam per Christum." (*Summ. Theol. ibid.* art. 2.) And *ibid.* art. 4 : "In circumcisione conferebatur gratia quantum ad omnes gratiae effectus ; aliter tamen quam in baptismo. Nam in baptismo confertur gratia ex virtute ipsius baptismi quam habet, inquantum est instrumentum passionis Christi jam perfectae ; in circumcisione autem conferebatur gratia non ex virtute circumcisionis, sed ex virtute fidei passionis Christi, cujus signum erat circumcisio; ita scilicet quod homo qui accipiebat circumcisionem, profitebatur se suscipere talem fidem, vel adultus pro se, vel alius pro parvulis."

Tale innocenza laggiù si ritenne.*

In the early centuries indeed (*i.e.* in those when the world had been recently created), to win salvation the parents' Faith alone (in the coming of Christ) was sufficient (when combined) with innocence; after that the first ages were fulfilled, it became needful for male infants, by means of circumcision, to acquire strength for their innocent wings. But since the time of Grace (*i.e.* the Redemption of Man by Jesus Christ) arrived, this innocence of babes, if lacking the perfect Baptism of Christ, has been kept down below there (in *Limbo*).

By perfect Baptism, Dante means to emphasize the contrast with Circumcision, which is imperfect Baptism. Therefore, the innocence of babes that died free from actual sin, though, from their being unbaptized, they had not been freed from original sin, is not sufficient to give them a place in the Heavenly Rose, but they die relegated to *Limbo* with the unbaptised.

Division III.—St. Bernard concludes his long address by bidding Dante turn his eyes upon the countenance of the Blessed Virgin, the resplendence of which can alone fit him to gaze upon the countenance of her Divine Son without being completely dazzled.

Riguarda omai nella faccia ch' a CRISTO† 85
Più si somiglia, chè la sua chiarezza
Sola ti può disporre a veder CRISTO."—

Look now upon the visage that has most resem-

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* *laggiù si ritenne:* Compare *Inf.* iv, 33-36:—

"Or vo' che sappi, innanzi che più andi,
Ch' ei non peccaro: e s' elli hanno mercedi,
Non basta, perchè non ebber battesmo,
Ch' è parte della fede che tu credi."

† CRISTO: Here again we find CRISTO rhyming to itself only, as in *Par.* xii, 71 et seq.; xiv, 104 et seq.; and xix, 104 et seq.

blance to Christ, for its bright radiance alone can render thee fit to behold Christ."

Rapt almost into an ecstasy Dante obeys St. Bernard, and sees such a sight as he has never seen before. We must however remember that this is not the first, but the third time he has seen the Blessed Virgin Mary. In the Heaven of the Fixed Stars,* Beatrice showed Dante Christ in Glory, surrounded by countless spirits in the forms of lights of dazzling brilliancy (*Par.* xxiii, 19-33); among these appeared a greater light, that of the Virgin Mary, around whom circled chanting the Archangel Gabriel, in the form of a garland of flame (88-110); when the Archangel had ceased, all the other spirits took up the chant, singing the name of Mary; the Virgin then mounted into the Empyrean. That was Dante's *first sight of her.* We read in Canto xxxi, 97 et seq., that St. Bernard showed Dante the Celestial Rose, and the Virgin seated in her place. That was *the second* time of his seeing her; and now in obedience to the bidding of St. Bernard Dante sees her for *the third* time.† All through the *Paradiso*, Dante has

* See Toynbee's *Dante Dictionary*, s. v. *Maria*, p. 367.

† "Now in final preparation for the vision of the Divine Essence comes the Poet's third and most perfect vision of Mary, of this the supreme of created things as the final stepping-stone to the vision of the Creator. St. Thomas [reference not given], in discussing the question whether God could create things better than He actually has, says that there are three things which have a certain extrinsic excellence from their relation to God Himself, and in this way nothing could be created better than them: the Humanity of Christ, inasmuch as it is united to God; beatitude, because it is the fruition of God; and the Blessed Virgin, because she is the Mother of God. Therefore *this third vision* of her is the prelude to the vision of the Divinity. From Beatrice to Mary, from Mary to God, such are the spiritual steps of Dante's ascent." (Gardner.)

been describing the glory of Beatrice; of the Angels; and of the Beatified Spirits. He now describes how immeasurably inferior had their glory been to the ineffable and incomparable glory of the Blessed Virgin.

Io vidi sopra lei tanta allegrezza
Piover, portata nelle menti sante,
Create a trasvolar per quella altezza,
Che quantunque io avea visto davante,
Di tanta ammirazion non mi sospese,
Nè mi mostrò di Dio tanto sembiante.

I saw such a flood of gladness showered down upon her, conveyed by those blessed spirits (the Angels) who were created to fly across over that height, that all I had ever seen ere this, did not so suspend my soul in wonder, nor display to me so great a resemblance to God.

Dante's wondering eyes now behold the Archangel Gabriel poised on his wings in the space in front of the Blessed Virgin, and gazing into her eyes, while his *Ave Maria* is re-echoed by all the Court of Heaven.

E quell' amor* che primo lì discese,

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* *quell' amor:* In *Par.* xxiii, 103-108, we saw the same Archangel describing himself by the same epithet:—

"Io sono amore angelico, che giro
L' alta letizia che spira del ventre
Che fu albergo del nostro disiro;
E girerommi, Donna del ciel, mentre
Che seguirai tuo figlio, e farai dia
Più la spera suprema, perchè gli entre."

See also the description of the sculpture representing the Annunciation, in *Purg.* x, 34-45. For *amori* as Angels, compare too *Par.* xxix, 18:—

"S' aperse in nuovi amor l' eterno amore;"

and *ibid.* 46, 47:—

"Or sai tu dove e quando questi amori
Furon creati, e come;"

and xxviii, 103:—

"Quegli altri amor che intorno a lor vonno," etc.

Cantando: *Ave Maria, gratia plena,* 95
Dinanzi a lei le sue ali distese.
Rispose alla divina cantilena
Da tutte parti la beata Corte,
Sì ch' ogni vista * sen fe' più serena.

And that Love (*i.e.* Gabriel, that Angel full of love) who first descended there, spread out his wings in front of her (Mary), singing *Ave Maria, gratia plena.* To this divine minstrelsy the blessed Court (*i.e.* the Angelic Host) rang out responsive on every side, so that the appearance of every Blessed one became more glorious for it.

Dante has not yet learned the identity of the radiant being, that, in a scene of such ineffable sanctity, takes so prominent a part. He turns with deep reverence to St. Bernard, and devoutly entreats him to say who this is.

—"O santo Padre, che per me comporte † 100
L' esser quaggiù, lasciando il dolce loco
Nel qual tu siedi per eterna sorte,
Qual è quell' Angel, che con tanto gioco ‡

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* *ogni vista:* The best interpretation of *vista* is *l' aspetto di ogni beato* and not *ciascuna cosa ch' egli vedeva.* "Tutta la corte celeste rispose al canto divino dell' arcangelo da ogni parte della rosa, con tanto ardore, che l' aspetto di ogni beato si fece più luminoso." (Casini.) See *vista* for face, *Purg.* xviii, 3.

† *comporte: Comportare* is "to suffer, to endure." Compare *Par.* xxix, 88, 89:—

"Ed ancor questo quassù si comporta
Con men disdegno," etc.

We have frequently had occasion to discuss the early forms of verbs in Italian, and their terminations (in the singular) in *e.* See Nannucci, *Analisi Critica de' Verbi Italiani, passim.* Compare Dante's supplication to St. Bernard here with his prayer to the Virgin in *Par.* xxxi, 79-81:—

"O Donna, in cui la mia speranza vige,
E che soffristi per la mia salute
In Inferno lasciar le tue vestige," etc.

‡ *gioco* is used by Dante in the sense of "joy" in *Par.* xx, 115-117, where we read that the *anima gloriosa* of Ripheus:—

Guarda negli occhi la nostra Regina,
Innamorato sì, che par di foco?" *— 105
Così ricorsi ancora alla dottrina
Di colui, ch' abbelliva † di Maria,
Come del sole stella mattutina.

"O Sainted Father, who for my sake dost endure to be down here below, quitting the blissful place where thou sittest by eternal lot, say who is that Angel, who with so much gladness looks into the eyes of our Queen with a gaze so enamoured, that he seems to be all on fire?" Thus did I again have recourse to the teaching of him (St. Bernard), who was drawing beauty from Mary as the morning star from the Sun.

St. Bernard commences by replying to Dante's question, telling him that he sees before him the Angel chosen by God before all other to carry to the Virgin at Nazareth the Annunciation of her being Blessed above women; and of her being destined to receive the palm, the emblem of the victory she was to win over all other Jewish women by becoming the Mother of the Son of God.

". . . credendo s' accese in tanto foco
Di vero amor, ch' alla morte seconda
Fu degna di venire a questo gioco."

* *par di foco:* Of Piccarda de' Donati (*Par.* iii, 67-69) Dante said:—

"Con quelle altr' ombre pria sorrise un poco;
Da indi mi rispose tanto lieta,
Ch' arder parea d' amor nel primo foco."

† *abbelliva:* Compare *Par.* xxii, 23, 24:—

"E vidi cento sperule, che insieme
Più s' abbellivan coi mutui rai."

See my note in *Readings on the Inferno,* vol. ii, p. 79, on *Inf.* xix, 37; and in *Readings on the Purgatorio,* 3rd edition, vol. ii, pp. 397-399, on *Purg.* xxvi, 140. *Abbellire* is both verb active and verb neuter, and in the latter sense is used here. The *Gran Dizionario* quotes the present passage as an illustration of the neuter sense of the verb.

Ed egli a me:—" Baldezza * e leggiadria,
Quanta esser può in Angelo ed in alma,
Tutta è in lui, e sì volem che sia,
Perch' egli è quegli che portò la palma †
Giù a Maria, quando il Figliuol di Dio
Carcar si volle della nostra salma.‡

And he to me: "All the confidence and grace that can co-exist in an Angel and in a soul are present in him (Gabriel), and so we would have it be, for this

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* *Baldezza:* "Qui *baldezza* è in buon senso per santa franchezza piena di vigoria. Nel *volere che sia* vien espressa la retta volontà dei beati, che è conforme alla divina." (Cornoldi.) See the exquisitely beautiful passage in *Par.* iii, 70-87, where Piccarda de' Donati assures Dante of the perfect unanimity among all the blessed spirits in every part of Paradise in complete submission to the will of that King of Heaven, who brings their wills into conformity with His own. Scartazzini remarks that Dante would seem to be reminding men of the fact, that God wills to give greater grace to some men than to others, not for any merit of their own, but simply because it is His good pleasure. In the same way he vouchsafes more grace to one Angel than to another. As there are on earth privileged men, so there are privileged Angels. On earth this privilege generates envy, but in Heaven only joy and contentment.

† *la palma:* The palm is usually considered to be the emblem of victory; and in all, or most of, the representations of the Annunciation, Gabriel is seen holding a palm as a sign of the triumph Mary was to win over all her species. Compare *Inf.* iv, 52-54, where we read that Christ descended into *Limbo*

"con segno di vittoria coronato."

There the sign of victory is thought to be the palm, which is also the emblem of martyrdom.

‡ *salma:* The primary meaning of this word, according to the *Gran Dizionario*, is "Soma, Peso." Hence (§ 2) it comes to signify "Spoglia corporea." It is the customary word in Italy for "the corpse, the body," in describing a funeral procession, etc. Donkin (*Etymological Dictionary of the Romance Languages*) says of it: "Salma, soma, Ital., Sp. *salma xalma enxalma*, Fr. *somme* burden, Prov. *sauma* a she-ass; from the late Latin *sagma* (σάγμα) whence also Old High German *saum* . . . Hence Ital. *assomare* to load, Fr. *assommer* to cudgel; Fr. *sommelier* a butler, from loading or packing casks of wine in the cellar. Cf. Ital. *somella* a little burden."

is he who bare the palm down to Mary, when the Son of God vouchsafed to assume the burden of our flesh.

Benvenuto remarks that, in Canto x,* Dante had described the same Angel circling in holy gladness round Mary, and in that passage gave a figurative description of the Cohorts of Heaven in a region that was not their own. Here, however, he presents them to the eye of his readers in their own form and in their allotted region of Heaven.

Division IV.—St. Bernard's discourse had been interrupted by Dante interposing with his request to be told who Gabriel was. He now recommences it, pointing out to Dante the principal personages of the Celestial Court, and invites him to follow him with his eye, as he describes them from seat to seat.

Ma vieni omai con gli occhi, sì com' io 115
Andrò parlando, e nota i gran patrici †
Di questo imperio giustissimo e pio.‡

*Benvenuto's words are: "Et non videatur tibi superfluum, lector, quia autor descripsit *supra* capitulo x istum eundem angelum festantem circa eandem Mariam, quia ibi descripsit coelestem curiam figuraliter in loco non suo, hic vero in forma sua et in coelo proprio." This of course refers to *Purgatorio* x, 34-45, though "supra capitulo x" might well be supposed to be a reference to *Paradiso* x, only that in that Canto the holy episode is not alluded to.

† *patrici:* "I grandi patrizi dell' imperio celeste sono gli elettissimi fra gli eletti, quelli che san Bernardo voleva far vedere a Dante, essendo impossibile indicargli una per una tutte le anime beate." (Casini.) *Patrici* is the plural of *patrizio,* as *offici* from *offizio.* "*i gran patrici,* cioè li grandi padri: chiamavansi a Roma *padri* quelli che consigliavano la republica, e *patricio* si chiamava chi era di quello ordine." (Buti.)

‡ *imperio giustissimo e pio:* "scilicet coeli empyrei, ubi justissime et pie redditur cuique quod convenit, ita quod justitia refertur ad salvatos meritis; pietas ad pueros innocentes."

But now come thou onward with thine eyes (following) even as I on my part will go onward with my speech, and do thou take note of the great patricians of this most just and holiest of empires.

To use Benvenuto's words, St. Bernard first names two venerable *Patres Conscripti* of that Senate, whom he notices from their posts of conspicuous dignity near the throne of the Blessed Virgin, Empress of the Eternal Rome, and for the great joy they exhibit, exceeding that of the other spirits around them. These are Adam and St. Peter, whom St. Bernard defines as the roots of the Heavenly Rose, Adam, because he was the first believer in Christ to come ; and St. Peter, as being the first believer in Christ after he had come.

Quei due che seggon lassù più felici,
Per esser propinquissimi ad Augusta,*
Son d' esta rosa quasi due radici.
Colui che da sinistra le s' aggiusta,†
È il Padre, per lo cui ardito gusto ‡
L' umana specie tanto amaro gusta.

(Benvenuto.) His next sentence Benvenuto has apparently left unfinished : " Et hic nota ut intelligas vim istius vocabuli patriciorum, quod sicut scribit Titus Livius libro primo ab origine urbis, Romulus, condita urbe etc. . . ." (*sic*).

* *Augusta :* "*propinquissimi ad Augusta*, cioè perchè sono pressissimi a la Vergine Maria: imperò che, come lo imperadore si chiama Augusto e la imperadrice Augusta, che viene a dire *accrescitrice ;* lo quale adiettivo prima fu dato ad Ottaviano : imperò che accrebbe lo imperio di Roma, maggiormente questo nome si conviene a Cristo et a la Vergine Maria, che ànno accresciuto et accresceno lo regno di vita eterna." (Buti.)

† *s' aggiusta :* Casini says that the verb *aggiustare*, derived from *juxta* (*near*) signifies " to place near," and in its reflective form " to be near."

‡ *ardito gusto :* Compare *Par.* xxvi, 115-117 :—

" Or, figliuol mio, non il gustar del legno
Fu per sè la cagion di tanto esilio,
Ma solamente il trapassar del segno."

Dal destro vedi quel Padre vetusto
Di santa Chiesa,* cui CRISTO le chiavi 125
Raccomandò † di questo fior venusto.

Those two that sit up yonder, the more blissful from being in close proximity to the Empress (*i.e.* the Virgin Mary), are, as it were, two roots of this rose. He that on the left is placed so near her is the father (Adam), through whose presumptuous tasting (of the forbidden fruit) the human race tastes so much bitterness. On the right thou seest that ancient father of Holy Church (St. Peter), to whom Christ entrusted the keys of this beauteous flower.

The next two great patricians of the august assembly to be mentioned are St. John and Moses.

E quei ‡ che vide tutt' i tempi gravi,
Pria che morisse, della bella sposa §

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* *quel Padre vetusto Di santa Chiesa:* Dante, of course, as a faithful son of the Roman Church, believed in St. Peter being the first of the Roman Pontiffs, and held him in the profoundest reverence for having founded that Church, so pure and uncorrupted in the early centuries of its existence, but which in Dante's time had sunk so low in corruption, Simony, and vice.

† *le chiavi Raccomandò:* Compare *St. Matt.* xvi, 19, where Christ says to St. Peter: "And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven," etc.

‡ *E quei*, et seq.: The reference here is to St. John, the Beloved Apostle, who before his death saw the vision recorded by him in the *Apocalypse*, which Casini says is like a prophetic history of the Christian Church.

§ *bella sposa:* The Church is called the Bride by Dante in *Par.* x, 140, 141:—

"Nell' ora che la sposa di Dio surge
A mattinar lo sposo perchè l' ami;"

and *Par.* xi, 32; xii, 43; and xxvii, 40-42:—

"Non fu la sposa di CRISTO allevata
Del sangue mio, di Lin, di quel di Cleto,
Per essere ad acquisto d' oro usata."

In *Inf.* xix, 55-57, Nicholas III, supposing himself to be addressing Boniface VIII, upbraids him for the evil he has done to the Church, of which he speaks as the beautiful Lady:—

Che s' acquistò con la lancia e coi chiavi,*
Siede lungh' esso; e lungo l' altro posa
Quel Duca, sotto cui visse di manna
La gente ingrata, mobile e ritrosa.

And he (St. John) who, before he died, saw all the grievous times of the fair bride (the Church) that was won (by Christ) with the spear and with the nails, is seated by his (St. Peter's) side; and by the side of the other (Adam) rests that Leader (Moses), under whom that thankless, fickle, and stubborn people lived upon manna.

Sant' Anna, the mother of the Virgin Mary, and St[a]. Lucia, of whose interest in Dante's salvation we read in *Inf.* ii. 49 et seq., are next mentioned.

Di contro a Pietro vedi sedere Anna,†

"Se' tu sì tosto di quell' aver sazio,
Per lo qual non temesti torre a inganno
La bella Donna, e poi di farne strazio?"

In *Purg.* xxiv, 20-22, Forese, pointing out Martin IV to Dante says:—

"e quella faccia
Di là da lui, più che l' altre trapunta,
Ebbe la santa Chiesa in le sue braccia."

* *coi chiavi*, plural of the obsolete masculine noun *chiavo*, or *clavo*, "a nail," must not be confounded with *le chiavi* (l. 125), which is the plural of the feminine noun *una chiave*, "a key." The modern form of *un chiavo* is *un chiodo*. In *Inf.* xxxiii, 46, 47, Count Ugolino tells Dante how he heard the door of his prison being nailed up:—

"Ed io sentii chiavar l' uscio di sotto
All' orribile torre;"

in which passage some have wrongly translated *chiavar l' uscio* as the door being locked.

† *Anna:* According to the legend of the *Protevangelion* and the Apocryphal Gospels of the 2nd and 3rd centuries, St. Anne was the daughter of the Priest Matthan, and married to one Joachim. They were both of the royal race of David, and Mary was not born to them till they had been married for twenty years. Dr. Paget Toynbee (*Dante Dictionary*) quotes what Brunetto Latini says of St. Anne: "Anne ot iii. maris, Joachim, Cleophas, et Salomé, et de chascun ot une Marie. Et

Tanto contenta di mirar sua figlia,
Che non move occhi per cantare *Osanna.* 135
E contro al maggior Padre di famiglia
Siede Lucia,* che mosse la tua Donna,
Quando chinavi a ruinar † le ciglia.

Opposite to Peter behold Anna sitting, so well content to look upon her daughter (the Virgin Mary), that she turns not aside her eyes (from her) as she sings *Hosannah.* And opposite to the eldest Sire of the (Human) family sits Lucia, who sent thy Lady (Beatrice) to thine aid, when thou wast bending down thine eyes to fall back (into the Valley of Sin).

St. Bernard now signifies to Dante that he has nearly arrived at the conclusion of the time allowed for his vision. Henceforward he must abandon other objects of thought, and must prepare for contemplation of the Divine Light alone, seeking to penetrate as far

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ainsi furent .iii. Maries, dont la premiere fu mere Jhesu Cristi; la seconde fu mere Jaque et Joseph; la tierce fu mere de l'autre Jaque et de Jehan l'evangeliste." (*Tresor*, i, 64.) Scartazzini quotes the following lines from J. Gerson, *De nat. virg. Mariae* (Opp. iii. 59):—

"Anna tribus nupsit: Joachim, Cleophae, Salomaeque,
Ex quibus ipsa viris peperit tres Anna Marias,
Quas duxere Joseph, Alphaeus Zebedaeusque."

* *Lucia:* On the presence of Lucia here, Cornoldi remarks that we see completely refuted the exaggeration of those symbol-loving persons, who, denying altogether the real personality of Beatrice, also attempt to deny that of Lucia. We see that to both is allotted a seat in the Rose, just like all the other Saints. Cornoldi insists that a just symbolism must not exclude reality, which is the foundation of symbolism. Sometimes indeed both Lucia and Beatrice must be taken as symbols, but for Dante the real Lucia as well as the real Beatrice unquestionably existed.

† *a ruinar:* In *Inf.* i, 54-61, we read that Dante had abandoned all hope of being able to scale the mountain (*rovinava in basso loco*), and had begun to stumble back into the Valley of Sin; and in Canto ii, ll. 97-100, we read that Lucia came over from her seat in Heaven to send Beatrice to the help of Dante.

as possible within its depths. And lest by trusting to his unaided powers, he fall instead of rising, let him first implore the assistance of God's Grace.

Ma perchè il tempo fugge che t' assonna,*
Qui farem punto, come buon sartore† 140
Che, com' egli ha del panno, fa la gonna ;
E drizzeremo gli occhi al primo amore,‡
Sì che, guardando verso lui, penetri,
Quant' è possibil, per lo suo fulgore.
Veramente § (nè forse tu t' arretri 145
Movendo l' ali tue,|| credendo oltrarti)

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* *t' assonna :* Cornoldi explains this : "ti rapisce in estasi." Dante being as it were in a trance, or in a sleep, had to be reminded that the time allotted for his heavenly journey was drawing rapidly to a close.

† *farem punto, come buon sartore :* Compare a similar passage in the *Dittamondo*, lib. iv, cap. iv :—

"Perocchè sì mi stringe a questo punto
La lunga tema, ch' io fo come il sarto
Che quando ha fretta spesso passa il punto."

‡ *primo amore ;* Compare *Par.* vi, 11 :—

". . . per voler del primo amor ch' io sento."

And *Inf.* iii, 6 :—

"il primo amore."

In both the above passages the references are undoubtedly to God the Holy Spirit, but Scartazzini observes that, in the present passage, where Dante is seen to prepare himself for the vision of the Holy Trinity, *primo amore* undoubtedly refers to the Triune God.

§ *Veramente :* from the Latin *verum* or *verumtamen.* Compare *Purg.* ii, 98, 99, where Casella says to Dante of the Angel Pilot :—

"Veramente da tre mesi egli ha tolto
Chi ha voluto entrar con tutta pace."

And see my note on this in *Readings on the Purgatorio*, 3rd edition, vol. i, p. 67. In *Inf.* xxxiii, 10-12, Count Ugolino says to Dante : "I know not who thou art, nor by what means thou art come down here, but nevertheless (*veramente*) thou seemest to me a Florentine when I hear thee."

|| *Movendo l' ali tue,* et seq. : "The thought is reproduced from *Purg.* xi, 15. There is no true progress without the grace

Orando grazia convien che s' impetri,
Grazia da quella che può aiutarti:
E tu mi segui * con l' affezïone,
Sì che dal dicer mio lo cor non parti:"— 150
E cominciò questa santa orazione.

But since the time is passing away which keeps thee in a trance (*i.e.* the time allotted to thee for thy vision), here we will make a pause, like a good tailor who shapes the robe in proportion to the cloth he has; and we will direct our eyes to the Primal Love (God), so that, looking towards Him, thou mayest, as far as is possible, penetrate through His effulgence. Nevertheless—lest perchance thou shouldest fall backwards † when thinking to advance by moving (*i.e.* beating) thy wings (*i.e.* of thine own strength alone)—it is needful that grace be obtained by prayer, grace from her (Mary) who has the power to help thee; and do thou so follow me with thine affection (*i.e.* accompany my prayer with such earnest love), that thy heart may not diverge from my words (*i.e.* that the prayer spoken by me may represent the feelings of both our hearts)." And he commenced this saintly orison.

St. Bernard's prayer will be read in the next Canto.

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of God, and here that progress is thought of as coming through the intercession of the Virgin Mother." (Plumptre.)

* *E tu mi segui:* Casini thinks it is evident that Dante is not invited to repeat St. Bernard's prayer aloud after him, but to follow it in his mind sentence by sentence; seeing that it is not only a hymn of praise to the Virgin (*Par.* xxxiii, 1-21), but also a prayer offered up in the name of all the Saints in order to obtain for Dante the grace of the final great vision of God Himself. (*Ibid.* 22-39.)

† "Ne forte tu retrocedas, et elongeris a fine intento . . . quasi dicat; ne temere tentes cum periculo tuae ruinae volare ad tantam altitudinem propriis viribus tuis et cum toto studio theologiae, quia tunc magis elongeris a signo quanto magis accedere festinares." (Benvenuto.)

END OF CANTO XXXII.

CANTO XXXIII.

THE TENTH SPHERE—THE EMPYREAN (CONTINUED)—ST. BERNARD'S PRAYER TO THE VIRGIN—HER INTERCESSION WITH GOD ON DANTE'S BEHALF—THE BEATIFIC VISION—THE ULTIMATE SALVATION.

BENVENUTO divides this Canto into four parts.

In the First Division, from ver. 1 to ver. 39, St. Bernard offers up his prayer to the Blessed Virgin.

In the Second Division, from ver. 40 to ver. 66, Dante relates how this great blessing of seeing the Supreme Glory was vouchsafed to him.

In the Third Division, from ver. 67 to ver. 108, Dante invokes the aid of the Most High to enable him to record, be it ever so humbly, some small fragment of the glories that met his eyes.

In the Fourth Division, from ver. 109 * to ver. 145, Dante relates how in the Eternal Light he was enabled to discern the Three Persons of the Blessed Trinity.

Division I.—The prayer of St. Bernard to the Virgin, with which this Canto opens, is, remarks Scartazzini, the last of the exceptionally beautiful passages in the *Divina Commedia.* In this prayer St. Bernard enumerates all the more special attributes of the Blessed Virgin. Benvenuto observes

* Benvenuto begins Division IV at l. 115, but it seems to me better to begin it at l. 109, as from this point Dante commences to speak of the mystery of the Holy Trinity.

that readers of the poem must not lose sight of the fact that, although Dante, by a poetic licence, pictures himself as having heard these burning words, they were in reality extracted by Dante from St. Bernard's writings, and had been indited nearly two hundred years before the supposed date of Dante's vision.

The prayer is so perfect a whole, that I regret having to break it up; yet for practical purposes it may well fall into two parts: the apotheosis of the Virgin; and the intercession for Dante. St. Bernard begins by addressing the Virgin as at the same time the most humble and the most exalted of God's creatures. In her God aimed at making the beauty of woman the instrument for the perfecting of man. From her having conceived in her womb the Son of God, Who was at one and the same time Son and Father to her, Mary ennobled human creation. From her having given light to Christ, of Whom so many blessed Saints have been enamoured, Mary caused the Mystic Rose of Paradise to bloom in the eternal peace of Heaven. In Heaven she, by her divine light, enkindles in the Saints that are there a more intense love of God; while on earth she keeps alive, in Christian people, the hope of finding a God of Mercy in Heaven.

—"Vergine Madre, figlia del tuo Figlio,*

* *Vergine Madre, figlia del tuo Figlio:* The beautiful rendering of this prayer by Chaucer, in the *Second Nonnes Tale*, may be quoted here:—

"And thou, that arte floure of virgines all,
Of whom that Bernard list so wel to write,
. . . . . .
Thou maide and mother, doughter of thy son,
Thou well of mercy, sinful soules cure,

Umile ed alta * più che creatura,

In whom that God of bountee chees to won;
Thou humble and high over every creature,
Thou nobledest so fer forth our nature,
That no desdaine the maker had of kinde
His son in blood and flesh to clothe and winde.

Within the cloystre blissful of thy sides,
Toke mannes shape the eternal love and pees,
That of the trine compas Lord and gide is,
Whom erthe, and see, and heven out of relees
Ay herien; and thou, virgine wemmeles,
Bare of thy body (and dweltest maiden pure)
The creatour of every creature.

Assembled is in thee magnificence
With mercy, goodnesse, and with swiche pitee,
That thou that art the sonne of excellence,
Not only helpest hem that praien thee,
But oftentime of thy benignitee
Ful freely, or that men thin helpe beseche,
Thou goest beforne, and art hir lives leche."

Casini invites comparison of this prayer, attributed to St. Bernard by Dante, with that which St. Bernard really did write in his Sermon. (*In adventum*, ii, 4.)

figlia del tuo Figlio: Compare Petrarch, part ii, *Canzone* viii, st. 3 :—

"Vergine pura, d' ogni parte intera,
Del tuo parto gentil figliuola e madre."

And *ibid.* st. 4 :—

"Tre dolci e cari nomi ha' in te raccolti,
Madre, figliuola e sposa,
Vergine gloriosa."

* *Umile ed alta:* Cornoldi observes that the humility of the Virgin consisted in feeling lowly in her own eyes towards God. As Mary had a more perfect knowledge than any other purely created mortal ever had, and as all the greatness she possessed exceeding that of other created beings came to her from God, therefore her humility was greater than the humility of every created being even though angelic. See *St. Luke* i, 48, 49, where though the Virgin spoke humbly of God having regarded the lowliness of His handmaiden, yet at the same time, she claimed that from henceforth all generations would call her blessed, because He that was mighty had magnified her. Dr. Moore, in his new work, *Studies in Dante*, Second Series, Oxford, 1899, p. 75, *On Dante as a religious teacher*, writes: "The

Termine * fisso d' eterno consiglio,
Tu se' colei che l' umana natura
Nobilitasti sì, che il suo Fattore †
Non disdegnò di farsi sua fattura.
Nel ventre tuo si raccese l' amore,
Per lo cui caldo ‡ nell' eterna pace
Così è germinato questo fiore.
Qui sei a noi meridiana face
Di caritate, e giuso intra i mortali
Sei di speranza fontana vivace.§

Virtue which commands Dante's special admiration is certainly *Humility*. Though this may seem at first sight surprising, it is true, and it is, perhaps, due to his consciousness, more than once acknowledged, that his own besetting sin was Pride. In the sublime hymn addressed to the Virgin, in *Par.* xxxiii, she is *Umile ed alta più che creatura.* When Beatrice went forth abroad, she was (*V. N.* § xxvi, l. 12) 'crowned and clothed with humility.' And (*V. N.* § xxxv, l. 44): 'God has taken her to the heaven of humility where Mary is.' *e.g.* (*inter alia*) *V. N.* § xxi, l. 17; § xxiii, ll. 66, 151; § xxvi, l. 42; and § xxxii, l. 61."

* *Termine fisso d' eterno consiglio:* Scartazzini says that the Church regarded as applying to the Virgin the words in *Prov.* viii, 22, 23: "The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his way, before his works of old. I was set up from everlasting, from the beginning, or ever the earth was." See on this Dr. Moore, *ibid.* pp. 60-65. Also *Conv.* iv, 5, ll. 20, et seq.

† *suo Fattore Non disdegnò*, et seq.: Compare the following from the *Te Deum:* "Tu, ad liberandum, suscepturus hominem: non horruisti Virginis uterum."

‡ *Per lo cui caldo . . . è germinato questo fiore:* There is some analogy between this passage, and *Par.* xxii, 46-48, where St. Benedict says:—

"Questi altri fochi tutti contemplanti
Uomini furo, accesi di quel caldo
Che fa nascer li fiori e i frutti santi."

§ *fontana vivace:* Buti, Lana, and the *Anonimo Fiorentino* quote the following passage from the writings of St. Bernard [Pietro di Dante also quotes it, erroneously attributing it to St. Augustine]: "Securum accessum habes, o homo, ad Deum, ubi mater ante filium et filius ante patrem; mater ostendit filio pectus, et ubera; filius patri latus et vulnera: nulla ergo poterit esse repulsa tibi, ubi tot occurrunt charitatis insignia."

> "O Virgin Mother, daughter of thy Son, humble and exalted beyond every (other) creature, the predestined object of the eternal counsel (to become the mother of Jesus Christ), thou art she who didst give such nobility to human nature, that its Maker did not disdain to make Himself of His own making (*i.e.* the Creator deigned to become one of His own creatures). Within thy womb was rekindled that Love (existing between God and man), by the heat of which this flower (the Heavenly Rose) hath blossomed forth in Eternal Peace. Here (in Heaven) thou art to us (Saints) the noonday torch of Love, and down below among mortals thou art the living fountain-source of Hope.

Benvenuto remarks that St. Bernard, while touching briefly upon the special attributes [*praerogativas*] of the Virgin, specially mentions three in which she surpasses everything in human nature, and one might almost imagine that in doing so he is stating what involves a threefold paradox, as things are understood in the ordinary process of nature. *Firstly*, that one who is a virgin should also be a mother. *Secondly*, that she should be a daughter of her own Son, a thing that never happened before to created being; but as she was the daughter of the Omnipotent Father, Who is identical with the Son as touching His Godhead, she is therefore also daughter of the Son Whom she bore. *Thirdly*, that she should be both lowly and exalted, two things which seem unable to co-exist. The Blessed Virgin was lowly and humble in her ways of life and in her speech, when she said *Ecce ancilla Dei*, and yet exalted as Mother of God, Queen of Heaven, and higher than all Saints.

St. Bernard goes on to say that Whosoever seeks to obtain any special favour from God without the

intervention of the Virgin is foolish indeed, for she not only hears and answers petitions, but in her wonderful loving kindness even anticipates them.

Donna, sei tanto grande * e tanto vali,
Che qual vuol grazia ed a te non ricorre,
Sua disïanza vuol volar senz' ali.
La tua benignità non pur soccorre
A chi domanda, ma molte fiate
Liberamente al domandar precorre.†
In te misericordia,‡ in te pietate,

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* *Donna, sei tanto grande*, et seq. ; The same thought as that expressed here, which is the belief encouraged by the Roman Church as to the futility of addressing prayers to God without the intervention of the Virgin Mary, is found in St. Bernard's *Serm. in Vigil. Nat. Dom.* iii, § 10 : "Nihil nos Deus habere voluit, quod per Mariae manus non transiret."

† *Liberamente al domandar precorre :* "idest, praevenit liberaliter petitionem. Et hic nota quod signum vere liberalis est quando non petitus, non rogatus donat." (Benvenuto.) "Liberalità è larghezza di donare da sè medesimo mossa." (Buti.) Compare too in *Par.* xvii, 73-75, Cacciaguida's panegyric on Bartolommeo della Scala, called by him *il gran Lombardo* :—

"Che in te avrà sì benigno riguardo,
Che del fare e del chieder, tra voi due,
Fia prima quel che tra gli altri è più tardo."

For *liberamente* in the sense of "spontaneously," see *Inf.* xiii, 85-87 :—

". . . Se l' uom ti faccia
Liberamente ciò che il tuo dir prega,
Spirito incarcerato."

And *Purg.* xi, 134, 135 :—

"Liberamente nel Campo di Siena,
Ogni vergogna deposta, s' affisse."

And *Purg.* xxvi, 139 :—

"Ei cominciò liberamente a dire."

The meaning of the word in this passage implies both "spontaneity," and "bounteousness."

‡ *misericordia . . . pietate . . . magnificenza :* "Tutte queste virtù e molte altre anco innumerabili virtù sono ne la Vergine Maria ; ma l' autore prese quelle che faceano ora a la materia : imperò che, perchè avea detto che era benigna a soccorrere a chi dimandava, si dimostrava che in lei era misericordia; e

In te magnificenza, in te s' aduna 20
Quantunque in creatura è di bontate.

Lady, thou art so great, and of such mighty power, that whoso desires grace and has not recourse to thee, his longing wants to fly without wings (*i.e.* he wishes for impossibilities). Thy loving kindness renders aid not only to him that asks for it, but oftentimes it spontaneously anticipates the supplication. In thee is mercy, in thee pity, in thee munificence, in thee is concentrated whatever of goodness exists in the creature.

St. Bernard now makes his petition to the Virgin on Dante's behalf, pleading the strenuous preparation that Dante has undergone, as he worked his way through the successive kingdoms of the dead, and the different abiding places of the countless multitudes of departed spirits. "St. Bernard implores grace of her for Dante to rise to the vision of the Divine Essence now, in ecstatic contemplation, and then for his final perseverance, that on his return to earth her loving protection may still follow him and strengthen him against the assaults of passion, until the *nube di sua mortalità* be finally dissipated, and he rejoice once more in this supreme vision for all Eternity." (Gardner.)

Or questi, che dall' infima lacuna
Dell' universo * infin qui ha vedute

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perchè avea detto che spesse volte soccorrea inanti che si dimandasse, si dimostrava la pietà; e perchè ella arreca a perfezione tutte le grandi cose, si dimostrava la magnificenzia." (Buti.)

* *l' infima lacuna Dell' universo, i.e.* Hell: "lo luogo basso de lo inferno." (Buti.) Others of the old Commentators understood this in an allegorical sense, as for instance the *Ottimo*: "cioè dal più basso stato che possa essere nell' uomo, cioè nel peccato."

Le vite spiritali ad una ad una,*
Supplica a te per grazia † di virtute
Tanto che possa con gli occhi levarsi
Più alto verso l' ultima salute.‡
Ed io, che mai per mio veder non arsi §

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* *Le vite spiritali ad una ad una:* This evidently means, the damned in Hell; the penitents in Purgatory; and the Blessed in Heaven. Compare *Inf.* i, 114-123.

† *Supplica a te per grazia di virtute Tanto che possa*, etc.: Many render these words by putting *per grazia* between two commas, and translating: "beseeches Thee, by Thy Grace, for power to such a degree that he may," etc., and that is a perfectly legitimate version. But I prefer the equally legitimate version: *supplica a te per grazia di virtute*, "beseeches Thee for the grace of power," *tanto che possa con gli occhi levarsi più alto*, "to such a degree (*tanto*, adverb) that he may with his eyes uplift himself still higher." "*Supplicare* o *pregare* per una cosa = pregare per ottenerla." (*Gran Dizionario.*) Compare *Purg.* xvi, 16-18:—

"Io sentia voci, e ciascuna pareva
Pregar, per pace e per misericordia,
L'Agnel di Dio."

See also Cesari: "È notevole la proprietà di *supplica per*, etc. Così è assai usato *Cercare per uno, per una cosa.* Adunque Dante pregava per nuova maggior virtù, che gli bisognava all' ultimo e più alto affisarsi nell' Esser di Dio, gran concetto!"

Andreoli writes: "per aver grazia, per esser graziato di nuova virtù visiva."

"Is suppliant to thee for such virtue's grace," etc.
(Haselfoot's translation.)

"On thee for grace of strength himself doth cast," etc.
(Plumptre's translation.)

‡ *l' ultima salute:* Compare St. Thom. Aquin., pars. i, qu. xii, art. 1: "Cum ultima hominis beatitudo in altissima ejus operatione consistat, quae est operatio intellectus, si nunquam essentiam Dei videre potest intellectus creatus, vel nunquam beatitudinem obtinebit, vel in alio ejus beatitudo consistet quam in Deo; quod est alienum a fide. In ipso enim est ultima perfectio rationalis creaturæ, quod est ei principium essendi. In tantum enim unumquodque perfectum est, inquantum ad suum principium attingit."

§ *per mio veder non arsi:* These words were probably taken by Dante after reading the following passage in the works of St. Bernard (*Serm. in dominic. infra Octav. Assumpt.* § 15): "Jam te, Mater misericordiae . . . Ecclesia mediatricem sibi

Più ch' io fo per lo suo, tutti i miei preghi
Ti porgo, e prego che non sieno scarsi,
Perchè tu ogni nube gli disleghi
Di sua mortalità coi preghi tuoi,
Sì che il sommo piacer gli si dispieghi.

Now this man (Dante), who from the nethermost abyss of the universe even up to here has looked upon the spiritual existences one by one, beseeches Thee for the grace of power to such a degree (*tanto*, adverb) that he may with his eyes uplift himself still higher towards the final blessedness. And I, who never burned more for my own vision (of this final blessedness) than I do for his, present to thee all my prayers—and pray that they may not be insufficient—that thou wouldst scatter from him every cloud of his mortality with thy prayers, so that the supreme bliss may be revealed to him.

The prayer concludes by St. Bernard interceding that the Blessed Virgin will keep Dante's affections pure from any base or unworthy feelings, after that he shall have been privileged to behold so glorious a vision as that of the Triune God; and St. Bernard further pleads that his supplication is being supported by the sympathetic prayerful demeanour of Beatrice and the other Blessed Ones.

Ancor ti prego, Regina, che puoi
Ciò che tu vuoli,* che conservi sani,
Dopo tanto veder, gli affetti suoi.
Vinca tua guardia i movimenti umani:

apud solem justitiae constitutam devotis supplicationibus interpellat, ut in lumine tuo videat rumen, et Solis gratiam tuo mereatur obtentu."

* *che puoi Ciò che tu vuoli:* Compare Virgil's reproof to Charon (*Inf.* iii, 94-96):—

"Caron, non ti crucciare:
Vuolsi così colà, dove si puote
Ciò che si vuole."

Vedi Beatrice con quanti Beati
Per li miei preghi ti chiudon le mani."—

Further I pray, O Queen, of thee who hast power to perform what thou dost will, that thou wouldst preserve his affections pure, after so exalted a vision. May thy protection subdue his human passions: Behold Beatrice and many a Saint do clasp their hands to thee as seconding my prayers."

Division II.—The Virgin Mary, by a gracious motion of her eyes, signifies to St. Bernard that his prayer is heard and answered; after which she turns her eyes up to God in holy intercession.

Gli occhi da Dio diletti e venerati,
Fissi nell' orator, ne dimostraro
Quanto i devoti preghi le son grati.
Indi all' eterno lume si drizzaro,
Nel qual non si de' creder che s' inii *
Per creatura l' occhio tanto chiaro.

Those eyes (of Mary) that are loved and revered by God, fixed on the supplicant, showed us how grateful to her are devout prayers. Then to the Eternal Light they were directed, into which we may not deem that the eye of any created being can penetrate so far.

Dante begins to feel that he has not much more to wish for; he knows not why, but St. Bernard does, who knows full well that Dante's eyes are already wrapt into an impassioned gaze upon the vision of the Divine Essence. His powers of eyesight are purified, and soar unimpeded on high, penetrating into the

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* *s' inii:* Many of the early Commentators read *s' invii*, but it is very difficult to make out in the writings of the *Codices* which reading they were actually adopting. "*iniare*, cioè mettere dentro." (Buti.)

Supreme Light, and seeing things such as a man's powers of speech are unable to recount.

Ed io ch' al fine di tutti i disii *
M' appropinquava, sì com' io dovea,†
L' ardor del desiderio in me finii.‡
Bernardo m' accennava, e sorridea,
Perch' io guardassi suso; ma io era
Già per me stesso tal qual ei volea;
Chè la mia vista, venendo sincera,§
E più e più entrava per lo raggio
Dell' alta luce, che da sè è vera.‖
Da quinci innanzi il mio veder fu maggio

**fine di tutti i disii:* "Oportuit quasi facere quoddam fundamentum religionis, per quam homo debite ordinatur in Deum qui est ultimus finis humanæ voluntatis." (St. Thom. Aquin. *Summ. Theol.* pars ii, 2dæ, qu. cxxxii, art. 2.) And *ibid.* qu. clxxxiv, art. 1; "Charitas . . . unit nos Deo, qui est ultimus finis humanae mentis."

†*sì com' io dovea:* Compare *Par.* iii, 4-6 :—

"Ed io, per confessar corretto e certo
Me stesso, tanto quanto si convenne,
Levai lo capo a proferer più erto."

‡*finii:* Scartazzini agrees with certain Commentators in understanding *finii* as equivalent to "*compiei*;" "portai all' ultimo compimento."

§*sincera:* As I have explained before, *sincero* is a regular Tuscan idiomatic word signifying "pure." A Tuscan wishing to say: "This is quite a pure wine," would express it, "Questo è un vino sincero."

‖*che da sè è vera:* Divine Light is true in itself, while other things are true in so far as they partake of Divine Truth. Compare St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. xvi, art. 5): "Veritas invenitur in intellectu, secundum quod apprehendit rem ut est; et in re, secundum quod habet esse conformabile intellectui. Hoc autem maxime invenitur in Deo. Nam esse suum non solum est conforme suo intellectui, sed etiam est ipsum suum intelligere; et suum intelligere est mensura et causa omnis alterius esse, et omnis alterius intellectus; et ipse est suum esse et intelligere. Unde sequitur quod non solum in ipso sit veritas, sed quod ipse sit ipsa summa et prima veritas."

Che il parlar nostro, ch' a tal vista cede,
E cede la memoria * a tanto oltraggio.†

And I who was drawing near to the end of all my desires, consummated (*i.e.* brought to complete fulfilment), as indeed was meet, the ardour of the desire that was in me. Bernard made sign to me —and smiled—that I should look up on high; but I of my own self was already doing that which he wished; for my vision, becoming purified, was more and more piercing through the ray of the Sublime Light, which in Itself is true. From that time forward my power of vision was greater than our (human) speech (can express), which at such sight is overcome, and memory too is overcome by so much excess.

The vision has faded away at the time of writing. Dante's confused memory cannot retain the details of it, but a blessed sense of heavenly delight continues to pervade his soul.

Qual è colui ‡ che sognando vede,

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* *la memoria:* This reading Dr. Moore (*Textual Criticism*, p. 501) says "is almost universal. The reading *materia* is characteristic of the Vatican family of MSS., but there can be little doubt of the correctness of the generally received reading *memoria*."

† *oltraggio:* In the time of Dante *oltraggio* meant "excess, surpassingness," in a good sense. It is only in modern Italian that it came to have the bad sense of "outrage." See *Gran Dizionario*, s. v. *Oltraggio*, § 5: "Eccesso; e questo è il significato proprio, sebbene oggi sia pressochè caduto in disuso." The present passage, and several from other authors, are quoted in support of this interpretation. Also Buti is quoted: "A tanto oltraggio, cioè la memoria mia dà luogo a tanto soperchio, imperocchè non si ricorda, tanto è grande la cosa ch' io vidi, e tanto alta, che avanza la virtù memorativa." These words in my own edition of Buti are slightly different.

‡ *Qual è colui*, et seq.: L. Venturi (*Simil. Dant.* p. 140, sim. 236) observes that in these three *terzine* we have a new and very refined way by which Dante expresses the idea of forgetfulness. Here at the close of his beatific vision the memory of all the heavenly things he has witnessed would seem to have failed him, though he still retains in his heart the impression of

E dopo il sogno la passione impressa
Rimane, e l' altro alla mente non riede;
Cotal son io, chè quasi tutta cessa
Mia visïone, ed ancor mi distilla *
Nel cor lo dolce che nacque da essa.
Così la neve † al sol si disigilla,
Così al vento nelle foglie lievi
Si perdea la sentenza di Sibilla.‡

Even as is he who sees a thing in a dream, and after

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the sweetness of them. He is like a man who, awaking out of sleep, continues to experience the impression, whether pleasurable or painful, occasioned by a dream, though he forgets the dream itself. For *passione*, compare *Purg.* xxi, 106-108:—

"Chè riso e pianto son tanto seguaci
Alla passion da che ciascun si spicca,
Che men seguon voler nei più veraci."

A similarly graceful idea is expressed in Homer (*Odyss.* iv, 838-841), where it is said of the dream that had soothed Penelope:—

"ὣς εἰπὸν σταθμοῖο παρὰ κληῖδα λιάσθη
ἐς πνοιας ἀνέμων· ἡ δ' ἐξ ὕπνου ἀνόρουσεν
κούρη Ἰκαρίοιο· φίλον δέ οἱ ἦτορ ἰάνθη,
ὥς οἱ ἐναργὲς ὄνειρον ἐπέσσυτο νυκτὸς ἀμολγῷ."

Compare also *Par.* xxiii, 49-60, too long to quote here.

* *ancor mi distilla:* Compare *Purg.* ii, 114:—

"Che la dolcezza ancor dentro mi suona."

L. Venturi (*ibid.* p. 141) says of *distilla:* "Verbo ch' esprime la gioia scendente nel cuore quasi a gocce preziosissime, perchè meglio ne gustasse la soavità, e tutto ne fosse inebriato."

† *Così la neve*, et seq.: Venturi, in the same passage, remarks that the two similes comprised in this last *terzina* set the seal upon the idea of the vision that has faded away. We should take note that the first of these similes, taken from the snow, indicates the manner of the disappearance that takes place by the gradual loss of the shape; the second simile indicates the complete dispersion of the vision itself as leaves are dispersed by the wind.

‡ *la sentenza di Sibilla:* This means the oracles of the Cumaean Sibyll written on very light leaves which the wind scattered at the opening of the cavern. Compare Virg. *Æn.* iii, 444-455, especially l. 445:—

"Quaecumque in foliis descripsit carmina virgo."

the dream the impression of it remains upon his emotions, but the rest returns not to his mind; such am I, for nearly the whole of my vision fades away (from my recollection), and yet there is still running through my heart the sweetness that sprang from it. Even thus is the snow unsealed (*i.e.* thawed) in the Sun, even thus in the wind, written upon the light leaves, the oracle of the Sibyll was lost.

Division III.—Dante now invokes the Light of the Most High, to enable him to record even a small fragment of the glories that met his eyes.

O somma luce, che tanto ti levi
Dai concetti mortali, alla mia mente
Ripresta un poco di quel che parevi,
E fa la lingua mia tanto possente,
Ch' una favilla sol della tua gloria
Possa lasciare alla futura gente;
Chè per tornare alquanto a mia memoria,
E per sonare un poco in questi versi,
Più si conceperà di tua vittoria.*

O Supreme Light, that art so far exalted above mortal comprehension, do thou lend again to my memory a small part of what thou didst appear, and give such power to my tongue, that it may leave one single sparkle of Thy Glory to races yet to come; for by returning somewhat to my memory, and by a little sounding (of Thee) in these verses, more will there be a conception of Thy pre-eminence.

Dante's eyes are now made capable, by contemplation, of bearing such an intensity of radiance, that he feels sure that had he broken into that contempla-

* *Più si conceperà di tua vittoria:* "cioè più si conoscerà del tuo sommo valore, ed infinita eccellenza, con laquale, e per laquale vinci, e superi le cose tutte." (Daniello.) *vittoria:* "la superiorità di Dio rispetto a tutte le cose create." (Casini.)

tion by averting his gaze, he would not have had the power to sustain such light again. He therefore continues to gaze, until his visual powers and the object of his vision are one.

Io credo, per l' acume ch' io soffersi
Del vivo raggio, ch' io sarei smarrito,
Se gli occhi miei da lui fossero aversi.*
E mi ricorda ch' io fui più ardito
Per questo a sostener tanto, ch' io giunsi
L' aspetto mio col valor infinito.†
O abbondante grazia, ond' io presunsi
Ficcar lo viso per la luce eterna
Tanto, che la veduta vi consunsi!

I think that by reason of the piercing keenness of the living ray that I was enduring, I should have been bewildered if my eyes had once turned aside from it. And I remember that on this account I was more bold to endure so much, that I conjoined my gaze to the Power Infinite (*i.e.* my eye was able to penetrate through the radiance of the Glory of God). O Grace abundant, by which I could presume to fix my gaze upon the Eternal Light so intently, that I exhausted all my power to see it!

Benvenuto says that in the lines that follow Dante

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* *da lui . . . aversi:* All they who look steadfastly towards God, gradually acquire such a power as to be able to continue so to gaze. On this see Benvenuto: "Et hic nota diversitatem quae est de visione inferiori hic, ad illam superiorem ibi in visibilibus: oculus namque humanus cum videt excellens sensibile, sicut radium solis, debilitatur et redditur inabilis et impotens ad videnda alia visibilia minora; et contra autem oculus intellectualis videns excellentissimum sensibile, sicut radium solis aeterni, vigoratur et efficitur potens ad videndum perfectius illud lumen et alia inferiora."

† *valor infinito*: "Ciascuna santa anima, che contempla Iddio, adiunge a Dio, secondo la sua facultà del comprendere: imperò che ogni cosa, che cognosce, cognosce secondo la sua facultà, e non secondo la facultà de la cosa cogniusciuta [*sic*]; e però Iddio, secondo sè, è incomprensibile; ma ciascuna mente ne cognosce tanto quanto può, sicch' ella rimane contenta." (Buti.)

describes what he saw in the Divine Essence itself, and, to speak briefly, he means, that all things created, both corporeal and spiritual, both visible and invisible, both temporal and eternal, were bound up in that Essence; that in it they are reflected as it were in a mirror; that they have there their being in an instant of eternity; so that things future are as things present whether they be contingent or necessary, movable or immovable, occult or manifest, fortuitous or certain.

Nel suo profondo vidi che s' interna,
Legato con amore in un volume,
Ciò che per l' universo si squaderna; *
Sustanzia ed accidenti e lor costume,
Quasi † conflati insieme per tal modo,
Che ciò ch' io dico è un semplice lume.‡

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* *squaderna: Quaderno* is a volume. The "*s*" in *Squadernare* is privative, and the meaning is, that what was bound up in one volume is now broken up, and scattered abroad.

† *Quasi:* Others read *Tutti.* Dr. Moore. (*Text. Crit.* p. 502) writes: "The reading *Quasi* is that of the vast majority of MSS. here. *Tutti* is characteristic of the Vatican family and a few others. The former is probably correct, for it is natural that the strong metaphor *conflati* should be thus qualified; and further, *quasi* well indicates the sense of a mystery which the Poet could not adequately explain or express." The idea that with God *substance* and *accident* have no distinction is explained by St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. iii, art. 6): "Omne quod est per se, prius est eo quod est per accidens. Unde cum Deus sit simpliciter primum ens, in eo nihil potest esse per accidens. Sed nec accidentia per se in eo esse possunt; sicut risibile est per se accidens hominis; quia hujusmodi accidentia causantur ex principiis subjecti. In Deo autem nihil potest esse causatum, cum sit causa prima. Unde relinquitur quod in Deo nullum sit accidens."

‡ *ciò ch' io dico è un semplice lume:* "cioè erano per sì fatto modo in Dio, che erano una cosa semplice e non compiuta: imperò che in Dio non può essere alcuna cosa composta, e per questo vuole dire ch' elli vidde in Dio l' idea di tutte le cose; et

La forma universal di questo nodo *
Credo ch' io vidi, perchè più di largo,
Dicendo questo, mi sento ch' io godo.

In its fathomless depths I saw that there is contained, bound up with Love in one volume, that which is dispersed (in loose pages) throughout the universe ; substance and accident, and their properties, fused together as it were in such fashion, that what I speak of is a simple light (*i.e.* fused together so completely, that no trace of division or composition remained). The universal form of this bond I believe that I saw, for in saying this, I feel that I rejoice more abundantly.

Dante now excuses himself from more fully describing this universal form, and he says that the single moment of his vision, by reason of its transcendence, throws a deep shade of forgetfulness over his memory.

Un punto solo m' è maggior letargo,†

è idea l' esemplare imagine di tutte le cose, benchè Aristotile disse essere idea la intesa similitudine di tutte le cose, tra sè differenti." (Buti.)

* *nodo :* That is, the afore-mentioned union of substance and accident. The paraphrased signification of this *terzina* is : I believe that in the Eternal Light I could discern the Divine Essence, which binds, or ties into a knot, all things in creation ; for in stating this my belief, I feel myself to be under the influence of a more intense beatitude, proportioned to the more Sublime Divinity of that which I saw.

† *letargo :* There are nearly as many interpretations of this passage as there are Commentators. Casini says the passage is one of the most obscure in the poem, and he remarks that the most commonly accepted interpretation is the one founded upon the hypothesis that Dante by *letargo* meant simply "forgetfulness," *i.e.* the state of oblivion into which he had fallen from the effect of his vision ; and one would then interpret the passage : "A single instant passed since that which I witnessed produces in me a more complete forgetfulness than was that which would exist after twenty-five centuries respecting the expedition of the Argonauts." Lombardi and Biagioli appear to be the only two Commentators who interpret this difficult passage correctly. Lombardi says ; "Un solo punto di tempo scorso dopo la beata

Che venticinque secoli all' impresa
Che fe' Nettuno ammirar l' ombra d' Argo,
Così la mente mia, tutta sospesa,
Mirava fissa immobile ed attenta,
E sempre di mirar faceasi accesa.*

One moment of time (after the gazing) produces in me a more complete oblivion (*i.e.* mental disability, *letargo*), than twenty-five centuries (have produced) of the enterprise that made Neptune marvel at the shadow of the Argo (on the water). In like manner (*i.e.* full of wonderment) my mind, wholly in suspense, immovable and attentive, was gazing fixedly (into the Divine Light), and from its continuous gazing grew enkindled.

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visione gli cagionò maggior dimenticanza di ciò che in Dio avea veduto che non apportassero di oblivione al fatto degli Argonauti secoli venticinque." Biagioli, who, as a rule, cannot say too much in dispraise of Lombardi, cordially re-echoes his interpretation of this passage ; "Il sentimento è, che un solo punto di tempo, un solo istante scorso poi, fa più dimenticare a lui [Dante] della sua visione, che venticinque secoli, scorsi dall' impresa degli Argonauti, insino all' ora che scrive, non fanno dimenticare quell' impresa al mondo ; benchè questo lungo tratto di secoli faccia sì che appena da uno e da un altro vi si pensi, essendo dal generale ignorata affatto. Questa mia spiegazione è diversa da quella degli altri interpreti, salvo il Lombardi, il quale al merito d' aver quasi colto il senso intero, aggiunge quello del sotto posto calcolo, a dimostrare che tanti secoli appunto, quanti dice Dante, tramezzavano [*had intervened between*] i due estremi del tempo che si dice :—

	anni
Dall' anno del dantesco Viaggio a Gesù Cristo,	1300
Da Gesù Cristo alla Fondazione di Roma,	750
Dalla Fondazione di Roma alla Distruzione di Troia,	431
Dalla Distruzione di Troia all' Impresa degli Argonauti,	79
	2560".

Dante supposes the Argonautic expedition to have taken place B.C. 1200, which added to A.D. 1300, the supposed date of his vision, makes 25 centuries.

* *faceasi accesa :* "La mia mente sempre diventava più ardente di considerare e conoscere Iddio ; quanto più l' uomo contempla Iddio, tanto più cresce l' ardore di contemplarlo." (Buti.)

The ardent intensity of its contemplation increased while it (Dante's mind) was contemplating.

Dante enlarges still further upon his inability to turn from the contemplation of that Light to any less worthy object. It will be with the stammering lips of an infant that he will alone be able in the future to discuss these holy things.

A quella luce cotal si diventa, 100
Che volgersi da lei per altro aspetto *
È impossibil che mai si consenta;
Perocchè il ben † ch' è del volere obbietto,

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* *per* (mirar) *altro aspetto:* The Supreme Good is so thoroughly concentrated in that Light, that no one among the Blessed can ever have any wish so great as to see Him. Compare St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, 2dæ, qu. v, art. 4): "Perfecta beatitudo hominis in visione divinae essentiae consistit. Est autem impossibile quod aliquis videns divinam essentiam velit eam non videre, quia omne bonum habitum, quo aliquis carere vult, aut est insufficiens, et quaeritur aliquid sufficentius loco ejus, aut habet aliquod incommodum annexum, propter quod in fastidium venit. Visio autem divinae essentiae replet animam omnibus bonis, cum conjungat fonti totius bonitatis. . . . Similiter etiam non habet aliquod incommodum adjunctum. . . . Sic ergo patet quod propria voluntate beatus non potest beatitudinem deserere."

† *Perocchè il ben,* et seq.: Compare *Purg.* xvii, 127-129:—

"Ciascun confusamente un bene apprende,
Nel qual si queti l' animo, e disira;
Perchè di giugner lui ciascun contende;"

and *Par.* v, 1-12:—

"S' io ti fiammeggio nel caldo d' amore
Di là dal modo che in terra si vede,
Sì che degli occhi tuoi vinco il valore,
Non ti maravigliar; chè ciò procede
Da perfetto veder, che come apprende,
Così nel bene appreso move il piede.
Io veggio ben sì come già risplende
Nello intelletto tuo l' eterna luce,
Che, vista sola, sempre amore accende;
E s' altra cosa vostro amor seduce,
Non è se non di quella alcun vestigio
Mal conosciuto, che quivi traluce."

Tutto s' accoglie in lei, e fuor di quella
È difettivo ciò che lì è perfetto.
Omai sarà più corta * mia favella,
Pure a quel ch' io ricordo, che di un fante †
Che bagni ancor la lingua alla mammella.

In presence of that radiance one becomes such, that to turn one's view away from it to any other prospect it is impossible that one should ever consent; because the Good which is the object of the will, is wholly concentrated in it (the Divine Light), and outside of (the said Light), that is defective which within it is perfect. Henceforward my speech will fall even more short of what I yet remember, than that of an infant who still moistens his tongue at the breast.

Division IV.—Casini remarks that Dante, before relating how he was able in the Eternal Light to discern the Three Persons of the Trinity, anticipates a possible objection that might be opposed to him respecting the variety of the images under which he represents its Divinity. If this Divinity is simple

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* *corta:* "Imperfect, insufficient." Compare *Purg.* xxx, 136, 137:—

"Tanto giù cadde, che tutti argomenti
Alla salute sua eran già corti," etc.;

and *Par.* xi, 52-54:—

"Però chi d' esso loco fa parole
Non dica Ascesi, che direbbe corto,
Ma Oriente, se proprio dir vuole."

See also *Par.* xxxiii, 121:—

"quanto è corto il dire."

† *fante:* An infant. Compare *Purg.* xi, 66:—

"E sallo in Campagnatico ogni fante."

The meaning of *fante* in *Purg.* xi, 66, is much disputed. See my note, in *Readings on the Purgatorio*, 2nd edition, vol. i, pp. 412, 413. And *Purg.* xxv, 61, 62:—

"Ma come d' animal divenga fante,
Non vedi tu ancor."

and immutable, why does he say that he saw It continually changing, and presenting Itself under a variety of aspects? The answer is, that it is not because there are differences in the aspect of God, but because his (Dante's) gaze, as he looked upon Him, became so fortified, that the One Semblance of God appeared to him to undergo changes in proportion to the difference there was in his varying powers of vision.

Non perchè più ch' un semplice sembiante *
Fosse nel vivo lume ch' io mirava,
Che tal è sempre qual era davante;
Ma per la vista che s' avvalorava
In me guardando, una sola parvenza,
Mutandom' io, a me si travagliava.†

Not because there was more than one single semblance in the Living Light that I was contemplating, for that always remains what it was before; but by reason of my power of vision which was waxing stronger in me as I looked, one single semblance was ever changing to me as I myself changed.

It was not really changing in its Essence, which is ever immutable, but, by Dante's changing powers of vision, it seemed to be undergoing a process of transformation, and to be assuming various aspects.

**semplice sembiante:* Compare *De Vulg. Eloq.* i, 16. ll. 46-60: "Potest magis in una quam in alia redolere, sicut simplicissima substantiarum, quae Deus est, qui in homine magis redolet quam in bruto."

†*si travagliava:* "si mutava, quanto al cospetto mio; ma non quanto all' essere suo, che è sempre immutabile." (Buti.) There is, in the *Gran Dizionario*, more than one illustration to show that *travagliarsi* has the meaning of "undergoing transformation, change, alteration;" and *travagliatore* was one of the regular words in mediæval Italian for a juggler, conjuror, or jester.

Dante now makes an attempt to describe in what threefold shape he saw the Blessed Trinity.

Nella profonda e chiara sussistenza
Dell' alto lume parvemi tre giri
Di tre colori e d' una continenza ; *
E l' un dall' altro, come Iri da Iri,†
Parea riflesso, e il terzo parea foco
Che quinci e quindi egualmente si spiri.

Within the profound and radiant subsistency of the Exalted Light there appeared to me three circles of threefold colour and of one dimension ; and the one seemed to be reflected by the other as Iris by Iris (*i.e.* as one rainbow by another), and the third seemed to be fire that was breathed forth equally by both.

Dante had said before that his powers of describing these Holy Mysteries would be as insufficient as an infant's prattle. He now laments that it is so.

O quanto è corto ‡ il dire, e come fioco §

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* *d' una continenza :* Cary says that, in the *Parmenides* of Plato, it is argued that all conceivable quantities and qualities, however contradictory, are necessarily inherent in our idea of a universe or unity. In the opinion of Casini these *tre giri* form an image of the Three Persons of the Trinity ; the *tre colori* represent their attributes (*Par.* x, 1) ; the *una continenza* signifies their perfect equality ; the reflect*ing* ray is the Omnipotence of the Father ; the reflect*ed* ray is the Wisdom of the Son ; and the fiery ray the Power of the Holy Ghost, Who is the Love that proceedeth from the Father and the Son.

†*Iri da Iri :* "Sì come in l' arco celeste si vede diversi colori che l' un colore in sè riceve e fa così quella visione. E dice che il terzo parea fuoco ch' era l' Amore o vero Spirito Santo, il quale egualmente procede dalle due persone, cioè dal Padre e dal Figliuolo." (Lana.) Dante has here taken an everyday, but most appropriate simile, to express the idea that the Light of the Son proceeds from the Light of the Father, just as in that remarkable phenomenon of nature the double luminous irradiation takes place in an atmosphere charged with rain.

‡ *corto :* See footnote on l. 106.

§ *fioco :* Compare *Inf.* i, 62, 63 :—

Al mio concetto! e questo a quel ch' io vidi
È tanto, che non basta a dicer poco.

O how insufficient is speech, and how feeble beside my conception! and this (my conception) beside what I saw is so infinitesimal, that, to express it, (the word) "little" suffices not.

Dante feeling himself unequal to the task of describing how he thought he discerned a semblance of a human form in the second circle, meaning the Second Person of the Trinity, utters an impassioned apostrophe to the Eternal Light, which alone can comprehend Itself.

O luce eterna, che sola in te sidi,*
Sola t' intendi,† e da te intelletta
Ed intendente te ‡ ami ed arridi! § 125

"Dinanzi agli occhi mi si fu offerto
Chi per lungo silenzio parea fioco."

In *Readings on the Inferno, fioco* is translated "faint of voice." See footnote on the word, where among other illustrations the present passage is quoted.

* *che . . . sidi;* "That art, that dost rest, that dost dwell," derived from the Latin verb *sidere.*

† *Sola t' intendi:* God alone can know and understand Himself. St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. xii), in all the Articles explains *videbimus Deum sicuti est,* in the sense that the Blessed will see God in proportion to the particular capacity of each to do so. In *Conv.* ii, 6, ll. 93, 94, Dante speaks of God as "la Luce che sola sè medesima vede compiutamente."

‡ The punctuation in line 126 is altered from that in Dr. Moore's text.

§ *ami ed arridi:* Among many other readings one of the principal variants is *te a me arridi.* On this Dr. Moore (*Textual Criticism,* pp. 502, 503) writes: "The reading of the majority of the MSS. here (*a me arridi*) must, I think, be unhesitatingly rejected. Such an intrusion of Dante's own personality in the midst of this grand description (expressed in the well-known language of theological writers) of the mysterious relations of the Persons of the Divine Trinity would be the very bathos of egotism. The true reading is therefore doubtless *te ami ed*

Quella circulazion, che sì concetta *
Pareva in te † come lume riflesso,
Dagli occhi miei alquanto circonspetta,‡
Dentro da sè del suo colore stesso 130
Mi parve pinta della nostra effige,
Per che il mio viso in lei tutto era messo.

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arridi." Dr. Moore, in a note, adds that he has found remarks very similar to his own on the reading *a me arridi* in Dionisi, *Anedd.* iv, p. 175.

* *Quella circulazion . . . sì concetta:* Dante has elsewhere treated of the Incarnation, and the blending of two natures in Christ. Compare *Par.* ii, 40-42 :—

"Accender ne dovria più il disio
Di veder quella essenza, in che si vede
Come nostra natura e Dio s' unio;"

and *Par.* xiii, 25-27 :—

"Lì si cantò non Bacco, non Peana,
Ma tre Persone in divina natura,
Ed in una persona essa e l' umana;"

and in *Purg.* xxxi, 121-122 :—

"Come in lo specchio il sol, non altrimenti
La doppia fiera dentro vi raggiava,
Or con uni, or con altri reggimenti."

† *Pareva in te:* Others read *in tre.* Dr. Moore (*Text. Crit.* pp. 503-504) writes: "In this case an overwhelming majority of MSS. has preserved the correct reading *in te,* though, as we have seen elsewhere, this *consensus* would not by any means suffice to prove it to be so. The reading *in tre,* which has a vague and superficial appropriateness in an address to the Trinity, is really inappropriate, since Dante's language is never, and least of all on such a subject as the present, vague or inaccurate. This reading would be both, for it overlooks the very definite limitation implied by

'*Quella* circulazion, che sì concetta pareva
. . . come *lume riflesso,*'

language which distinctly limits the passage to the Second Person of the Trinity. This is also required by what follows in ll. 130, 131, and for this purpose the expression *come lume riflesso* is accurate and suitable!"

‡ *circonspetta:* Scartazzini emphasizes the fact that this does not only mean "contemplated," but as *giri* are referred to, we must understand "contemplated it around."

O Eternal Light, that dost rest in Thyself alone, Thou alone knowest Thyself, and by Thyself understood and understanding, lovest and smilest on Thyself! That circle (the second of the three) which seemed to be conceived in Thee even as a reflected light, after that I had contemplated it around for a while with mine eyes, appeared to me within Itself of its own colouring to be painted with our image (*i.e.* within the circle I seemed to discern a human form), wherefore my eyes were steadfastly fixed upon it.

Dante, wishing to describe his unattainable desire to understand the mystery of the union of the Divine and human nature in Christ, compares himself to a geometrician striving after the solution of that insoluble problem, the squaring of the circle.

Qual è 'l geometra * che tutto s' affige
Per misurar lo cerchio, e non ritrova,
Pensando, quel principio ond' egli indige ; † 135
Tale era io a quella vista nuova :
Veder voleva come si convenne
L' imago al cerchio, e come vi s' indova ; ‡
Ma non eran da ciò le proprie penne,
Se non che la mia mente fu percossa 140

* *geometra,* et seq. : The problem of the quadrature of the circle had been for ages before the time of Dante the *crux* of mathematicians. Two other passages in Dante's writings show that he deemed the problem insoluble. Compare *De Mon.* iii, 3, ll. 7-10 : "Multa etenim ignoramus, de quibus non litigamus ; nam geometra circuli quadraturam ignorat, non tamen de ipsa litigat." Compare also *Conv.* ii, 14, ll. 194-223, and especially ll. 217-220 : "Il cerchio per lo suo arco è impossibile a quadrare perfettamente, e però è impossibile a misurare appunto."

† *quel principio ond' egli indige :* "cioè quale sia la esatta proporzione tra il diametro e la circonferenza del circolo stesso." (Cornoldi.)

‡ *vi s' indova ;* "Io in quella vista dei tre giri voleva vedere come e perchè la nostra natura (*l' imago*) è unita al Verbo (*al cerchio s' indova*): *i.e.* in esso ha il suo *dove* o luogo." (Cornoldi.)

Da un fulgore, in che sua voglia * venne.

As is the geometrician who applies himself with all the powers of his mind to square the circle, and cannot by reasoning discover that principle he has need of; even such was I at that new apparition: I wished to see in what manner the (human) image was conjoined to the (divine) circle, and how it finds a place in it; but not equal to such a flight were my wings (*i.e.* my intellectual faculties), had it not been that my mind was smitten by a lightning flash, in which came (the fulfilment of) its wish.

This means that in the flash of lightning there came that after which Dante's mind was longing, namely, the power to comprehend the mystery of the union of the two natures, the human and the Divine in Christ.

Dante now brings the Canto and the Poem to a conclusion by showing that God had taken complete possession of his every desire, and of his whole will, and was guiding, moving, and turning them with that same Love with which He directs and governs all the great Heavenly bodies.

All' alta fantasia † qui mancò possa;
Ma già volgeva il mio disiro e il *velle*,
Sì come rota ch' egualmente è mossa,
L' amor che move il sole e l' altre stelle.‡ 145

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* *voglia:* We are to understand *voglia* as *la cosa voluta*, *i.e.* the fulfilment of Dante's wish.

† *All' alta fantasia:* Compare *Conv.* iii, 4, ll. 86-91: "Dico che il nostro intelletto, per difetto della virtù della quale trae quello ch' el vede (che è virtù organica), cioè la fantasia, non puote a certe cose salire, perocchè la fantasia nol può aiutare, chè non ha il di che."

‡ *L' amor che move il sole e l' altre stelle:* Scartazzini points out that the first words of the *Paradiso* speak of *la gloria di Colui che tutto muove*, and the last words are the Love which moves the Sun and the other stars. Each of the three *Cantiche*, as we have seen, ends with the word *stelle*, indicating to what

> Here power failed the sublime vision; but already my desire and my will were being driven on, just like a wheel that is evenly moved, by the Love which moves the Sun and the other stars.

Benvenuto says that the even movement of a wheel denotes the junction between the beginning and the end; for from the beginning to the end Dante has had the fixed determination to arrive at the end of all things; and "to the Beatific Vision of that end may He guide us *in patria*, who deigned to bring this most fortunate author *in via;* and to Him be honour, glory, and perpetuity, for ever and ever, Amen, Amen, Amen!"*

---

point the eye of man should direct its gaze. Compare Dante's *Ep. Kani*, § 15, ll. 267-270: "Finis totius et partis est, removere viventes in hac vita de statu miseriae, et perducere ad statum felicitatis." Scartazzini happily sums up the endings of the three *Cantiche* as follows: "Chi ha considerato la miseria che tien dietro al peccato, sente il desiderio di liberarsene ed *esce quindi a riveder le stelle* (*Inf.* xxxiv, 139); Chi si è purgato dal peccato si sente *puro e disposto a salire alle stelle* (*Purg.* xxxiii, 145); chi ha conseguito lo stato di felicità, è vôlto con libero, equabile, tranquillo moto dall' *Amor che move il Sole e l' altre stelle* (*Par.* xxxiii, 145)."

* In a colophon, Benvenuto writes that he finished his commentary on the last day of May, 1410.

END OF THE PARADISO.

While this last sheet was passing through the press, there came the sad news of the assassination of King Humbert at Monza, a crime which has shocked all the civilized world, and especially those who, like myself, have lived in, and love, Italy.

August, 1900. W. W. V.

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Conti, i, the Counts Guidi of Montemurlo, i, 14, 15.
Conti, suoi, God's Saints, ii, 287, 288.
Contra il corso del ciel l' aquila volse, said of Constantine, who transferred seat of Empire from Rome in the West to Byzantium in the East, i, 179, 180.
Convento, the Apostles, ii, 420.
Convento delle bianche stole, il, ii, 447, 448.
Convent of Santa Chiara, i, 97.
Copre e discopre i liti senza posa, the unceasing ebb and flow of the tide, ii, 19, 20.
Coram mee, ii, 284.
Coram patre = in the presence of his father St. Francis renounced the world, i, 376.
Cornelia, i, 513, 514.
Cornice, la prima, the First Cornice of Purgatory, where Pride is purged, i, 505.
Corpi lievi, spheres of air and fire, i, 32.
Corpo, del maggior (the *Primum Mobile*), *al ciel ch' è pura luce* (the Empyrean), ii, 434, 435.
Correggier, il, the wearer of the thong, *i.e.*, the Dominican friar, i, 390, 391.
Corso de' Donati, ii, 46.
Corte, beata, the Angelic Host, ii, 495; *del ciel*, Paradise, i, 346, 347; ii, 442; *giusta*, Titus, the Executor of Divine Justice, i, 220; *l' alta*, the Holy Court of Angels, ii, 271, 284-286.
Cosmography, the Ptolemaic system used by Dante, i, xxix.
Cospetto eterno, ii, 44.
Costa, the slope of a mountain, i, 374.
Costellazion, vera, the twenty-four blessed Saints, i, 431.
Cotenna, morrà di colpo di, shall die from the stroke (*lit.* from the hide) of a wild-boar, allusion to the death of Philip *le Bel*, killed out hunting, ii, 123, 124.
Coto, antiquated word, signifying, idea, thought, judgment, i, 95.
Creator, the, ii, 443, 445.
Creature, l' alte, i, 33, 34; *intelligenti*, i, 155.

Creusa, i, 316-318.
Cristianesmo, Christianity, i, 269, 270.
Cristiani, text, ii, 120, 121, 151.
Cristiano, a baptized Christian, i, 516, 517.
Cristiano, buon, Dante so addressed by St. Peter, ii, 269, 270.
Croatia, ii, 470, 471.
Cross, banner of the Church, i, 401; Greek Cross, i, 477, 478; the fiery Cross of the Holy Warriors in the Heaven of Mars, i, 475-482; Our Lord elected St. John from the Cross, ii, 300.
Crystal, the, meaning the Heaven of Saturn, ii, 168-170.
Crystalline Heaven, the *Primum Mobile*, ii, 352-433.
Cunizza da Romano, spirit of, sister of Ezzelino III., i, 289-300; text mention, i, 292, 294, 295; wife of Rizzardo Bonifacio, i, 289.
Cuoia, le vecchie . . . e le nuove, the ancient parchments and the new, *i.e.*, the Old and New Testaments, ii, 267.
Cupid, i, 247, 248.
Cupidigia, O, cupidity, the vice of the Florentines, ii, 359, 360.
Curule, the Curule Chairs, meaning municipal office, ii, 25.
Cyprian, the lovely, meaning Venus, i, 246-248.
Cyrrha, peak of Parnassus, i, 11, 12, 16.

D, or *I*, or *L*, ii, 81, 82.
Daedalus, the father, flew, Icarus, the son, fell, i, 277.
Damiano, San Pier, Abbot of the Monastery of Santa Croce di Fonte Avellana in the Apennines, ii, 172-193; description of his abode, ii, 183-185; made a Cardinal, ii, 190, 191.
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Decimas quae sunt pauperum Dei, the tithes which belong to God's poor, i, 411, 412.

Decretals, the, said by Folco of Marseilles to be studied instead of Holy Scripture, i, 326, 327.

Decreto, questo, the Incarnation, i, 223, 224.

Dee, le tre, the second Triad of the Hierarchies of Heaven, namely the Dominations, the Virtues, and the Powers, ii, 391, 392.

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Di' chi siete, the reverential use of the second person plural by Dante to a personage of distinction, i, 258.

Dì, da quel, the day of the Annunciation, ii, 7, 8.

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Dione, mother of Venus, i, 245-248.

Dione, Maia e, ii, 220, 221.

Dionysius the Areopagite, ii, 394, 395.

Discordanti liti, Christian Europe to the North, and Mussulman Africa to the South, i, 314, 315.

Diverse foci, allusion to the Sun, rising according to the time of year, i, 18.

Divina Commedia, the conception of it as a whole, i, 2, 3; various

editions, i, xvii-xix; see List of Authors, i, lxxvii-c.
Divina virtù, o, in this one instance addressed to Apollo, the king and leader of the Muses, i, 14.
Doctors, the Fathers of the Church, i, 325-327.
Dominations, the fourth Order of Angels, in the Second Hierarchy, who sway the Sphere of Jupiter, ii, 386.
Dominic, St., text mention, i, 352, 353, 405, 406; founder of the Order of Dominicans, which was conspicuous for doctrine, i, 364; legends of his life, i, 408, 409; spoken of as *l' altro duca*, i, 399; his name derived from *Dominus*, i, 406, 407.
Dominican Order, their black and white garb due to a black and white dog seen in a dream by St. Dominic's mother, i, 404; the Order also termed "Domini canes," *ibid.*
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Donatus, Ælius, a Grammarian, i, 422-424.
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Donna, The Virgin Mary, ii, 329, 510, 511; *del ciel*, ii, 244, 245, 481, 482; *casa di nostra*, the house of Our Lady, possibly the unhealthy convent of Pomposa, ii, 187, 188.
Donna, St. Clara, foundress of Monastic Orders for women, i, 113, 114.
Donna, St. Dominic's god-mother, i, 405, 406.
Donna tal, Poverty, i, 376; *la sua*, i, 386, 387.
Donne tre, the three theological Virtues of Faith, Hope, and Charity, ii, 155-157.
Doppio lume s' addua = "a two-fold light is doubled," refers to Justinian as Emperor and Legislator, i, 211.
Dreams, those of St. Dominic's mother and god-mother, i, 404-407.
Drudo (*lit.* paramour) *l' amoroso*, used by Dante here in the good sense of St. Dominic being the ardent lover of the Christian Faith, i, 403, 404.
Dubitazione, a Scholastic expression, i, 134-136.
Duca, quel, Moses, ii, 501.
Duce, sommo, David, ii, 292, 293.
Due bestie van sott' una pelle, i.e., the Cardinal and his palfrey covered by an immense mantle, ii, 191, 192.
Due o tre per sei, allusion to the sinful habit of obtaining dispensations for diminished payment of tithes, i, 411, 412.
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EAGLE, the, standard of the Roman Empire, i, 180; Justinian's narrative of its most celebrated achievements in the history of the world, i, 184-203.
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Eclipse, ii, 418.
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Egidio, third follower of St. Francis, i, 380, 381.
Egypt, the world, ii, 289, 290.
El, title of the Deity after the Confusion of Tongues, ii, 133.
Elements, four in Dante's system, Earth, Water, Air, and Fire, i, xxxi.
Elios, title of God, i, 474, 475.
Eliseo e Moronto, brothers of Cacciaguida, i, 516, 517.
Elysium, i, 493.
Ema, the river, in crossing which Buondelmonte was nearly drowned, ii, 33.
Emme, un, the numerical cypher M (a thousand), meaning applied to the numerous bad qualities of Charles the Lame, ii, 125.
Empyrean heaven, the, *il ciel* sempre quieto, i, 38, 39; also termed *il ciel più chiaro*, ii, 243-245.
Englishman, the, meaning King Edward I., ii, 124.
Enrico, l' alto, the noble Henry VII., of Luxembourg, ii, 55; ii, 448, 449.
Epicycle, explanation of, i, 246-248.
Epistle of St. James, ii, 292, 293.
Equalità, la prima, the Primal Essence, i, 501, 502.
Equator, the, i, 334, 335.
Era, the river, evidently intended by Dante to describe the Loire and not the Sâone (see footnote), i, xlii.
Erede, le, of St. Dominic are the Friars of his Order, i, 405.
Esau differs from Jacob, i, 279, 280.
Esercito di Cristo, l', the Church Militant, i, 400, 401.
Essenza, quella, Christ, i, 57; ii, 313; *la somma*, the Deity, ii, 178, 179; Divine Essence, ii, 366, 367, 468, 469; *essenza si una e sì trina*, ii, 276; *essenze diverse*, i, 77, 78.
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Everlasting flowers of eternal joy, the spirits, ii, 102, 103.
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Ezzelino III., da Romano, brother of Cunizza, i, 294; termed a firebrand (*facella*), *ibid.*; his monstrous cruelties, i, 291.

Fabbro, the craftsman, who inspires the art of the hammer, i, 82, 83.
Fabii, the, i, 188, 189.
Faccia di Dio, ii, 413, 414; *faccia la*, the countenance of the Blessed Virgin, ii, 492, 493.
Face (for *faci*), *le quattro*, the four radiances (*lit.* torches) meaning St. Peter, St. James, St. John, and Adam, ii, 337, 338.
Facella, una, allusion to Ezzelino III., i, 294, 295; *giovial*, allusion to the Sphere of Jupiter, ii, 80-82; *scese una facella*, the Archangel Gabriel, ii, 242-244.
Faces, only in the Sphere of the Moon are spirits seen with them, i, 104, 105; the Angels' burning faces, ii, 454, 455.
Faith, the, ii, 112, 113; 281, 282; Faith, through which St. Peter walked upon the sea, ii, 263.
Falcone, quasi, the Sacred Eagle compared to a falcon, ii, 104-106.
Famagosta, city of Cyprus, ii, 128, 129.
Famiglia, la quarta, allusion to the spirits in the Fourth Sphere, i, 341.
Famiglia, la sua, the Franciscans, i, 417, 418.
Fascia col fregio, colui che la, Giano della Bella, ii, 30.
Father, St. Benedict, ii, 204, 205; *O santo patre*, St. Peter, ii, 273, 274; *Padre vetusto*, St. Peter, ii, 500; *maggior Padre di famiglia*, Adam, ii, 502; *l' alto Padre*, God, i, 341.

Fattore, the Maker, God, i, 216-218; 325-327; *suo*, the Deity, ii, 216, 217, 508, 509.
Favella, divina, the Word, ii, 269, 270.
Favilla pura, the Deity, ii, 273.
Fearon, Mr. D. R., Article in *The Pilot* on the Fall of Lucifer, ii, 107, 108.
Fede sincera, the pure Faith, i, 183.
Federico e Carlo, ii, 142.
Felice de Guzman, father of St. Dominic, used in the double sense of "happy" and *Felice*, proper name, i, 409.
Feltro, Alessandro Novello, Bishop of Feltre, i, 306-308.
Feroce, in the sense of courageous, i, 378.
Feroci, arrogant, full of pride, ii, 221, 222.
Ferrarese, il sangue, the blood of the people of Ferrara, i, 306-308.
Fiamma, la benedetta, last appearance of St. Thomas Aquinas, i, 393, 394; *fiamma coronata*, the Virgin Mary, ii, 246; *fulgida fiamma*, allusion to the spirit of St. John, ii, 306, 307.
Fiammelle, Effulgences, ii, 193.
Fiesole, the city of, i, 512, 513; ii, 28.
Fifanti, a Ghibelline family, sometimes called Sifanti, ii, 23, 24.
Fighine, small borough near Florence, ii, 11.
Figlio, il, Icarus, i, 277; *figliuol di Dio*, i, 235, 339, 340; ii, 497, 498; *suo figlio*, Arcas, son of Helice, turned into the Lesser Bear, ii, 458, 459; *Figlio*, Dante so addressed by Cacciaguida, ii, 58; *Figlio, il*, Mars son of Jupiter, ii, 220, 221; *Figliuol*, St. Peter so addresses Dante, ii, 346, 347; *Figliuol mio*, Dante so called by the spirit of Adam, ii, 328, 329; *Figliuol di grazia*, St. Bernard's address to Dante, ii, 472; *Figlio* and *Figliuol* as applied to Christ, *passim*.
Filippi, the family of, ii, 20, 21.
Fioche parole, indistinct words, i, 390, 391; *fioco* never means hoarse in Dante's works, *ibid.*
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Florence, Cacciaguida's beautiful description of the city in the 12th century, i, 487; its size and population in his days, ii, 1-10; Shield of, ii, 34.
Flowers, the spirits forming the Eagle addressed as *O perpetui fiori dell'eterna letizia*, ii, 102, 103; *bel Fior*, the Rose typifying the Virgin, ii, 242, 243; *Fiore, il*, the Mystic Rose, ii, 455, 457, 508, 509; *il maledetto fiore*, the gold florin of Florence, i, 326, 327.
Fochi, quei, the Seraphim, i, 311, 312.
Fochi, spirits, ii, 202, 203.
Folco of Marseilles, Troubadour of Provence, after a dissolute life turned to religion, and became Bishop of Marseilles, i, 296-298, 309-328.
Folgorò, Dante beholding Beatrice for one instant in her full glory, i, 119.
Fontana eterna, God, ii, 467.
Fontane, the sources of rivers, i, 294, 295; *fonte*, ii, 251, 252; *fontana eterna*, God, ii, 467.
Forma e materia, ii, 403.
Formale = "essential," i, 109.
Fôro divino, the Sacred Forum, *i.e.*, the Church, ii, 450, 451.
Forse, in, in jeopardy, i, 401.
Fortunate, O, O fortunate women, the matrons of Florence, i, 512.

Fra Tommaso, St. Thomas Aquinas, i, 425.
France, the country, i, 512.
Francesco Benedetto ed Augustino, ii, 481, 482.
Francesco e Povertà, i, 379-381.
Francis, St., Founder of the religious Order of the Franciscans, conspicuous for poverty, i, 364, 371, 372; his life, i, 372-387; his unsuccessful mission to the Saracens in 1219, i, 384-386; ii, 210, 212.
Frate, Brother, Dante so called by Piccarda, i, 107-109; by Beatrice, i, 141, 223, 224, 237, 238; again by St. Benedict, ii, 205, 206.
Fratello, il tuo, meaning St. John, ii, 295, 296.
Fraticelli, his accentuation adopted, i, xiv.
Frederick and Charles, see Charles and Frederick.
Free-will, i, 120, 154, 215-217.
Fronda mia, Cacciaguida calls Dante his branch, i, 504, 505.
Fuia = ladra, rapace, here it means "stolen away," "hidden," i, 311, 312.
Fulgor, più, many Effulgences, i, 344, 345; *questo fulgor*, this radiant spirit, i, 468, 469.

Gabriel, the Archangel, i, 130, 237.
Gaeta, city of, i, 264.
Galicia, mentioned as the country where St. James was held in greatest honour, ii, 282, 283.
Galigai, a noble Ghibelline family, ii, 24.
Galli, a Ghibelline family, ii, 24.
Galluzzo, a village near Florence, ii, 12.
Gangalandi, family of the, ii, 29.
Ganges, the river, i, 374.
Garden, the Catholic (*orto Cattolico*), meaning the Catholic Church, i, 414; *bel giardino, i.e.*, the Saints, ii, 239, 240, 468, 469; *l' eccelso giardino*, the sublime Garden of Paradise, ii, 377.
Gardener (*l' ortolano eterno*), *i.e.*, God, ii, 318.
Gardner, E. G., his *Dante's Ten Heavens*, i, xv.
Gascony, the citizen of, Clement V.; also called *il Guasco*, ii, 55, 56, 345.
Gemelli, gli eterni, the Gemini, the Zodiacal sign that follows Taurus, ii, 213, 214, 222.
Genoese territory, i, 314, 315.
Gente antica . . . e . . . novella, allusion to the Empyrean crowded with Saints both of the Old and the New Testament, ii, 456, 457.
Gente che più traligna, la, the degeneracy of the clergy, ii, 13-15.
Gente poverella, the Minorite Friars, i, 383, 384.
Gente turpe, the Saracens, i, 517.
Gentiles, ii, 151.
Geometrician, striving in vain to square the circle, ii, 529, 530.
Gesù Cristo, *Dio Verace*, ii, 470, 471.
Ghibelline and Guelph factions censured, i, 200, 201.
Ghibellines and Guelphs, i, 184, 185.
Giandonati, family of the, ii, 29.
Giano della Bella, ii, 30.
Gibbo, "a hog-backed" ridge, ii, 184, 185.
Giga, a viol, i, 480, 481.
Gigli, Fleur-de-Lys, of France, i, 202, 203.
Gigli gialli, golden lilies of France, i, 200, 201.
Gigli, li, the Apostles, ii, 239, 240.
Giglio per divisione fatto vermiglio, the Guelphs, when in power, changed the lily in the arms of Florence from white to red, ii, 34.
Giglio posto a ritroso ad asta, the banner of Florence reversed on the banner staff by the enemy as a derisive sign of defeat, ii. 34.
Ginevra, Queen, ii, 4.
Gioco, annual, the festival of St. John, ii, 9.
Gioie, the spirits in Heaven are the jewels of the Celestial Court, i, 347.
Giotto's portrait of Dante in the Bargello at Florence, i, xxix, lii-lx.
Giovanna d' Asa, St. Dominic's mother, i, 409.
Giovanni, il gran, St. John the Baptist, ii, 481, 482; *quel Gio-*

vanni qual prender vuoli, whichever John of the two you prefer, either the Apostle or the Baptist, i, 127, 128.
Giovanni, ovil di San, meaning Florence, of which the present Baptistery was then the Cathedral, ii, 5, 6.
Giove, the planet Jupiter, i, 133; ii, 84, 85, 220, 221, 338.
Giri santi, the holy Spheres of Heaven, i, 82, 83; *tre di tre colori*, description of the Blessed Trinity, ii, 526.
Giro, il primo, the first Sphere, meaning the Empyrean, i, 127, 128; *l' infiammato giro*, the circling Effulgences, ii, 302, 303.
Giron, gli altri, the seven Spheres that are contained within the Eighth, i, 78.
Giuda, the Giudi, a Ghibelline family, ii, 28.
Giudeo, the Jew, i, 168; *Giudei*, the Jews, i, 219, 220, 418.
Giudizio, the Judgment Day, ii, 120, 121.
Giuochi, a Ghibelline family, ii, 23, 24.
Giustiniano, the Emperor Justinian, i, 181.
Giustizia, l' ultima, the Last Judgment, ii, 434, 435.
Giustizia viva, the Living Justice of God, i, 135, 136, 205; ii, 112.
Giustizia, vostra, the just rights of the Christian nations in the Holy Land, i, 517.
Glaucus, the demi-god, i, 24, 25.
Gloria Patri, the hymn sung by the spirits on leaving the Eighth Sphere, ii, 337.
Gloriosi, guei, the Argonauts, i, 52.
Glory of God, ii, 518, 519.
Goat, the Celestial, Capricorn, ii, 347-349.
God, the Triune, see *Dio*, i, 463, 464.
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Gola, la, meaning here the desire or appetite for anything, i, 112, 113.
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Grada, la, the gridiron of St. Lawrence, i, 138, 139.
Grado, the golden Ladder in the Sphere of Saturn, ii, 171.
Gran mar dell' essere, i, 36.
Greci, de', a Florentine family, ii, 20, 21.
Greci, lo gran duca de', Agamemnon, i, 164-166.
Greco, si fece, Constantine the Great made himself Greek by transferring the Seat of Empire to Byzantium, ii, 140, 141.
Gregory, St., ii, 395.
Grido di sì alto suono, a loud cry of excessive indignation, ii, 193.
Guado, a ford, word only used in one other passage in the *Divina Commedia*, i, 81.
Gualdo, a small town, i, 374.
Gualdrada de' Donati, ii, 32, 33.
Gualterotti, a Guelph family, ii, 31.
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Guelphs and Ghibellines, i, 184, 185; their factions censured, i, 200, 201.
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Guglielmo, William II., the Norman King of Naples and Apulia, and his stately tomb in the Cathedral at Monreale, ii, 141, 142.
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Hyperion, father of the Sun, ii, 220, 221.

I, un, the number I, the good qualities of Charles the Lame to be numbered by an I (a one), his bad qualities by an M (a thousand), ii, 125.
I or *J*, Jehovah or Jah, ii, 232-234.
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I, the primeval title of the Deity before the confusion of tongues, after which the name was changed to *El*, ii, 332, 333.
Icarus, the son, fell, Daedalus, the father, flew, i, 277.
ICE, *per* BE *e per*, i, 212.
Iddio, solo ed eterno, uno, Dante's recitation of his creed, ii, 274.
Illuminato da Rieti, Franciscan Friar, i, 422, 423.
Image, la bella, the Eagle, ii, 98, 99 ; also called *la benedetta imagine*, ii, 117, 118 ; and *imagine divina*, ii, 159, 160.
Imbiancarsi, to be made clear (of a thing), i, 275.
Immeasurable extent of Paradise, i, xxxv.
Imperador, lo, God, i, 400, 401 ; *lo nostro*, ii, 287, 288.
Imperial (*agosta*) referring to Henry VII., of Luxembourg, ii, 448, 449.
Importuni, a Guelph family, ii, 31.
In quella parte, meaning the locality in Spain where St. Dominic was born, i, 402, 403.
In sulla scala porta il santo uccello, referring to the arms of Bartolommeo della Scala, ii, 52.
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Infallibile, allusion to Beatrice as the symbol of Ecclesiastical Authority, i, 214, 215.
Infancy, the souls of children who died in infancy, ii, 483-485.
Infangato, a citizen of the Ghibelline family of the Infangati, ii, 28.
Inferno, in the, Dante treated human

vices from the political point of view, i, 120; the Inferno the best-known division of the *Commedia*, i, xxiv; text references, i, 195; ii, 151, 153, 281, 282; *l' una dello Inferno . . . tornò all' ossa*, reference to the legend of Trajan being resuscitated when in Hell, converted to Christianity, and on his second death going to Paradise, ii, 151-154.
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Inghilese, l', King Edward I., ii, 124.
Inlearsi, from *in lei*, verb invented by Dante to signify the absorbing of oneself in the contemplation of a thing, ii, 217, 218.
Inluiarsi, another verb manufactured by Dante from *in lui*, lit. "to-in-Him-itself," has the same signification as *inlearsi*, i, 310-312.
Innocent III., Pope, i, 382, 383.
Insegna, the Cross, the banner of the Army of Christ, i, 400, 401; *la bella insegna del gran barone*, the fair escutcheon of the Marquess Hugh of Brandenburg, ii, 29, 30.
Intelligence or Angel of each Sphere of Heaven, i, 85, 86, 274, 275; Angelic Movers, ii, 380, 381.
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Intenza, prende, takes the designation; an obsolete expression, ii, 264, 265.
Intrearsi, a verb invented by Dante, meaning "to form the Trinity," i, 437, 438.
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Invoglia (verb), used only in two passages through the whole of the *Divina Commedia*, it signifies "makes the will to conform to," i, 110.
Invoglia, l' (noun), signifies a thick wrapping, ii, 324, 325.
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Jovial radiance (*giovial facella*) in the Sphere of Jupiter, ii, 80-82.
Juba, King of Mauretania, i, 193, 194.
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Juno, the goddess, i, 395, 396; Iris, the rainbow, the messenger of, ii, 372, 373.
Jupiter, the planet, i, 133; Sphere of, ii, 80-82, 220, 221; the planet of Justice, ii, 103, 104.

Jusquiamus, Hyoscyamus, a herb, i, 34.
Justice, see *Giustizia*.
Justinian, the Emperor, i, 173-212.

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Lamb, a blind, ii, 16, 17.
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Lampo subito e spesso, the radiancy of St. James, ii, 293, 294.
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Lapo Salterello, doctor of laws and poet, exaggerated in his luxury, in the time of Dante, i, 513, 514.
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Latino, text mention of Latin, i, 357; *latino*, equivalent to *facile, agevole*, easy, i, 103-105; *preciso latin*, ii, 42, 43; *latino, il discreto*, the modest words of St. Thomas Aquinas, i, 425.
Latona, figlia di, the Moon, i, 345, 346; ii, 219; *i figli di Latona*, Apollo and Diana, ii, 398.
Latra, "attests, proclaims," *lit.* "barks," i, 195, 196.
Latria, worship, ii, 185.
Lavinia, wife of Æneas, i, 179, 180.
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Lettore, word used five times in the *Inferno*, seven in the *Purgatorio*, and four in the *Paradiso*, ii, 213, 214.
Li folli e i savi, founded on a Milanese proverb, the signification of which is "All Men," i, 165, 166.
Li moderni pastori, a censure upon the self-indulgence and luxury of the Cardinals and the Pontifical Court, ii, 191, 192.
Libra, the Zodiacal sign of the Scales, ii, 398, 399.
Light, the first leading idea in the *Paradiso*, i, 8; it surrounds the spirits of the Blessed, i, 459, 460; Apostolical radiance, St. Peter, ii, 278; signs of the Zodiac, ii, 329, 330; meaning Cacciaguida, i, 494; San Pier Damiano the central point in a flood of radiant light, ii, 177-179; *lume in forma di riviera*, ii, 437, 438.
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Light, O Trinal, the Holy Trinity, ii, 457.
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Constance, i, 117, 118; Solomon, i, 435, 436.
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Lily, the banner of Florence, ii, 34.
Limbo, Adam in, ii, 239.
Linus, Bishop of Rome about A.D. 67, ii, 342, 343.
Lion, sign of Leo, ii, 8.
Lito, il, the shore of Phœnicia, ii, 351.
Lito rubro, the Red Sea, ii, 196.
Littorano, a dweller on the coast, i, 314, 315.
Lo ministro maggior della natura, the Sun, i, 338.
Loco mio, il, three times repeated in indignation by St. Peter, ii, 338-340.
Logic, a fundamental principle of, i, 183.
Loglio, the tares, *arca*, the granary, i, 417, 418.
Loire, the river, described as the Era, see note, i, xlii.
Lombard, Peter, i, 353, 354; the Lombard tooth, *i.e.*, the Lombard invasion under Desidarius, i, 199, 200.
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Luci benedette, due, Trajan and Rhipeus, ii, 159, 160.
Lucia, Santa, ii, 501, 502.
Lucifer, the fallen Angel, ii, 106-109.
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Lui, the Archangel Gabriel, ii, 497, 498.
Luna, the Moon, i, 37, 38; ii, 417, 418; the heaven of the Moon influences the ebb and flow of the tides, ii, 19, 20.
Luni, an ancient Etruscan city, ii, 17, 18.
Lustres, term denoting the outer garland of radiant spirits in the Sphere of the Sun, i, 470, 471.

M, last letter of the word *terram*, formed by the spirits in the Heaven of Jupiter, which M afterwards took the shape of an Eagle, ii, 84-90.
M, the numerical cypher meaning that the vices of Charles II. of Anjou might be indicated by a thousand (*un emme*), but his good qualities only by an I (one), ii, 125.
Macarius of Alexandria, St., ii, 203.
Maccabeus, Judas, ii, 74-76.
Macra or Magra, the river, i, 314, 315.
Madonna, addressed to Beatrice, i, 59, 60.
Maestro, vostro, Aristotle, i, 276; *quel Maestro*, the Master Artist, i, 333.
Maggiori, Dante's ancestors, ii, 9.
Maia e Dione, ii, 220, 221.
Maître Sigier, i, 361, 362.
Malachôth, an error of Dante, intended for the Hebrew *mamlachoth, i.e., regnorum*, i, 211.
Mallehault, la Dame de, ii, 4.
Malta, la, the prison, probably near Viterbo, where the Pope confined vicious Priests, i, 306-308.
Mamma, expression used by Dante five times in the *Commedia*, ii, 247, 248.
Man, created by God, has three special privileges, immortality, freedom, and similitude to God, i, 228, 229.
Mangiadore, Pietro, also called Petrus Comestor, i, 421-424.
Manna, verace, Theology, i, 410-412.
Marca Trivigiana, i, 293-295.
Margarita, the pearl, i, 55, 56; *la presente perla*, or the planet Mercury, i, 207, 208; *quelle margarite*, term in text for the smaller spirits, ii, 199-201.
Maria, the Virgin Mary, i, 127, 128, 378, 465; ii, 245, 247, 248, 249, 477, 478, 496, 497, 498; Mary and Eve contrasted, ii, 477-479.
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Marseilles, city of, i, 315.
Marsyas, the Satyr, i, 13.
Martel, Charles, titular King of Hungary, i, 254-289.

Martello, l' arte del, the art of the hammer inspired by the craftsman, i, 82, 83.
Martino, ser, equivalent to the English "Gaffer," i, 454, 455.
Materia, Forma e, ii, 403, 404.
Melchisedech, symbol of a Royal Priest, i, 277.
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Melody, meaning the Archangel Gabriel, ii, 245; triple melodies, ii, 392, 393.
Mente, la, God, ii, 91, 92; allusion to the Divine Intelligence, ii, 356, 357.
Menti sante, ii, 494.
Mercato, the Mercato Vecchio at Florence, ii, 28.
Meridian, the, ii, 225-227.
Mescere, the verb, means to pour out, never "to mingle," which would be *mescolare*, ii, 37-39.
Meteor, Cacciaguida's descent in the Starry Cross like one, i, 490-492; ii, 37.
Michael, the Archangel, text mention, i, 130.
Milizia, the glorious body of Martyrs and Saints, i, 328; *Milizia del ciel*, Spirits of the Sphere of Jupiter, ii, 94.
Milky Way, the, i, 475-477.
Mille cent' anni e più, i.e., 1174 years after the death of Christ, i, 377, 378.
Minerva, the goddess, i, 49, 50.
Ministro maggior della natura, the Sun, i, 358.
Minoi, figliuola di, Ariadne the daughter of Minos, i, 430, 431.
Mio, Io e, the voice of the Eagle, ii, 100.
Mirro, I embalm, *i.e.*, preserve in song, a word of doubtful meaning, i, 188, 189.
Mirror, meaning God, i, 499, 500; *verace speglio*, ii, 326, 327; of blessedness, Cacciaguida, ii, 68-70; meaning the Sphere of Saturn, ii, 164, 166; so many mirrors, *i.e.*, the Angels.
Miserere mei, ii, 478, 479.
Mo, its curious combination with *isso* here, ii, 232.
Mobile, Primum, ii, 366, *et passim*.
Modena and Perugia, i, 195, 196.
Mola, la santa, the holy mill-stone, *i.e.*, the circle of spirits, i, 393, 394.
Molto è licito là, et seq., the allegorical signification of, i, 22.
Mondo, the Universe, i, 80.
Monte, alto, Mt. Subasio, i, 373, 374; *lo monte*, Purgatory, ii, 61, 62; *il monte*, Purgatory, i, 505; ii, 65, 66; *monte che la fascia*, the Pyrenees which are the natural fortification of Navarre, ii, 128; *ai monti*, the Apostles St. Peter and St. James, ii, 286, 287; *nel monte*, meaning the Garden of Eden, ii, 334, 335; *ai monti*, meaning the mountains of Troas, from which the Roman Eagle had originally gone forth, i, 180.
Montemalo, i.e., Monte Mario at Rome, i, 509.
Montemurlo, Castle of, near Pistoja, ii, 14, 15.
Montone, the Zodiacal sign of the Ram, ii, 398, 399.
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Moore, Dr., Dedication to, i, v; our most distinguished English Dantist, i, *ibid. et passim*; his observations on the last thirteen lines of Canto xiv., i, 484-486.
Mora, mora, "Let him (Charles of Anjou with his Frenchmen) die;" the cry of the people of Palermo at the Sicilian Vespers, i, 266-268.
Moronto ed Eliseo, brothers of Cacciaguida, i, 516, 517.
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Moto, l' un, the Equator, and *Moto, l' altro*, the Zodiac, i, 334.
Moto, quel, the *Primum Mobile*, ii, 372, 373.

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Necesse, discussion upon, i, 445-447.
Negozio, public business, i, 367, 368.
Ne lo, for *nello*, rhyming to *candelo*, i, 368.
Nè sa, nè può, Dante's explanation of, i, 9.
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Nerli, quel de', the head of the Nerli, one of five families mentioned, i, 511; ii, 29.
Nicosia, a city of Cyprus, ii, 128, 129.
Nile, the river, called, also *Nil caldo*, the torrid river, i, 192, 193.
Nimrod, ii, 330-332.
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Norway, Hâkon VII., King of, ii, 127.
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Numi, the Saints, i, 434.
Nuova fellonia, the treachery of the Cerchi, who were *novi homines*, ii, 22.
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Nyssa, a peak of Mount Parnassus, i, 11, 12.

G Elios, O God, a mediæval confusion between *El*, God, and the Greek Helios, the Sun, i, 474, 475.
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Occhi belli, Beatrice's eyes, i, 482, 483; *occhi ridenti*, Piccarda's, i, 99, 100.
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Occidente, the West, i, 194.
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Ombra, shade of Piccarda, i, 98, 99; *altr' ombre*, Piccarda's companions, i, 107-109.
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Onorio, Pope Honorius III., i, 383, 384.
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Oriafiamma pacifica, the Blessed Virgin is styled the *Oriflamme* of Peace, ii, 473, 474.

Oriente, the East, i, 375.
Oriflamme, the ancient standard of the Kings of France at St. Denis, ii, 473, 474.
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Ormanni, Florentine family, ii, 20, 21.
Orosius, alluded to, but not named, i, 356, 357.
Orse, l', the Bears, meaning the North Pole, i, 49, 50.
Orto cattolico, the Catholic Garden, *i.e.*, the Church, i, 414.
Ortolano eterno, God, the Eternal Gardener, ii, 318.
Osanna, Latin Hymn, i, 211, 253; ii, 387, 391, 392, 501, 502; *Osanna sanctus Deus Sabaoth*, i, 211, 212.
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Pachynus, the Southern Cape of Sicily, i, 265-267.
Pado, val di, Valley of the Po, i, 516, 517.
Padova al palude cangerà l' acqua che Vicenza bagna, the historical meaning of this passage much disputed, i, 300-303.
Padre, Adam, *il primo*, i, 448; *antico*, ii, 323, 499, 500; *maggior*, ii, 302; to Apollo, the Sire of Poesy, i, 15; *o santo Padre*, Dante's address to St. Bernard, ii, 495, 496; St. Peter, *quel Padre vetusto di santa Chiesa*, ii, 500; *Padre*, addressed to St. Benedict, ii, 204; *voi siete il padre mio*, Dante's words to his ancestor Cacciaguida, ii, 5, 6, 60; *il padre*, Saturn, father of Jupiter, ii, 220, 221; *alto Padre, l'*, the Supreme Father, i, 341.
Padua, the city of, i, 300.
Paese sincero, the pure region of Heaven, i, 237, 238.
Paget Toynbee, Dr., i, xv, *et passim*.
Palermo, city of, i, 266, 267.
Pallas, friend of Æneas, son of Evander, King of Latium, i, 186.
Palle dell' oro, the arms of the Lamberti family, ii, 25, 26.
Paradise, i, 111, 217, 218, 230, 231, 353, 354, 465, 466, 494; ii, 71, 174, 237-239, 337, 461-463; Ante-Paradise, the Sphere of the Moon, i, 105; the Garden of Eden, i, 217, 218; the army of, ii, 434, 435.
Paradiso, the, is the least known of the three divisions of the Poem, i, xxiv; the date when written, i, xxxv, xli; the dedication of it to Can Grande della Scala, i, 2; the main divisions of it, i, 3; the opening of it, i, 4; the three leading ideas in it, i, 7; Time-References in it, i, xliv; opening of, contrasted with that of the *Inferno* and the *Purgatorio*, i, 47; human virtues reviewed in it from their metaphysical and theological standpoint, i, 120, the tedium of the *Paradiso* to superficial readers, i, 47, 48.
Pareglio, explanation of, ii, 326, 327.
Parenti, primi, Adam and Eve, i, 243.
Parere ingiusta, etc., one of the most difficult passages in the *Divina Commedia*, i, 135, 136.
Parmenides, i, 451, 452.
Parnassus, Mount, i, 11, 12.
Parte, quella, the sign of Aries, i, 338; *Parte, in quella*, Spain in the West, i, 402, 403; *parti oriental dell' orizzonte*, the Eastern parts of the horizon, ii, 472, 473.
Parvenze, nuove, new appearances, phenomena, referring to the stars, i, 470, 471.
Passion of Christ, ii, 417-419.
Passo forte, il, the climax of the Tenth Heaven, the Heaven of Heavens and the Vision of God, ii, 216.

Pastore sommo, the Pope, i, 183; ii, 140; *l' empio suo pastor*, reference to Alessandro Novello, Bishop of Feltre, i, 305-308.
Patre, St. Peter, thus addressed, ii, 262, 263; *O santo patre*, the same, ii, 273, 274.
Patria tua, allusion to Florence, the birthplace of Dante, ii, 184, 185.
Patriarca, il nostro, St. Dominic, i, 388, 389.
Patrici di questo imperio giustissimo e pio, i gran, the most conspicuous dignitaries of the Highest Heaven, ii, 498.
Peana, Io, Ancient invocation to Apollo, i, 432.
Pearl, this, the planet Mercury, i, 207, 208; Spirit of St. Benedict, ii, 199-201.
Peccatore, Pietro, i.e., San Pier Damiano, ii, 187-190.
Pecore matte, silly sheep, i, 167, 168.
Peculio, il suo, the Dominican Order, i, 388, 389.
Pegasea, Odiva, the Muse Calliope, ii, 82, 83.
Pellicano, allusion to Our Lord, ii, 299, 300.
Pelorus, the Eastern Cape of Sicily, i, 265, 267.
Peneia, Daphne, the daughter of Peneus, i, 15.
Pennecchio, il fuso e' l, the spindle and flax, i, 511.
People of the Old and New Testament, ii, 456, 457.
Pera, La, the postern gate of, ii, 28.
Perfetto veder, the perfection of Beatrice's beatified vision, i, 150, 151.
Perla in bianca fronte, i, 93, 94.
Permotore, motive power, i, 37, 38.
Persi, contraction for *perduti*, lost to sight, i, 92.
Persi, the Persians, ii, 120, 121.
Persona, text reference to Our Lord, i, 216, 217; *tre Persone eterne*, the Holy Trinity, i, 432; ii, 276; *Persone due*, Adam and Christ, i, 444.
Perugia, city of, i, 373, 374.
Perugia e Modena, i, 194-196.
Peruzzi family possibly took their name from living near the Porta Peruzza, ii, 28, 29.
Perverso, il, the Evil One, ii, 340.
Pescator, allusion to St. Peter, ii, 96.
Peschiera, a fish-pond with a swarm of fish in it, i, 172.
Peter, St., i, 327; ii, 254-349, 501, 502; *Pietro e Paolo*, ii, 95, 96; *gran viro, a cui nostro Signor lasciò le chiavi*, ii, 257, 258.
Petrarch compared with Dante, i, 16.
Petto onde la costa si trasse, from the body of Adam God took a rib to form Eve, i, 435, 436.
Pharsalia, the battle of, i, 192, 193.
Philip, *le Bel*, King of France, ii, 123, 124.
Pianeta, esto, the Moon, i, 66.
Piava, the river, i, 294, 295.
Piccarda de' Donati, i, 96, 98, 100; her life's history, i, 100-114; vanishes from Dante's sight, singing *Ave Maria*, i, 118, 119; discussion between Dante and Beatrice as to Piccarda's breach of her vows, i, 139-143; Piccarda, the only spirit in Paradise whose features Dante recognised, i, 460.
Pier, St. Peter had neither silver nor gold, ii, 210-212.
Pier Damiano, San, ii, 172-193; also self-named Pietro Peccatore, ii, 187-190.
Pietra scema, the mutilated statue of Mars on the Ponte Vecchio at Florence, ii, 33.
Pietro Bernardone, father of St. Francis of Assisi, i, 382, 383.
Pietro di Dante, son of the Poet, professes his inability to understand the wearisome Second Canto, i, 87, 88.
Pietro Ispano, Peter of Spain, Cardinal Archbishop of Braga, i, 422-424.
Pietro Mangiadore, known as Petrus Comestor, i, 422-424.
Pigli, the family, whose arms were a pale, vair, ii, 23, 24.
Pilgrims, different species of, Palmieri, Peregrini, Romei, i, 205.
Piombo ai piedi, i, 449, 450.
Piota, O cara, O my beloved root, Dante so addresses Cacciaguida, ii, 39, 40.
Pius I., A.D. 140, ii, 343.

Plaga, tal, the extreme North, ii, 458, 459.
Plan of the Rose, ii, 484, 485.
Planets, Intelligences, Spheres, i, 85; seven, ii, 220, 221; *picciola stella*, meaning the planet Mercury, i, 203, 204.
Plato, doctrine that the stars were inhabited, i, 85; his *Timaeus*, i, 130; *sentenza di Platone*, i, 125, 126.
Pleasure, Eternal, God, ii, 145.
Plumptre, Dean, i, 242 *et passim.*
Po, the river, i, 190; *val di Pado*, Valley of the Po, i, 516, 517.
Podestati, the Sixth Order of Angels, ii, 392, 393.
Poema, lo sacrato, ii, 237-239; *il poema sacro* (both meaning the *Divina Commedia*), ii, 280-282.
Poet, Dante's hopes of being crowned as a, ii, 281, 282.
Point, that Fixed (God, to whom all periods of time are present), ii, 40, 41; Point of Light, God, ii, 366, 369, 370, 371-375, 387, 388.
Pole, le, the daws, see note, ii, 171.
Poli del mondo, i, 475-477.
Polo, non conoso il Pescator nè, I know neither the Fisherman (St. Peter) nor (St.) Paul, ii, 96.
Polyhymnia, the Muse of Lyric Poetry, ii, 236, 237.
Pompeiana tuba, the trumpet-blast of the Pompeys, i, 193, 194.
Pompey the Great, i, 190.
Pope, neglect of the Holy Land by the, i, 323-325; the Pope and the Cardinals wholly given up to greed of gain, i, 326, 327.
Pope, the, and the Cardinals, severely censured by Dante, i, 327.
Por San Piero, near to which the low-born Cerchi acquired vast palaces, ii, 22.
Porta sole, the gate of Perugia, i, 372, 373.
Portogallo, quel di, Dionysius, King of Portugal, ii, 127.
Possanza l' ultima, allusion to the Emperor Frederick II., the third and last of the three Suabian Emperors, i, 117, 118.
Possanza, la, the Power of Christ, ii, 232, 233; *Possanza, la suprema*, the Supreme Omnipotence of God, ii, 341, 342.
Possessivo, il, Dominicus, St. Dominic's name is the possessive adjective of *Dominus*, the Lord, i, 405, 406.
Potency, pure, ii, 406, 407.
Poverel di Dio, God's own poor one, St. Francis, i, 434.
Poverty, St. Francis' devotion to it worked out as an allegory, i, 375-381.
Power and wisdom of Christ, ii, 232, 233; benignant, *O benigna virtù*, ii, 241, 242.
Powers, the, namely, the third and last of the Second of the Angelic Hierarchies, ii, 386, 391-393.
Prague, the Kingdom of, ii, 122, 123.
Predestination, the mystery of, ii, 157, 158.
Prefetto, the Pontiff, ii, 450, 451.
Prelibare, meaning of, i, 336.
Preliminary Chapter, i, xxix-lx.
Prendere a ciancia, i, 163-166.
Pressa, quel della, the head of the noble Ghibelline family of Della Pressa, ii, 23.
Prima mancia, sua, Jephthah's first offering, i, 164, 165.
Primal God, the (*il primo intelletto*), i, 274, 275; Primal Love, i, 181; Primal Light, the, ii, 425, 426.
Primipilo, l' alto, the great Captain, St. Peter, ii, 262, 263.
Primizia che lasciò Cristo dei vicari suoi, St. Peter, the first-fruits of Christ's Vicars, ii, 282, 283.
Primo consiglio, Christ's advice to the rich young man to sell all that he had, and give to the poor, i, 407, 408.
Primo ternaro, the first Triad of the Angelic Hierarchies, namely, the Seraphim, the Cherubim, and the Thrones, ii, 386-389.
Primum Mobile, or Crystalline Heaven, i, 3, 38, 39, 77, 78, 245, 246; the Ninth Heaven, i, 63; description of, i, 429-431; Ninth Sphere, ii, 315-318, 352-426; the swiftest of the Spheres, ii, 357, 358; the true Paradise, ii, 366; the first moving Heaven, *Mobile primo*, ii, 443-445.

Principati ed Arcangeli, the seventh and eighth Order of Angels, ii, 394.
Principi celesti, the Sphere of Venus, moved by the Order of Angels called by Dionysius "The Principalities," i, 255, 256; the seventh Order who sway Venus in the third Hierarchy or Triad of Angels, ii, 386.
Principi, due, St. Francis and St. Dominic, i, 371.
Principii formali, i, 64, 65; *Principio*, Primal Source of all things, i, 36.
Proœmium to the *Paradiso*, i, 1; to the *Cantica*, i, 4.
Prophets, the, ii, 275, 276.
Provence, the people of, i, 207, 208.
Provveder divino, Divine Providence, i, 279, 280; ii, 483.
Psalms, the, ii, 239-241.
Ptolemaic System of Astronomy, i, xxix-xxxii *et passim*.
Ptolemy of Pelusium, the celebrated astronomer, i, xxix; Ptolemy XII., King of Egypt, i, 193, 194.
Pulci, family of the, ii, 29.
Purgatory, Mount of, i, 504, 505; ii, 40, 41; First Cornice of, 504, 505.
Pusillo, not "cowardly," but "humble, of low estate," i, 386, 387.
Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, i, 187-189.

QUADRIVIUM, the four arts or sciences of the, namely, Arithmetic, Music, Geometry, Astronomy, i, xxiv, xxv.
Quando, ogni ubi ed ogni, meaning that time and place are alike present to God, ii, 399, 400.
Quanta e quale, denoting increase both in size and in brilliancy of the spirit of Charles Martel, i, 259.
Quarta famiglia, la, the spirits in the Heaven of the Sun, i, 341.
Queen of Heaven, ii, 468, 469; *nostra Regina*, ii, 496; O Queen, ii, 513, 514.
Quei che arrossan per lo staio, the Chiarmontesi family who falsified the bushel measure for their own profit, ii, 24.
Quei che morrà di colpo di cotenna, Philip *le Bel*, slain by a wild boar, ii, 123, 124.
Quei che son disfatti per lor superbia, the Uberti family, ii, 25, 26.
Quei che vide tutt' i tempi gravi, St. John, who lived to see the grievous woes of the Church, ii, 500, 501.
Quei gloriosi, the Argonauts, i, 52.
Quel corno d'Ausonia, the Kingdom of Naples and Apulia, i, 263, 264.
Quel padre e quel maestro, alluding to St. Francis of Assisi, i, 381-383.
Quel Pietro, Peter Lombard, i, 354.
Quell' avvocato, Paulus Orosius, i, 356, 357.
Quell' uom che non nacque, Adam, i, 215-217.
Quella ch' è tanto bella, Eve, ii, 477-479.
Quella (*foce*) *che quattro cerchi giugne con tre croci*, meaning the Vernal Equinox, i, 18, 19.
Quella che tossìo, la Dame de Mallehault, ii, 4.
Quell' uno e due e tre, the Trinal God, i, 463, 464.
Questa moderna favella, Cacciaguida only spoke to Dante in Latin, ii, 7, 8.
Qui judicatis terram, see explanation, ii, 80-90.
Quinctius, surnamed Cincinnatus, i, 188, 189.
Quirino, Romulus, i, 279, 280.

RABANUS MAURUS, Abbot of Fulda, a theologian, i, 423, 424.
Rachel, symbol of the Contemplative Life, ii, 478, 479.
Radiance of God (*lo raggio divino*), ii, 468, 469.
Rahab, i, 319-321; contrasted by Folco with the Pope, i, 323; regarded as a type of the Church, *ibid.*; termed by Dante the first-fruits of the Triumph of Christ, i, 322.
Ram (*il montone*), the Zodiacal sign of the, ii, 398, 399.
Ramondo Beringhieri, Raymond Béranger, Count of Provence, i, 207, 208; four daughters, *ibid.*

Rascia, the name for Servia in Dante's time; *quel di Rascia*, King Ouros II., ii, 127.
Rash vows made by Jephthah, Idomeneus, and Agamemnon, i, 166; Beatrice condemns them, *ibid.*
Ravenna, city of, i, 192.
Ravignani, the, a great Florentine family, ii, 22.
Re, King Solomon asking for wisdom, i, 445-447.
Real Manto, lo, meaning the *Primum Mobile*, ii, 245, 246.
Reason (*la ragione*), ii, 407, 408.
Rebecca, ii, 478, 479.
Rege, lo, the Deity, ii, 487, 488.
Regi, sette, the Seven Kings of Rome, i, 187, 188.
Regina Cœli, the first words of an Antiphon sung in praise of the Virgin Mary at Easter-tide, ii, 247, 248.
Regina del cielo, the Virgin, ii, 468, 469, 472; *la nostra Regina*, ii, 495, 496, 513, 514.
Regno, deiforme, the Realm of God, i, 53-55.
Regno verace, ii, 443.
Regnum cælorum, ii, 149, 150.
Religione, sua, Order of St. Francis, i, 382, 383.
Renouard, the Moor, ii, 74, 76.
Requiescere, more emphatic than *cessare*, i, 31.
Resplendences (*gli ardor vostri*) your glowing spheres, *lit.* burnings, ii, 204, 205.
Rhine, the river, i, 192.
Rhipaeus, the Trojan, fifth spirit in the Eagle's eyebrow, ii, 142-151.
Rhodope, Phyllis, i, 316-318.
Rhone, the river, i, 192, 263, 264.
Rialto, the, at Venice, i, 293-295.
Riccardo (or Rizzardo) da Camino, Lord of Treviso, his death predicted, i, 303-305.
Richard de St. Victor, i, 359-361.
Rio, santo, meaning Beatrice, the fountain of all truth, i, 143.
Ripon, Introduction by the Bishop of, i, xv, xvii-xxvii.
Risplendere, simply means "to be resplendent," "to shine"; *not* "to re-shine," "re-glow," as some have contended, i, 5.
River of light, ii, 437-444.
Rivers Tweed and Esk the frontier between England and Scotland, i, 264.
Rizzardo Bonifacio, husband of Cunizza da Romano, murdered by Ezzelino, i, 289-291.
Robert, younger brother of Charles Martel, crowned King of Sicily in 1309; his avarice censured, i, 268-270.
Rocce alpestre, Alpine peaks, i, 190.
Roffia, fog, mist, ii, 282, 283.
Roggio, red, ruddy, i, 472-475; note, 473.
Roma, voler di, i, 192; city of, i, 327, 328, 512, 513; ii, 3, 4, 46, 262, 263, 346, 458, 459.
Romans, the, i, 188, 189; ii, 118, 119.
Romèo, un, a pilgrim to Rome, i, 205; *la luce di*, the radiant spirit of Romieu de Villeneuve, first minister of Count Raymond Béranger, i, 205-208.
Rose, the Heavenly, ii, 440-457; *rosa sempiterna*, ii, 447; snow-white, *in forma di candida rosa*, ii, 453, 454; Rose, the Virgin Mary, ii, 239, 240.
Rostro, the beak of the Eagle, ii, 100.
Rota, an ordinary wheel, ii, 530, 531.
Rota, Sphere of Saturn, ii, 174.
Rota, tre donne . . . dalla destra, i.e., the three Ladies symbolizing Faith, Hope, and Charity whom Dante saw in the Terrestrial Paradise on the right wheel of the Gryphon's chariot, ii, 155, 156; *la prima rota*, the *Primum Mobile*, i, 430, 431; circle of revolving spirits, i, 309, 363.
Rote, eterne, the Spheres, i, 24, 25, 132, 133, 205, 333, 334.
Rubicon, the river, i, 192.
Ruby, the stone, ii, 99.
Rudolph of Hapsburg, i, 266, 267.
Ruth, ii, 478, 479.

Sa di sale lo pane altrui, ii, 48, 49.
Sabellius, i, 452.
Sabine woman, i, 187, 188.
Sacchetti, an old Guelph family, ii, 23, 24.

Sacrosanto segno, the Eagle, the hallowed sign of the Empire, which Dante believed to be a divine institution, i, 185.
Saetta previsa vien più lenta, a foreseen evil is less hard to bear, ii, 41.
Saints, united in heart (*concordi numi*), i, 434; ii, 474, 475.
Saints, the eight warriors, Joshua son of Nun, Judas Maccabaeus, the Emperor Charlemagne, the Paladin Orlando, ii, 71-74; William Count of Orange, Renouard the Moor, Godfrey de Bouillon, Robert Guiscard, ii, 74-76.
Salse sulla croce, Poverty mounted on to the Cross of Christ, i, 378.
Salti, wooded mountain glades, i, 389.
Salute, l' ultima, Supreme Salvation, ii, 216-218.
Samuel, the Prophet, i, 127, 128.
San Giovanni at Florence, the Font of, ii, 279-282.
Sannella, quel della, a very distinguished citizen of Florence, ii, 21.
Santa suora, title given to Beatrice by St. Peter, ii, 256, 257.
Santo, Santo, Santo, St. John's Hymn of Praise in the Apocalypse, ii, 319.
Sapienza, la, the Wisdom of Christ, ii, 232, 233.
Sapor di forte agrume, the disrelish which Dante fears to cause among highly-placed enemies if he tells the truth about them, ii, 61, 62.
Sapphire, the lovely, the Virgin, ii, 243, 244.
Sarah [illegible] and others [illegible] in the Heavenly Ro[illegible] 479.
Sardanapalus, i, 508, 509.
Saturn, Sphere of, ii, 161.
Scala, in sulla, porta il santo uccello, the escutcheon of the La Scala family, ii, 52.
Scala santa, Jacob's ladder, ii, 175; *scaleo eretto in suso*, ii, 168, 170; the holy stairway from the Sphere of Saturn to that of the Fixed Stars, ii, 212-214; *sacre scalee*, ii, 480.
Scanni, seats in an amphitheatre, hence grades, i, 205.
Scartazzini, Dr. G. A., i, xv *et passim*.
Scherillo, Prof. Michele, letter about *risplende*, i, 6 *et passim*.
Scipio, Roman General, i, 190; ii, 346.
Scipione e Pompeo, i, 190.
Scorta celeste, Beatrice, ii, 166, 167.
Scot, the, ii, 124.
Scranna, sedere a, to place oneself upon the seat of judgment, ii, 113.
Scrittor dello Spirito Santo, the writers of the Holy Scriptures, ii, 407, 408.
Scrittura, la, Holy Scripture, i, 129, 130, 451; ii, 114; *la divina*, ii, 415, 416, 489; *Scritture antiche e le nuove*, the books of the Old and New Testaments, ii, 295, 296.
Sea of radiance in the Empyrean Heaven, ii, 434-440.
Secondo che v' abbella, ii, 332.
Secondo vento di Soave, the second storm-blast of Suabia, meaning the Emperor Henry VI., i, 117, 118.
Sedia, the Papal See, i, 411, 412.
Seggio, quel gran, the throne awaiting the spirit of the Emperor Henry VII., of Luxembourg, ii, 410.
Segno del mondo, i.e., the Roman Eagle, ii, 132; *il venerabil segno*, the Cross, i, 476, 477; *lo benedetto segno*, the Eagle, ii, 148, 149.
Seine, the river, i, 192; ii, 123, 124.
Seme, lo, the seed sown by St. Dominic, *i.e.*, the Faith, i, 411, 412.
Semele, ii, 163, 164.
Semenze, the causative virtues of the Spheres, i, 78.
Sene, vidi un, St. Bernard, formerly Abbot of Clairvaux, ii, 462, 463; *il santo sene*, ii, 467, 468; text mention, 468, 469, 475.
Sepolcro, the Holy Sepulchre, ii, 274.
Serafico in ardore, allusion to St. Francis, i, 371, 372.

Seraphim, i, 127, 128, 253; ii, 180, 181; the Order of Angels in the first Hierarchy, ii, 386; *Seraſi e Cherubi*, ii, 387.
Sereno, il, i.e., God, the Divine Light, ii, 110, 111.
Series, the whole, of the different Angelic Orders, ii, 385-387.
Sermoneta, the Dowager Duchess of, i, xv.
Sette e cinque per dieci, Romèo had rendered to Raymond Béranger, 7+5=12 for every 10 he had to account for, i, 207, 208.
Sheep, the Dominicans, i, 389, 390.
Shore, the Phenician, ii, 349-351.
Si est dare primum motum esse, i, 446, 447.
Si gira un corpo, the *Primum Mobile*, i, 76-78.
Si rivolse, disputed interpretations of the passage, i, 168-170.
Sibilla, la sentenza di, ii, 479, 480.
Sichaeus, i, 316-318.
Sigier, Maître, i, 361, 362.
Sigillo, l' ultimo, legend of St. Francis receiving the *stigmata*, i, 384-386.
Signa, quel da, Messer Fazio dei Morubaldini of Signa, ii, 12, 13.
Signor, nostro, text mention of Our Lord, ii, 257-259; *Signor mio*, Jesus Christ, ii, 470, 471.
Sile, a river near Treviso, i, 303-305.
Sillogismi, difettivi, i.e., inconclusive reasoning, i, 365, 366.
Silvestro, a follower of St. Francis, i, 380, 381.
S' imborga, has for its suburbs, i, 263, 264.
Simifonti, a strongly fortified castle in the Val d' Elsa, ii, 13-15.
Similes, the sifting of a bushel of sand, i, 1; Eternal Glory to a pearl, i, 2; a great flame follows a trifling spark, i, 16; Dante's entrance to Hell, Purgatory and Paradise, *ibid.*; an eagle gazing on the Sun, i, 20, 21; a second ray is wont to issue from the first by reflection, and re-ascend as a traveller who wishes to return, i, 21, 22; like iron which comes glowing out of the fire, i, 23, 24; such as Glaucus became after tasting the herb, i, 25; neither rain nor river ever formed a lake of such wide extent, i, 28, 29; the velocity of lightning, i, 30; the tenderness of a mother watching a son whose mind is wandering in delirium, i, 32-34; existence to an ocean, i, 36; a bowstring shooting the arrow only towards joyful marks, i, 38, 39; the form not agreeing with the artist's purpose, i, 40-42; lightning falling from a cloud, *ibid.*; a stream falling from a mountain height into the valley below, i, 42, 43; all absence of motion in a living flame on earth, *ibid.*; to those in a little bark following a ship cutting her way through the sea, i, 46, 47; a ship that puts out through the briny deep keeping in another's wake, i, 51; surprise of the Argonauts when Jason became a ploughman, i, 52; the rapid ascent of Dante and Beatrice to the Heaven of the Moon likened to the rapid movement of the *Primum Mobile*, i, 52-55; also to an arrow shot from a bow, i, 54, 55; substance of the Moon, first to a diamond, then to a pearl, i, 55, 56; a diamond smitten by the Sun, *ibid.*; water receiving a ray of light, i, 56; a body apportions its fat and its lean, i, 66; to a book in which the sheets being placed together in the form of *strata*, constitute the entire volume, *ibid.*; as colours are reflected back from glass which conceals lead behind it, i, 68; the Sun melting the snow, and leaving the ground ready for seed like Beatrice preparing Dante's mind, i, 75, 76; light twinkling like a star, i, 76; keeping within the ford, i, 81; the craftsman's use of the hammer, i, 82, 83; the soul informing the whole mortal body, i, 83, 84; an alloy that is bound up in a precious metal, i, 85, 86; joy shining through the sparkling eye, i, 86, 87; reflection through polished panes of glass, i, 92-94; reflection through limpid and undisturbed

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448; their praise of the Eternal Sun of Righteousness to the fragrance of a rose, *ibid.*; a child dying of hunger and yet pushing its nurse away, ii, 450; the Angels flying down to the Saints as bees to flowers, and back to God as bees to their hive, ii, 453, 454; human life to a tempestuous sea, ii, 457; an uncivilized Barbarian, who for the first time finds himself in a great city, ii, 457-459; a pilgrim gazing round at the temple of his vows, ii, 459, 460; the Assemblage of Saints, the Fair Flowers of Paradise, to a garden, ii, 468, 469; the awe-struck pilgrim from far-distant Sclavonia to Rome, on entering St. Peter's at the moment when the sacred *sudarium* of St. Veronica is exhibited, ii, 470, 471; Dante's eyes, travelling, as it were, from a valley up a mountain, ii, 472-474; the size of the wedding-ring fitting the finger, ii, 486; a crown to match the colour of the hair, ii, 490, 491; the Morning Star drawing Light from the Sun, ii, 496-498; Adam and St. Peter to the roots of the Heavenly Rose, ii, 499, 500; a tailor shaping a robe in proportion to his cloth, ii, 503, 504; a man who retains the impressions of a dream, ii, 516-518; snow melting under the rays of the Sun, ii, 517, 518; the oracle of the Sibyl being lost through wind, *ibid.*; God's love binds up in one volume all things unfolded in the world, ii, 520, 521; the stammering lips of an infant, ii, 523, 524; the effect of one rainbow reflecting another, ii, 526, 527; a geometrician making his calculations, ii, 529, 530; Dante's intellectual faculties to wings, *ibid.*; Dante's desire and will, being driven on, likened to a wheel that is evenly moved, ii, 530, 531.

Simois, one of the chief rivers of the Troad, i, 193, 194.

Simon Magus, ii, 450, 451.

Sin, original, i, 215-217.

Sincera, primary meaning of, is "pure," ii, 373.

Sine causa, ii, 487, 488.

Singer of the Holy Spirit, David, i, 137.

Sinigaglia, city of, ii, 18.

Sinistro fianco, see important note on, i, 20.

Sins, two, Pride and Concupiscence, i, 44.

S' intrea, see explanation, i, 437, 438.

Sire, il nostro, God, i, 437, 438; *suo*, ii, 404.

Sirens, the, i, 393, 394.

Sixtus I., Bishop of Rome, about A.D. 119, ii, 343.

Sizii, family of the, ii, 25.

Soave, the duchy of Suabia, i, 117, 118; *vento di Soave*, the storm-blast of Suabia, meaning the Emperor Henry VI., *ibid.*

Sofismi, Sophisms, i, 366, 368.

Soglia, grade, degree, i, 110; *più di mille soglie*, the thousands of thrones in the Heavenly Rose, ii, 445.

Soldan, the, i, 385, 386.

Soldanieri, a Ghibelline family, ii, 21.

Soldiery of Heaven, ii, 94; *l' una e l' altra milizia di Paradiso*, the first Host being the Angels, the Second being the Spirits of just men made perfect, ii, 434, 435.

Sole, Porta, a gate of Perugia, i, 373, 374.

Solon, the Athenian legislator, i, 277.

Sommo Bene, il, i, 111; ii, 114, 115.

Son of God, i, 235, 236; ii, 339, 340, 497, 498; Son of Grace, Dante so called by St. Bernard, ii, 472.

Song of the Holy Choir, i, 463, 464.

Sono ed este, ii, 276.

Sorella, meaning a nun, though *suora* is the usual word, i, 100.

Sorgue, the river, i, 263, 264.

Soul, the disciplining of the, the guiding-thread of the Poem, i, xxxiii.

Sound, the second leading idea in the *Paradiso*, i, 7.

Spada, la, di quassù non taglia in fretta nè tardo, equivalent to the saying "God's mill grinds slow but sure," ii, 197, 198.

Spain, i, 192, 193; ii, 124, 125; *quel di Spagna*, Charles II. of Naples, ii, 125.
Spaniards, ii, 418.
Sparks, exceeding swift, the spirits compared to, i, 211; the Pure Spark, the Luminous Point, *i.e.*, God, ii, 373.
Specchi, the Angels, ii, 426.
Specchi, tre, proposed experiment with three mirrors, and diagram of, i, 72, 73.
Specchio beato, Cacciaguida, ii, 68, 70; *specchio*, the Sphere of Saturn, ii, 165, 166; *speculi tanti*, the Angels, ii, 426; *verace Speglio*, the Deity, ii, 326, 327.
Speme, viva, St. Gregory, ii, 152, 153.
Sperent in te, ii, 296, 297.
Sperule, cento, a multitude of small spheres, ii, 199.
Sphere of Fire, the, i, 27.
Spheres, eternal, i, 25; of the Moon, i, 45; in the first Sphere alone have the spirits faces, in other Spheres they are lights or radiances, i, 105; white is the colour of light in the Sphere of Jupiter, ii, 79; Dante's arrival in the Eighth Sphere, or *cielo stellato*, called the Exalted Sphere (*alta rota*), ii, 212-216; a hundred small spheres, ii, 199; the Empyrean called the Supreme Sphere, ii, 245; the *Primum Mobile*, called the greatest Corporeal Sphere, ii, 434, 435.
Spheres, ten in number, see map:—
(1) Heaven of the Moon, i, 45-168.
(2) Heaven of Mercury, i, 168-250.
(3) Heaven of Venus, i, 250-336.
(4) Heaven of the Sun, i, 336-427.
(5) Heaven of Mars, i, 427-ii, 77.
(6) Heaven of Jupiter, ii, 77-162.
(7) Heaven of Saturn, ii, 162-212.
(8) Heaven of the Fixed Stars, ii, 212-352.
(9) *Primum Mobile*, or Crystalline Heaven, ii, 352-345.
(10) The Empyrean, ii, 345-531.
Spheres, Planets, Intelligences, i, 85.
Spirit, Holy, i, 102; ii, 118, 119; *la larga ploia dello Spirito Santo*, the abundant rain of the Holy Spirit, ii, 267, 275, 276; scrittor dello Spirito Santo, ii, 407, 408; *l' eterno spiro*, i, 128, 383, 384, 471, 472; *Spirito santo, vasello dello*, meaning St. Paul, ii, 191-192; Spirits, called Resplendences, i, 172; Effulgences, i, 172, 344, 345; Lights, i, 347; blazing Suns, *ibid.*; plants, i, 412; Radiances, ii, 278; Meteors, ii, 348, 349.
Spirits, shades, i, 98, 99; Emperor Justinian, i, 174, 175; Folco of Marseilles, i, 309-328; inmates of the Empyrean, i, 106; like Spheres, ii, 252-254; moving three times round in praise of the Holy Trinity, a possible allegory, i, 348; Spirit of St. James addressed as Illustrious Life (*Inclita vita*), ii, 284-286.
Spiro, trino, voices of the three Apostles, ii, 302, 303.
Splendore, used frequently by Dante to express the spirits of the Blessed, i, 116-118; shade of the Empress Constance, i, 116-118; allusion to spirits in Paradise, i, 291, 292; *settimo splendor*, the Sphere of Saturn, ii, 130; *m' apparvero splendor*, the spirits of the Warrior Saints in Mars, i, 474, 475; *schiarato splendor*, St. John, ii, 298, 299; *suo splendore*, His (God's) Glory, ii, 400; *gli splendori* = Angelic individualities, ii, 425, 426.
Sposa di Colui, allusion to the Church, i, 370, 371; *Sposa sua*, the Church, Christ's Bride, i, 401; the beautiful bride (the Church) that was won (by Christ) with the spear and with the nails, ii, 500, 501; *la sposa*, the Bride (of St. Francis), Poverty, i, 380, 381.
Sposo, the Bridegroom, Jesus Christ, i, 113, 114; *Sposo*, the bridegroom, St. Francis, i, 380, 381.
Stairs of the eternal palace, that is, Heaven, ii, 163, 164; holy stairs, ii, 442, 443.
Stars, *Stella prima*, the Moon, i, 54, 55; *Stelle*, i, 84, 238, 239; *stella picciola*, the Planet Mercury, i, 203, 204; *stella che il sol vagheggia, la*, the Planet Venus, i, 248; *stella temprata*, Jupiter,

ii, 80, 91, 92; *Stelle, O gloriose*, ii, 214-216; *Stella viva*, ii, 242-244.
Statuto, l' eterno, ii, 181.
Stellar Influence, i, 120.
Stelle, each of the three *Cantiche* ends with the word, ii, 530, 531; *Stelle* is the last word in the whole poem; ii, 531.
Street of Straw, Paris, i, 361, 362.
Subasio, Mount, i, 373, 374.
Subsistences, the nine Orders of the Heavenly Hierarchy, i, 438; Substance, the spirit of Justinian, i, 211.
Subsisto, God's title, "I AM," ii, 400.
Suggelli, vivi, the living seals, *i.e.*, the successive Spheres of Heaven, i, 482, 483.
Sul sinistro fianco, Dr. Moore's explanation of, i, 20; *Sustanzia lucente, la*, the human person of Christ, ii, 231.
Sun, the, i, 22-24, 28, 29 *et passim; Sol, quel*, meaning Beatrice, i, 90, 91; *Sol degli Angeli*, i, 342; *un sole*, St. Francis of Assisi, i, 374-380; un Sol, a Sun seen by Dante in the Triumph of Christ, in which he discerns the humanity of Christ, ii, 230, 231; the Heaven of the Sun the symbol of Arithmetic, the first science of the *Quadrivium*, i, 330; God, the Sun of Justice, i, 288, 289.
Suocero, il, allusion to Bellincion Berti, ii, 27.
Superbia, la, the arrogance of King Edward I. of England, ii, 124.
Superbo, il primo, Lucifer's fall through Pride from his pre-eminent position among created beings, ii, 106, 107.
Surse, applied to Solomon, see explanatory note, i, 448.
Sustanzie, quelle, Saints in the Sphere of Mars, i, 489, 490; *sustanzie*, Existences, *i.e.*, the Spheres of Angels, ii, 379, 380, 405-407; the Angelic Beings, ii, 413, 414; *vere sustanzie*, i, 96.
Sword of Heaven (*la spada di quassù*), ii, 197, 198.
Sylvester, one of St. Francis' earliest followers, i, 380, 381.
Symbolism of the *Divina Commedia*, i, 17.

TADDEO degli Alderotti, a physician of Bologna, i, 410-412.
Tagliamento, the river, i, 297.
Tamburini, his bad translation of Benvenuto, i, 34, 35.
Tanto pianta, Dr. Moore's vindication of this reading, i, 325, 326.
Taurus, the Zodiacal sign, ii, 213, 214.
Te Deum, ii, 271.
Tedder, Mr. H. R., i, xi, xiv.
Tedesche ripe, the German banks of the Danube, i, 265-267.
Temperi e discerni, inexact explanation of passage by the early Commentators, i, 28.
Temple, the buying and selling in the, ii, 92.
Tempo della grazia, ii, 491, 492.
Tenera nube, a thin transparent cloud, i, 394-396.
Ternaro, il primo, ii, 388, 389; *l' altro*, ii, 391, 392.
Terra, the Earth, i, 30, 60; *quella terra*, Hungary, i, 265, 267; frequent use of *terra* in Dante's time to mean "city," i, 315; the city of Marseilles, *ibid.*
Terra santa, the Holy Land neglected by the Popes, i, 324, 325.
Terza e nona, Tierce and Nones, the Church's hours, i, 506-508.
Terza e l' ultima possanza, meaning the Emperor Frederick II., the third and last power (*i.e.*, Duke) of Suabia.
Terzo giro del sommo grado, Beatrice's place in the Heavenly Rose, ii, 463.
Tesoro, il mio, Cacciaguida, Dante's revered ancestor, ii, 62-64.
Testaments, Old and New, i, 167.
Testeso, adverb with triple significations of past, present and future, ii, 99, 100.
Testo, in cotale, "In such a vase," meaning the *Primum Mobile*, ii, 358.
Theologians, the twelve great:—
(1) St. Thomas Aquinas, i, 350-352.
(2) Albertus Magnus of Cologne, i, 352, 353.

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(4) Peter Lombard, i, 354.
(5) Solomon, i, 355.
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(7) Orosius (some say St. Ambrose), i, 356.
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Tiberius, the third Roman Emperor, i, 197.
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Tintinno, dolce, the sweet music of the viol and harp, i, 480, 481.
Titus, the Emperor, i, 198; the Executor of the Divine Will, i, 220.
Tobias or Tobit, i, 130.
Tolommeo, Ptolemy, i, 193, 194.
Tolletto, mal, ill-gotten gains, i, 157.
Tomma, St. Thomas Aquinas, i, 415, 416.
Tondo, quest' etera, this rounded etherial space, ii, 218.
Topaz, living, Dante so calls Cacciaguida, i, 503.
Torches, the four (*le quattro face*), ii, 337, 338; *meridiana face di caritate*, the Virgin Mary, the noon-day torch of Love, ii, 508, 509.
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Toscano, dal, from the Tuscan territory, i, 314, 315.
Tosco, l' aer, ii, 215, 216.
Tosinghi, a Guelph family of the faction of the *Neri*, ii, 26.
Tota, vostra natura, your whole nature, Man's nature in its entirety, i, 230, 231.
Toynbee, Dr. Paget, i, xi; his *Dante Dictionary*, i, xv.
Trajan, the Emperor, ii, 138; one of two beatified pagan spirits, ii, 146, 147; the first living spirit of the Eagle's eyebrow, ii, 151.
Trani, (*l' occhio*), obsolete word, meaning if thou drawest the vision (of thy mind), akin to the French *traîner*, i, 357-359.
Transhumanization, applied to Glaucus, i, 25.
Travasare (*lit.* to decant) means to transfer from one place to another, ii, 190, 191.
Tre e due e uno, the Triune God, i, 463, 464.
Trespiano, the public cemetery at Florence, ii, 12, 13.
Treviso, city of, i, 303-305.
Tre volte, a sign of the Trinity, ii, 278.
Triad, the first. In it are (*a*) the Seraphim, ruling the *Primum Mobile*; (*b*) the Cherubim, ruling the Fixed Stars; and (*c*) the Thrones, ruling Saturn, ii, 386.
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Ubi . . . quando, In the divine aspect of God every Where and every When are centred, ii, 399, 400.
Uccel di Dio, the Roman Eagle, i, 180; *Uccel, tale*, a certain evil bird, *i.e.*, the Devil, ii, 422, 423.
Uccellatoio, a height overhanging Florence, i, 509.
Uccello, In sulla scala porta il santo, the arms of Bartolommeo della Scala, Lord of Verona, ii, 52.
Ughi, the family of the, ii, 20, 21.
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Ulysses, his daring in braving the Atlantic Ocean, ii, 351.
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Union of divine and human nature, ii, 529, 530.
Unitate, the Angelic Intelligence of the *Primum Mobile*, revolves upon its own Unity, i, 83, 84.
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Uom, quell' uom che non nacque, Jesus Christ, i, 215-217.
Uomo, l', e il fonte, Narcissus at the fountain, i, 94.
Uomo libero, a man endowed with Free Will, i, 122, 123; *l'uomo*, Man, i, 232, 233.
Urban I., Bishop of Rome A.D. 222-230, ii, 343.
Urbisaglia, an ancient city of Italy, ii 17.
Vaga, quella, the Nymph Echo, i, 395, 396.
Valdigreve, Valley of the little river Greve about twenty miles from Florence, ii, 15.
Valle dolorosa, Hell, ii, 65, 66.
Valore Eterno, i, 33, 34; ii, 426; *Valor infinito*, the Supreme Power, ii, 519; *lo primo ed ineffabile Valore*, God the Father, i, 330, 331.
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Vapor trionfanti, denoting the Saints belonging to the Church Triumphant, ii, 348, 349.
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Ver, il, the Truth; *ver primo*, i, 58, 145, 146; *Ver, il*, the God of Truth, ii, 47.
Veramente, equivalent to the Latin *tamen*, "nevertheless," i, 10.
Verba, per, in words, i, 25.
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Vicars, the Popes, ii, 282, 283; *Vice ed offizio*, the duties assigned by Divine Providence, and the time for performing them, ii, 339, 340.
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Vico degli Strami, Rue de Fouarre near the Sorbonne, at Paris, in

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Virtù, divina, Apollo, i, 14; *diversa*, i, 85; *mista*, i, 86, 87; *o benigna*, ii, 241, 242; *informante*, 238, 239.
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Voi che intendendo il terzo ciel movete, the first line of Dante's *Canzone* in *Convivio*, i, 256, 257.
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